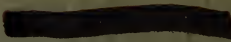


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AMERICANA

(ILLUSTRATED)



VOLUME XXXIII

January, 1939—December, 1939

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AMERICANA

JANUARY, 1939



The Columbus Theme in American Poetry

BY BERTHA MONICA STEARNS,

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THE story of Columbus and his varied fortunes seemed to Washington Irving, as he pointed out in his biography of the great mariner, "the link which connects the history of the old world with that of the new." American writers from the beginning of our national literature until the present time have seen in that story a subject for poetry that should express the ideals of the New World, and symbolize the groping of humanity for a better way of life. The persistence of this theme and of this symbol throughout a century and a half of kaleidoscopic changes in the American scene testifies to the strength of the poetic conception that the welfare of all humanity, as individuals, not as states, is the guiding vision of true nationalism. It is interesting, therefore, to note, as a commentary upon American idealism, the varied treatments of what may be called the Columbus theme in the works of representative American poets living at different periods.

In 1774 a young Princeton poet, Philip Freneau, just three years out of college, produced a series of poems which he grouped together under the title "Pictures of Columbus." The ardent nationalism of the youthful writer had already shown itself in some commencement verses called "The Rising Glory of America," in which he set forth the possibilities of a land free to follow its dreams unrestrained by the domination of the past. "The Pictures of Columbus" continued to

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voice his belief that hope of greatness for the New World lay in the enterprise of individuals, as opposed to the overlordship and dictation of rulers. Freneau's scenes from the life of Columbus include a picture of young Columbus making maps and dreaming dreams; of an older Columbus addressing the Spanish court and meeting the opposition of an established order; of an intrepid adventurer surmounting his difficulties at sea and by his courage bringing the ends of the earth into communication with each other; of an aged hero rewarded by selfish royalty only with chains and poverty.

The Columbus of this poem is dominated by a compelling purpose:

It is a bold attempt! Yet I must go,
he reflects. At the end of his life, as he lies ill and discredited, his spirit remains courageously undaunted:

The winds blow high: one other world remains;
Once more without a guide I find the way.

Meditating upon the thankfulness of kings and upon the spiritual barrenness of realms where no liberty is, he rejoices that in time his toils will be rewarded and his woes repaid in the new land:

When empires rise where lonely forests grew,
Where Freedom shall her generous plans pursue.

Columbus is to Freneau, in this eighteenth century poem, the symbol of a free and independent spirit refusing to be dominated by the forces of the past, or by the tyranny of selfish power. The new world is represented as the home of that spirit in which the "generous plans" of a true freedom may work themselves out in new ways.

In the years during and immediately following the American Revolution, another ambitious young poet, Joel Barlow, graduate of Yale, voiced his dream of national greatness in a long narrative poem which he called the "Vision of Columbus." Later he elaborated this work into an epic of over eight thousand lines, calling it "The Columbiad." Fired by the belief that the newly established republic was indeed a promised land, he determined to

Sing the Mariner who first unfurl'd
An eastern banner o'er the western world,
and to proclaim in verse all that the discoveries of Columbus might mean to the progress of civilization.

THE COLUMBUS THEME IN AMERICAN POETRY

Barlow represents the Genius of the Western World as revealing to Columbus, through a series of visions, the future history of the land he has discovered. The settlement of the colonies, the Revolutionary War, the establishment of the new government, all pass before the eyes of the hero. The poet then looks forward to the years to come. Columbus is shown that he has opened the way to a better civilization than the world has yet known. America is to lead humanity into ways of peace and rational liberty; the objectives of its statesmen are not to be personal, not to be national, but are to be world-wide in their scope:

No more the noble patriot mind,
To narrow views and local laws confined,
Gainst neighboring lands directs the public rage,
Plots for a realm or counsels for an age.
But lifts a larger thought, and reaches far,
Beyond the power, beyond the wish of war;
For realms and ages form the general aim,
Makes patriot views and moral views the same,
Sees with prophetic eye in peace combined
The strength and happiness of human kind.

Nor is the vision complete with this general prediction of a rational world order. Barlow presents a specific picture of a congress of nations meeting together and working out political harmony for all the governments of the earth. Columbus is permitted to see in his final vision "the fathers of all empires" assembling for this task, electing a presiding officer, and deliberating wisely how best

To give each realm its limit and its laws;
Bid the last breath of dire contention cease,
And bind all regions in the leagues of peace.

A half century before Tennyson's "Parliament of man, the Federation of the world," the idealistic nationalism of a patriotic poet inspired this flight of fancy far in advance of the times. Columbus, with his adventurous spirit, his belief in his destiny, his courage in attempting the untried, becomes the poetic symbol of an America which is to lead mankind into a brave new world of political justice.

Almost forty years later another young poet reasserted the American dream and expressed his faith in an ideal through the symbol of the dauntless adventurer. In the midst of social and economic changes

THE COLUMBUS THEME IN AMERICAN POETRY

which were rapidly transforming national life during the early decades of the nineteenth century, James Russell Lowell looked questioningly at the world around him. Was the growing nation to lose its belief in a destiny different from that of the older states of Europe? Was mankind in America stupidly to tread life underfoot in the brawl for means to live? Was materialism to dominate the spirit of man? Lowell could not believe that this was to be the fate of his native land. His idealism found expression in a blank verse poem of almost three hundred lines, entitled "Columbus," in which he fortified his own deepest convictions through a dramatization of an inner conflict in the mind of his hero.

Columbus is represented as gazing out from his ship over an unknown sea and meditating upon his dangerous enterprise. He feels a closer sympathy with the stars above him than with his immediate companions:

Earthen souls, whose vision's scanty ring
Makes me its prisoner to beat my wings
Against the cold bars of their unbelief.

He grieves over the stupidity of the "mad, unthrift world,"

Which every hour throws life enough away
To make her deserts kind and hospitable.

He is saddened by the thought of the ease with which men may lose their visions, and sadly reflects,

The wicked and the weak, by some dark law
Have a strange power to shut and rivet down
Their own horizon 'round us.

Then, with new hope, he remembers that it is the Old World which has denied his dreams, an ancient way of life in which no state "holds up a shape of large humanity." Will the untried land of his vision, he asks, play over the same tragedy? Or, instead, shall a commonwealth be built there in which humanity may find a true home—a commonwealth

Whose potent unity and concentric force
Can draw these scattered joints and parts of men
Into a whole ideal man once more.

Whatever his doubts, Columbus has no choice but to go on in answer to a call that he has heard since boyhood:

THE COLUMBUS THEME IN AMERICAN POETRY

To the spirit select there is no choice;
He cannot say, this will I do, or that,
For the cheap means putting Heaven's ends in pawn,

He must break a pathway to unknown realms "that in the earth's broad shadow lie enthralled." He must assert "One faith against a whole earth's unbelief."

Listening to the voice of his soul, Columbus shakes off his doubts and looks into the future. There he sees his

lifelong enterprise
That rose like Ganges 'mid the freezing snows
Of a world's solitude, sweep broadening down,
And, gathering to itself a thousand streams
Grow sacred ere it mingle with the sea.

The "muttering shoalbrains" on the boat around him predict disaster. Return to the Old World, they demand. They will give him but one day more. But to his aspiring spirit another day is opportunity—

A lavish day! One day, with life and heart,
Is more than time enough to find a world.

Like Barlow in his epic vision, Lowell here stresses the theme of a new kind of leadership, and like Freneau, he sees in Columbus a freeman unafraid to follow a compelling purpose. In this poem the dream-guided mariner and the young nation blundering onward become one. With patriotic fervor Lowell refuses to accept the possibility of defeat, and concludes his questioning on a note of romantic optimism.

Three decades later, in the eighteen seventies, two other well known poets, Walt Whitman and Sidney Lanier, used the same symbol to voice their belief in the ultimate destiny of their native land. Lanier set forth his concept in the group of eight "Sonnets on Columbus" included in his patriotic poem, "The Psalm of the West," written in the centennial year 1876. Like Lowell, Lanier used the story of Columbus to "Make burn the faiths that cool, and cool the doubts that burn." Again the mariner stands in the night alone, heartening his own heart—"as friend befriends his friend less brave." What if dawn never breaks, he questions. What if, for all his dreams, the earth is no sphere, but "all one sickening plane?" What if the "con-

THE COLUMBUS THEME IN AMERICAN POETRY

trarious West" have no "fixed heart of Law" within it? Out of its "wild twenty years of heavenly dreaming" his heart answers. In sonnets five, six and seven he replies to the doubts of cowards and skeptics with the ringing challenge, "Hold straight into the West."

'Ere we Gomera cleared, a coward cried,
Turn, turn: here be three caravels ahead,
From Portugal, to take us: we are dead!
Hold Westward, pilot, calmly I replied.
So when the last land down the horizon died,
Go back, go back! they prayed: our hearts are lead.
Friends, we are bound into the West, I said.
Then passed the wreck of a mast upon our side.
See (so they wept) God's Warning! Admiral, turn!
Steersman, I said, hold straight into the West.
Then down the night we saw the meteor burn.
So do the very heavens in fire protest:
Good Admiral, put about! O dear, dear Spain!
Hold straight into the West, I said again.

The concluding sonnet of the series announces the reward of faith—to the mariner and to the poet:

Why, look, 'tis dawn, the land is clear: 'tis done!
Two dawns do break at once from Time's full hand—
God's, East—mine, West: good friends, behold my Land!

Walt Whitman, in the "Prayer of Columbus," presents the figure of the great admiral toward the close of his life, facing the dubious outcome of his last voyage and "reporting" himself once more to the power that has guided his journeyings. In this poem, almost a spiritual autobiography, Whitman identifies himself with Columbus. As in one of his greatest poems, "Passage to India," he looks forward to the culmination in America of a long process of growth. The aspirations of his soul and the ideals of the nation are, he believes, both messages of truth. The aged Columbus in his prayer feels himself in communion with the spirit which has guided him mysteriously toward some great end, and sustained him with high dreams—dreams of which he declares:

O I am sure they really came from Thee,
The urge, the ardor, the unconquerable will,
The potent, felt, interior command, stronger than words,
A message from the Heavens whispering to me even in sleep,
These sped me on.

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Following this "interior command," he has tied the hemispheres together, "the unknown to the known," not for mere material gains, but that some great ongoing purpose may be furthered:

Haply the brutish measureless human undergrowth I know,
Transplanted there may rise to stature, knowledge worthy Thee,
Haply the swords I know may there indeed be turned to reaping-tools,
Haply the lifeless cross I know, Europe's dead cross, may bud and blossom there.

His doubts die, his "dim and ever-shifting guesses—of newer better worlds" give place to joyous triumph, and the poem ends, like Lowell's and Barlow's, with a vision of the better world that is to come when humanity rises to its true stature:

And these things I see suddenly, what mean they?
As if some miracle, some hand divine unseal'd my eyes,
Shadowy vast shapes smile through the air and sky,
And on the distant waves sail countless ships,
And anthems in new tongues I hear saluting me.

Twenty years later, Joaquin Miller, singing the vigorous songs of pioneer adventure, voiced a buoyant American optimism in the five stanzas of his poem entitled "Columbus." Like Lanier, he presents a bold explorer who faces the future undeterred by mutiny and distrust, wind and storm:

Behind him lay the great Azores,
Behind the gates of Hercules;
Before him not the ghost of shores;
Before him only shoreless seas.
The good mate said: Now must we pray,
For lo! the very stars are gone.
Brave Adm'r'l, speak; what shall I say?
Why, say: Sail on! sail on! and on!

Greatly daring he has no thought except to move forward into the untried; and the result, Miller joyously proclaims, justifies his faith:

He gained a world; he gave that world
Its grandest lesson: On, sail on!

There is no vision of a new heaven and a new earth in this somewhat flamboyant poem with its moral tag, but idealistic nationalism is expressed, for the writer implies that the hesitating spirit of the Old World is to be replaced by the fearless experimentation of the New.

THE COLUMBUS THEME IN AMERICAN POETRY

The Columbus theme has found a place in the work of two widely dissimilar modern poets—George Santayana and Vachel Lindsay. Neither of these writers, however, makes use of his subject to acclaim the rising glory of America. Santayana found in Columbus a symbol of that trust in "the soul's invincible surmise" which transcends knowledge, but without identifying that trust with any national aspirations. In a sonnet of quiet power he has expressed the faith of all idealists:

O world, thou choosest not the better part!
It is not wisdom to be only wise,
And on the inward vision close the eyes,
But it is wisdom to believe the heart.
Columbus found a world, and had no chart,
Save one that faith deciphered in the skies;
To trust the soul's invincible surmise
Was all his science and his only art.
Our knowledge is a torch of smoky pine
That lights the pathway but one step ahead
Across a void of mystery and dread.
Bid, then, the tender light of faith to shine
By which alone the mortal heart is led
Unto the thinking of the thought divine.

In much the same vein, but with a complete difference in tone and melody, Vachel Lindsay paid honor to Columbus in his "Litany of the Heroes." This "chant about many men," ranging from Moses to Woodrow Wilson, celebrates the spirit of man, guided by some power greater than itself as it moves toward an unknown destiny. Columbus again becomes the symbol of the courageous soul that dares to venture much by the light of inner faith:

Would that we had the fortunes of Columbus.
Sailing his caravels a trackless way,
He found a Universe—he sought Cathay.
God give such dawns as when, his venture o'er,
The sailor looked upon San Salvador.
God lead us past the setting of the sun
To wizzard islands, of august surprise;
God make our blunders wise.

These later poets see humanity groping its way onward through the achievements of great individuals rather than through the accomplishments of nations. They proclaim through Columbus not a form of government, not a new land, but the strength of an ideal deeply ingrained in the thought of a nation.



GUAM

A Young Chamorro Farmer Comes to Visit His Uncle in a Slow-moving But Reliable Conveyance. The Uncle Later Came to Washington, Seeking Statehood for His Island
(Courtesy Bishop Museum and Pan Pacific Press Bureau)



GUAM

Here and There, in Places Which Are Now Well Off the Road, One Finds a Substantial Stone Bridge, Built by the Spaniards
(Courtesy Bishop Museum and Pan Pacific Press Bureau)

Guam and the Chamorros

BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.,* HONOLULU, T. H.

CURATOR OF COLLECTIONS, BISHOP MUSEUM, HONOLULU, T. H.



GUAM, one of the first islands in the Pacific to be visited by white men, and for thirty-eight years a part of the United States, is only now being "discovered" by the people of America. Magellan first saw Guam on March 6, 1521. The United States Navy has made it a modern community. Now the air clippers are putting it on the map.

Most persons, not connected with the navy, are surprised to learn that Guam is a "high" island, in contrast to the two low atolls, Midway and Wake, at which the clippers also stop. They find it hard to believe that such a little dot on the map has an area of two hundred and twenty-five square miles, and comfortably supports a population of 22,000. In contrast, all of the 1,400 islands which make up the Japanese mandate in Micronesia, taken together, have only four times this area, and four times this population, including the Japanese settlers.

Guam is separated into two parts by a low isthmus. The northern half is composed of limestone—a great section of coral reef, fourteen miles long by four to eight miles wide, which has been pushed up at its northern end to a height of four hundred to six hundred feet above the sea, from which it slopes gradually down nearly to sea level at the south. Most of this rolling plateau faces the sea in a continuous line of cliffs. Only here and there is there a little pocket of coastal plain, whose sandy beach is flanked by groves of coconut palms and other tropical shore vegetation. Behind this, in turn, is the steep, forested slope.

This limestone plateau, both in the interior, where it has been weathered to a rich soil, and along the tops of the cliffs, where the

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GUAM AND THE CHAMORROS

surface is still solid and jagged, is covered with a luxuriant, moist forest. Picture to yourself a thick stand of tall, tropical trees. Here and there giant, widespreading banyans, and tall, slender breadfruits rise above the general level, their branches festooned with epiphytic ferns and mosses. Beneath is a nearly continuous tangle of shrubs and ferns, cycads and pandanus, vines and lianas. The only open spaces have been laboriously cleared by ranchers. In these are planted corn, sweet potatoes, fruit trees and truck gardens. On the east coast, toward the north, stands a single grassy hill, Mt. Santa Rosa, the eight hundred and sixty foot remains of an old volcanic dome.

The southern half of the island consists of a range of hills of volcanic origin, bordered on both sides by southern extensions of the raised limestone. The crest of this line of hills lies about two miles inland from the west coast. The peaks average about a thousand to 1,200 feet in height. The highest point, Mt. Lamlam, or "lightning mountain," reaches an elevation of 1,334 feet. The western slope is quite steep, arising either from a narrow coastal plain or directly from the sea. The eastern slope is broader and more gradual, and is cut by a series of valleys and gulches, carved out by sizable streams, which flow to the east coast.

This volcanic material is not fresh basaltic rock, such as composes much of the mountain mass of Hawaii. It is more like tuff or solidified layers of volcanic mud or ash. The surface of this has weathered to a heavy clay which becomes very slippery during the rainy months.

In direct contrast to the luxuriant forests which cover the limestone areas, this heavy clay soil supports only a growth of swordgrass and low, weedy vegetation, correctly called "savanna" in Guam. The moist valley bottoms may contain trees and shrubs, but the ridges are always grassy. One thinks one has found an exception to this rule, when one sees the crest of the hills in the vicinity of Mt. Alifan, near the center of the range, covered with forest. Closer examination discloses that these hills are covered with a mantle of limestone. How this got there requires considerable geologic explanation, including the relative movement of land and sea of nearly a thousand feet, but it accounts for the presence of the forest.

The entire eastern shore line, as far south as Inarajan (pronounced In-a-rah-han) is composed of limestone, raised in places to a height of several hundred feet. The limestone is also disclosed well up the

GUAM AND THE CHAMORROS

river valleys, giving rise to such strange features as natural bridges and streams which flow underground. It supports a dense forest. Around the southern end and up the west side it becomes a narrow fringing reef. Off the south end is Cocos Islet, a sandpile covered with coconut palms, connected to east and west by narrow ribbons of reef, which enclose a shallow lagoon. There is said to be fine fishing off this reef.

On the west side, a peninsula of raised limestone, the Orote Peninsula, extends westward about three miles from the curve of the shore. Low at its landward end, it slopes gradually upward as one goes west, until at the point it rises two hundred feet sheer from the sea. Somewhat parallel to it, to the north, lies Cabras Island, a narrow ridge of raised reef, which is continued westward in a line of reefs and shoals. Between these two lies Apra Harbor, the chief port of the island. It is here that the clipper planes alight.

Guam is located at the southern end of the Marianas Islands, near the end of a great chain of submarine mountains, extending southward from Japan. It is 1,350 miles south of Yokohama, 1,500 miles east of Manila, and 3,337 miles west and a little south of Honolulu. Around it on three sides are islands of the Japanese mandate, the nearest one, Rota, visible on clear days from the northern points, thirty miles away.

Lying in latitude thirteen and one-half degrees north, Guam is well within the torrid zone. Its climate is warm and humid, but modified to some extent by the trade winds. The average temperature throughout the year is eighty-one degrees Fahrenheit, from which it varies but little each day. The rainfall at Agana averages slightly under ninety inches a year. More than half falls between June and October. The hills are not high enough to cause much difference throughout the island. The northern end is perhaps a little wetter, the southern end certainly a little drier.

The climate may be a little enervating to those coming from a cooler region, but it is not unhealthful. The primitive Chamorros, before the coming of foreign civilization, were as healthy a people as could be found anywhere. The only hazards are occasional tropical cyclones and earthquakes. The cyclones have their point of origin a few hundred miles to the southeast, in the Caroline group, and for the most part sweep over the area between Guam and the Philippines.

GUAM AND THE CHAMORROS

Once in a while one turns too sharp a corner, and removes a few thatched roofs or fells a few trees in Guam. Approximately eighty earthquakes are recorded each year on the seismograph, located at Agana. Occasionally one occurs which is strong enough to break dishes and shake down stone walls or poorly constructed houses, such as last October and November. But nobody seems to worry about these matters in Guam.

This is the environment in which live about 20,000 descendants of the native Chamorros, and about 2,000 other inhabitants.

When Magellan sailed into Umatac Bay, on March 6, 1521, he discovered the island to be inhabited by a tall, robust, fine-looking people, free from disease and physical defects. They wore but few clothes, and their light brown skins were not even tattooed. The explorers marvelled at their ability in or on the water. Never had they seen such expert swimmers; and the canoes were described as seeming to fly over the surface of the sea.

This generous people willingly gave food and water to the sailors, who were sick and starving after nearly four months on the open ocean, with foul water and wormy food. But when they desired to come on board the ships of Magellan's little fleet and take some of the strange new objects which they saw, they were cruelly rebuffed and termed "ladrones" (thieves) by the Spanish and Portuguese seamen, a name which stuck to the group of islands for many years.

Magellan's records do not tell us very much concerning these Chamorros of the sixteenth century. But by piecing together all of the accounts given by the many navigators who visited the islands, we can get some idea of the people and their culture.

There seem to have been two quite different types of people living on Guam. One of these was of Indo-Malay origin. Like the Polynesians, they probably originated as a Caucasian stock in south-eastern Asia. These inter-mixed with Mongoloid people of the Malay Archipelago as they moved eastward. Associated with them in Guam was an inferior caste of small, wiry people of negroid origin, with kinky black hair. Whether these were the inhabitants of Guam before the coming of the lighter group, or whether they were conquered and brought along from Melanesian islands to the south, we cannot tell. While not slaves, these people were hopeless outcasts, unable to become independent farmers or artisans, and subject to all



GUAM MUSEUM

A Row of Three Latte Monuments, Which Centuries Ago Marked the Grave of Some Famous Chamorro in Another Part of the Island
(Courtesy Bishop Museum and Pan Pacific Press Bureau)



GUAM

From the Cable Station on Orote Peninsula, One Looks Eastward Across Apra Harbor Toward a Line of Grassy-sloped Volcanic Hills
(Courtesy Bishop Museum and Pan Pacific Press Bureau)

GUAM AND THE CHAMORROS

sorts of prohibitions. For them to associate, or worse yet to intermarry, with the people of the other group meant death.

The Indo-Malay stock were in turn divided into two social groups or castes, Matao and Achote. The Mataos sat on the council, led in battle, might become priests, monopolized house-building and weapon-making, and enjoyed great liberty and independence. The Achotes were degraded Mataos. They had no place on the council, their crafts consisted in making tools, clothing and ornaments, and they made up the ranks of the fighters in battle. The degradation of the Achotes entailed loss of prestige rather than material loss, and they intermingled freely with the upper caste.

There was a rather loose form of governmental organization. It consisted of an association of families, led by a council of nobles, but without any definite king. The oldest member of the most powerful family usually dominated the council. Women held an important place in the social order, perhaps in part because property did not pass from father to son, but to a sister's children.

Marriage was an important affair, with early contract and elaborate ceremony. Polyandry was permitted, but seldom practiced. Marriage was prohibited between blood relatives. Divorce was frequent, sometimes on small cause. Children accompanied their mother. Bachelors occupied a separate "great house," as in Melanesia. They lived in concubinage with girls hired or purchased from their parents, usually from another village. This did not affect later marriage in the least. Women with healthy children were much sought after as wives.

Rival groups engaged in battle on slight provocation. This resulted in much noise, but generally little bloodshed. Their weapons consisted of light spears, eight to ten feet long, tipped with bone or hard wood; crude clubs; and well-shaped sling stones, which could be projected with great force and accuracy from fiber slings. The battle usually consisted of the assembling of the opposing forces, much boasting and shouting of challenges, and the interchange of a few volleys of stones. When a few persons on one side had been hit, that side gave up, and submitted to the taunts and sarcastic songs of the victors.

The Chamorros were an amiable, carefree people, fond of sports, games, dancing and story telling. They especially enjoyed tricks,

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jest, mimicry, and ridicule. Dances were accompanied by songs, and by music on reed flutes and the stringed balumbautuan, a one-stringed bow, with coconut shell resonator, which was placed on the player's chest. Chamorro music was considered "harsh and discordant" by the early European explorers.

Food consisted of taro, bananas, yams, cycas nuts (called "fadang"), coconuts, breadfruits, sugar cane, fish and, as a special delicacy at feasts, rice, which was of aboriginal introduction. Corn and sweet potatoes, which are now an important part of the Chamorro diet, were introduced from Mexico by the Spanish galleons. Fowls and wild birds, which abounded in the forests, were seldom eaten. If pigs occurred at all prior to the coming of white men, they were probably not a part of the diet. Cooking was done in pit ovens, removed from dwellings. Some food was dried in the sun. There were no intoxicants and no awa drinking; but betel was chewed.

Houses were raised off the ground. They were neatly made with a wooden framework and a thatch of coconut or nepa palm leaves. Furnishings consisted of mats, rice baskets, and betel boxes, plaited from pandanus leaves. Pots were made of clay, mortars of stone, and water vessels of bamboo joints. The Chamorros seemed not to have been expert wood carvers, although they made remarkably fine outrigger canoes with dug-out hull, built-up sides and equipped with mast and lateen sail of pandanus mat.

Most of the early religious beliefs of the Chamorros have been lost. The reason for this was mainly that the outsiders who first made contact with the people were so occupied with the task of imparting to them a new religion that they paid little attention to, or condemned, any older beliefs. There were various sorts of gods, mainly associated with good and bad spirits of departed ancestors. The people were very superstitious, and lived in such fear of the "tatamona," or spooks which lurked in the forests, that they would not remain there at night. This is one reason why farmers, even today, do not live on their ranches, but congregate in the few villages.

In the very early days the important persons, after death, were buried between rows of upright stones, topped by huge coral-head capitals. The builders of these "latte" monuments, however, had become forgotten in 1521.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years after its discovery by Magellan, Guam was settled by Spanish Jesuit missionaries, a mission hav-

GUAM AND THE CHAMORROS

ing been established by Padre Sanvitores, June 16, 1668. The Chamorros did not take kindly to either the Spanish rule or the efforts to make them Christians. During the century of struggle which ensued, most of the Chamorro men were killed off. Spanish, Filipino, Mexican and other immigrants intermarried with the women, until the racial stock has become a hybrid. More than two hundred years of intermarriage with foreigners have greatly diluted the Chamorro blood, but not their racial culture. Language and teachings were handed down by the mothers, so that today the Chamorro language, containing many foreign words, it is true, but dominantly Chamorro, is generally spoken.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Chamorro population had been reduced to less than 10,000 in number, with almost none of pure blood. The United States took over the islands on July 21, 1898. At present the native population numbers about 20,000 and is on the increase. Health conditions, under the United States Navy, have greatly improved. A staff of one hundred and thirty-six administers free hospitals, with corps men on duty in all the fifteen districts. There are now some thirty-six schools with one hundred and fifty native teachers. Education is carried on in English, through the high school. There is also an agricultural school, which aims to turn out better farmers of the younger generation, as well as to help adult farmers by extension work.

Communication service includes naval radio and Commercial Pacific cable which bring daily news; an average of a boat a month; and now weekly clipper service, each way, which bring Guam within four days of San Francisco and one day of Manila.

The government is administered by U. S. Navy personnel, with the advice of a Guam "Congress" made up of sixteen councilors and twenty-seven assemblymen, who are elected by the people of the various districts for a term of two years. The district commissioners and many of the governmental personnel are also native Chamorros.

The Navy Department, through employing about a thousand natives, and utilizing the produce of a thousand more, is the chief source of revenue for the island. On the whole, the naval governor and his associates are furnishing a high grade, and certainly an efficient, brand of government for Guam. A few mistakes may have been made, and a few injustices done in the past, but with such officials

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as those at present stationed in Guam, the Chamorros could scarcely be better governed.

Some of the Chamorros desire self-government. A delegation of two has recently gone to Washington to advocate this matter. It is the opinion of the writer, an opinion which is generally shared by those who have the welfare of Guam and the Chamorros at heart, that should the naval government be withdrawn, so much of the island's income would also go that it is doubtful if, under the present economic conditions, a satisfactory government and proper standard of living could be maintained by the people of Guam.

Letters By William Cullen Bryant

BY CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG, PH. D., NEWARK, N. J.



WHEN the "United States Literary Gazette" merged with the "New-York Review, and Atheneum Magazine," Bryant took charge of the New York editorial office. Previous to the merger, he had been co-editor of the "New-York Review, and Atheneum Magazine." The separation of the two offices, one in New York and one in Boston, made necessary a steady correspondence between the two editors. In these letters problems of management were discussed in detail: the proportion of space to be filled, the value of various contributions submitted, payment to contributors, books to be reviewed, the choice of capable reviewers, typographical arrangement, and so on.¹ The new magazine was given the title of the "United States Review and Literary Gazette." After the appearance of the July, 1826, issue, the Boston editor, Mr. Carter, was replaced by Charles Folsom.

The series of letters Bryant wrote cover a period from January 8, 1826, to August 13, 1827. They are of considerable value, not only as revealing the conditions that confronted an editor of a magazine at that time, but also in helping us definitely to identify many of his writings and in making clear his opinions and comments on matters of literary interest.² While a number of these letters are of a routine character, occasions arose when fundamental issues had to be faced and solved. The affairs of the magazine were evidently not prospering. Both editors were endeavoring to the best of their ability to reduce expenses and to increase the number of subscribers by producing a magazine with timely, attractive material by competent contributors. They did not always agree on questions of policy, and divided responsibility made efficient management extremely difficult. As far as possible Bryant sought to be reasonable, patient, con-

1. Many of the problems connected with the management of this magazine are taken up fully in the article by the present writer, "Bryant and the 'United States Review,'" "The New England Quarterly," VII (December, 1934), 687-701.

2. The original manuscripts of the letters printed below are to be found in the Boston Public Library.

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

ciliatory, but he refused to compromise his judgment or repudiate his word once it was given. He wished to maintain consistently high literary standards. He was opposed to injecting political bad blood into the pages of the magazine. These letters permit us to see a phase of Bryant's personality not expressed in the poetry he composed at that time: he is practical, sagacious, and prudent; he is making his way in the social and literary life of New York; he is able to solicit contributions and gain support; he carries out the complex duties of his position conscientiously and well.

I

NEW YORK Jan 8 1826

DEAR SIR

I send you notices of Mitchell's Discourse & the Essay on Boring for Water and some poetical contributions.³ I intended to have sent a poem of my own but I delayed it till an Influenza or something of the kind stupefied me and I could not concoct any thing poetical. As a substitute which you will be glad to see I send you another poem of Mr. Halleck's entitled "Wyoming." If you have time enough, he would like to see the proof-sheet as before.—By the bye there was an error in the poem called Niagara in the last No.—*feelingly* for *feebly*.⁴

Tor Hill I wish to notice myself as I am going to read it.⁵

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

P. S. Don't print what I have *marked out* with red ink.

II

NEW YORK March 1 1826

DEAR SIR

I enclose you an article on Halleck's poems for your next—and a Review of the Life of Lindley Murray written by Miss E. Robbins, together with two pieces of poetry sent me by Mr. Wigglesworth. Miss Robbins will expect to be paid for what she writes. There is

3. Bryant reviewed "A Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson," by Samuel L. Mitchell (New York, 1826), in the "United States Review and Literary Gazette," I (February, 1827), 385. He also reviewed "An Essay on the Art of Boring the Earth for the Obtainment of a Spontaneous Flow of Water" (New Brunswick, 1826), in the "United States Review and Literary Gazette," I (March, 1827), 461-62. See "New Contributions by William Cullen Bryant" in "Americana," XXX (October, 1936), 590n.

4. This poem is, in part, Bryant's translation of Heredia's ode to Niagara.

5. For a critical analysis of the reviews and notices Bryant contributed to this magazine, see "New Contributions by William Cullen Bryant," "Americana," XXX (October, 1936), 573-92.

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also an article for the Miscellaneous Department about the Fine Arts in the age of Charles 5th. The writer brought it to me with some pieces of poetry. I was obliged to reject the poetry, and to alleviate the matter as well as I could I told him I would send on to you the prose article for insertion in case you thought it worthy. Do as you think proper with it. The author did not give his name but spoke of Morse the painter as his particular friend &c. which is something in any man's favor; and he requested that if you thought the article worthy of insertion 6 copies of the No. containing it might be sent to New Haven directed to the signature n——C. and the money should be remitted. I hope you will see this part of the request attended to, if the article is admitted. As to the books Honor O'Hara, Last of the Lairds, Hosack's Address, The Young Rifleman & Bull on Fuel which Mr. Wigglesworth wrote me about I give them up to your writing with pleasure. Yet do not forget that Bull is said to have slandered the Rhode-Island Coal and Dr. Hosack the Eastern Medical College, and that a prosecution is actually pending against the latter gentleman. Bull is Secretary of the Lehigh Company.—As for Rome in the 19 Cent. & Almacks I have articles promised on those subjects. I shall send next week some verses of my own and several Critical Notices, and a big letter to yourself about many things.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

III

CUMMINGTON Sept. 14 1826

MY DEAR SIR

I did not get your letter of the eighth until last evening. I had previously sent on an article from the Miscellany and some lines from the Spanish. I wish you to make a correction in the title of the latter. Instead of "To Mary Magdalen"—let it be "Mary Magdalen"—otherwise I am afraid that those who are not well versed in Scripture History on reading the title may expect a copy of amatory verses addressed to some Mary or other.

I send you a Critical Notice and some more poetry for the Oct. No. I supposed that I had already contributed my proportion to the Sept. No. and that the account of the N Y Lyceum would go into the Oct. No.⁶ As it seems this has not been convenient I fear my contributions for this No. will not amount to my 20 pages. If I could get at new books I could soon dish up Critical Notices enough to make up the quantity but in my situation it is not easy to get at these. I told Mr. Carvill to send me the new publications that appeared in

6. The article on "The New York Lyceum" appeared in the "United States Review and Literary Gazette," I (October, 1826), 55. See "Americana," XXX (October, 1936), 589.

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N. Y. or at least such as could be conveniently sent, but I have as yet received nothing. I hope therefore that if there should be any deficiency in furnishing my quota while here in the country you will let me make it up as soon as I am returned to town, where I shall probably be in 3 weeks. I shall let you know when I go.

I have not yet received the Sept. No. which I suppose is published before this time. The August No. was I am told very well received in New York, and if we do nothing to lose the public favour in that quarter I think it stands on at least as good ground there as the N. Y. Review did.

As for Gaston de Bondeville I intended to have made an article about that novel and the other pieces published with it—but I cannot lay my hands on them. You may as well take it before it is stale. Vivian Gray and the Highlander you are welcome to.

I think we spoke of the alteration you mention in the mode of printing the work—viz to put running titles in Italics over the several articles—and I agreed to it. We also spoke of putting the Miscellany and Critical Notices into the same type with the Review. What do you think of this alteration? These articles are not more easy to write than the Reviews and are perhaps of as much consequence. Putting them into smaller type seems, however, to imply that one of these two things is the case. Besides ought not he who furnishes a critical notice to be paid as liberally as he who furnishes a Review. I mention these things for the consideration of yourself and Mr. Wigglesworth—if you make the changes I shall think it well—if not I do not regard it as very important.

I believe there was some understanding between us, or at least between myself and the gentleman who conducted the Lit. Gaz. respecting the books to be reviewed similar to what you mention.⁷

I am obliged to you for the further light you give me on the Ode of Villegas. I mistook the sense entirely and mean some time or other to correct the translation. In the mean time the original has exercised the critical ingenuity of others besides yourself. You recollect we vainly tried to find the word *hicella* in the dictionary. A friend of mine in New York writes me that he is told by Cubi that it is an obsolete word, signifying "favour, complexion" &c.

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Simmons in which she solicits the immediate remittance of the money for the two letters of Mr. Simmons. I wish she had it, I have no doubt that she is in distress. Cannot the type be set up the number of pages ascertained and the money be sent on without delay? I left with Mr. Carter the letter

7. It had originally been decided that the Boston editor would review all books published in Boston, while Bryant took care of all books issued in New York. See "The New England Quarterly," VII (December, 1934), 691.

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

from her to me containing the address. If you should not find it her address is *Mrs. Eliza Simmons, care of John Vaughan Corner of Front & Walnut Streets.*

My compliments to Mrs. Folsom & believe me

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT.

I hope to be informed of the names of the writers of the articles in the Journal as they appear, and shall make a point of letting you know by whom the articles that I send are written.

IV

NEW YORK Oct. 13, 1826

DEAR SIR

I enclose you a Review of Cary & Lea's *Atlantic Souvenir*,⁸ a notice of Segur's *Four Ages*,⁹ a Letter from Dupin a French Jurist handed me by Mr. Sampson, and an article on Brooks poem by a Mr. Lawson who wishes to remain anonymous.

With the latter article you may perceive I have taken some liberties—but I am not certain that it is yet exactly what it ought to be. Mr. Brooks has really written a good poem and deserves to be praised for it—but I do not know what you may think of the degree of approbation bestowed upon it. The article may also need some further corrections in the diction.—Will you look over it and make such further amendments and omissions as my haste has not permitted me to make.—

For the next number I shall probably have an article on South's *History of New York* another on Alexander's *Canon of the Scriptures*, another on Torrey's *Compendium of the Flora of the Northern & Middle States*, and I do not know what else.

There was no copy of the last No. sent to me with those directed to the Carvills—so I got one of his. Should there not be a few numbers sent on to me every month in order that I might make such a use of them as I may judge best for the interest of the work? Do you distribute no numbers gratuitously from Boston?

The Rev. R. R. Gurley Secretary of the Colonization Society, and Editor of the "*African Repository*" has sent his work to me desiring to exchange with the U. S. Review—and I am desirous that it should be done. I believe that the owners of the *Literary Gazette* exchanged with the several periodical works—but I do not remember that any arrangement was made for doing the same thing with the

8. The "*United States Review and Literary Gazette*," I (November, 1826), 145.

9. A review of "*The Four Ages of Life*," translated from the French of the Count de Segur, appeared in the "*United States Review and Literary Gazette*," I (December, 1826), 223-25.

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

U. S. Review. Will you be good enough to mention this subject to the other proprietors & write me about it? It is not a pleasant situation to be the editor & one of the proprietors of a public journal and yet not have a copy of it to dispose of.

Some time since I received a letter from Mr. Abel Patten who writes by order of the "Society of Social Friends" Dartmouth College sending six dollars and requesting me to send them the New York Review. I wrote him explaining the change that had taken place in the journal, adding that if his Society were already subscribing for the U. S. Lit. Gaz. or did not choose to take the new work I would return the money provided they gave me notice within a reasonable time. I have heard nothing from them since. It will be most convenient for them to receive the work from Boston, & for me to keep the money as a fund for the payment of postage—Will you request the agents to put them down as subscribers—credit them with the money and charge it to my account?

What is become of the "Wallet"?

The 1st No of the New York Review arrived to-day. It seems to take very well. The mechanical execution delighted every body.

My compliments to Mrs. Folsom & believe me

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

V

NEW YORK Oct 29 1826

MY DEAR SIR

I write to you at this time principally to say that I have put Mr. "Strickland's Reports" into the hands of Mr. Renwick who will prepare an article for the Dec. No. and that I shall also have a notice of the Rifleman and another of a "Spanish Tale by Dr. Sanuza" of this city—I forget the name of the Tale.

The Review has been well received here, and the subscription list is going on well in the city although some of the country subscribers are taking advantage of the gap in the work to have an apology for returning their number. I am very much delighted with the typographical arrangement and execution and hear it spoken of in terms of admiration by every body.

I shall send on the matter shortly for the Dec. No. and hope it will reach you by the tenth.

The poem of B. L. Argensola from which I made my translation I found in Bouterwick's History of Spanish & Portuguese Literature a work which contains a great deal of poetry in these languages, placed in the notes and serving as a series of illustrations to the text. The publication in which I found it is a translation from the German

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

published at London in two volumes a few years since. If I could come at it I would send you the original of the lines.

Our contributor Cushing it seems is in some difficulty—I suppose it is he. I do not however think the evidence arising from comparison of hands conclusive, and I should be satisfied with his denial. Mr. Verplanck once handed me an article for the New York Review written by one of his friends the hand writing of which so nearly resembled his own that I could almost have sworn to it.

I fear that three pages of practical intelligence every month might be deemed a pretty large proportion—I do not know however that I should be for excluding a contribution of that sort provided it seemed likely to be interesting to the public.

In haste

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

VI

NEW YORK Nov 5 1826

DEAR SIR

I return the poetry you sent me altered for the press, except for the "fragment" which will not do. Do you want it again? I am not for receiving the poetry of Mr. Mellen on the terms he expects—we cannot afford it—and I think this was understood by us all when I saw you last. He can possibly make a better bargain elsewhere. Nor should I think the piece itself worthy of insertion unless altered.

I send you also a review of the "Young Rifleman,"¹⁰ I shall have Mr. Renwick's Review of Strickland this week, or Friday at latest—a notice of Alexanders Canons by Mr. Ware and a Review of some work on Banking by Mr. Coleman jr. who is a great Political Economist author.[?]

I am Sir

yrs in haste

W. C. BRYANT

If you have not the Young Rifleman let me know it & I will send you the book or the leaves from it, containing the extracts—

VII

DEAR SIR

I meant to have sent you by Mr. Gray a Review [of] the life of E D Clarke the traveller but I am unable to find it in season. I shall send it by Friday's boat. It will [make] 10 or twelve pages so that you may calculate upon me for that amount for the Review part.¹¹

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT¹²

10. The review of the novel, "Adventures of a Young Rifleman," appeared in the "United States Review and Literary Gazette," I (December, 1826), 178-90.

11. A review of "The Life and Remains of Daniel Clarke" appeared in the "United States Review and Literary Gazette," II, (May, 1827), 109-23.

12. This letter is without a date. It may possibly belong to the year 1827. A few words are partly rubbed out and illegible.

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

VIII

DEAR SIR

I send you an article for the next No. a review of Hope Leslie. It was written by Miss E. Robbins by whom Mr. H. D. Sedgwick was desirous that the work should be reviewed. I also enclose a piece of poetry which I have looked over. If there is any thing in the review that does not suit you we have a *carte blanche* to expunge or alter any exceptionable passage.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

IX

NEW YORK Nov. 9, 1826

MY DEAR SIR

I received at nearly the same moment your last letter and Professor Renwick's Review of Strickland's Reports; I saw with some alarm that you had on hand a critical notice of Strickland's Reports—as the article furnished by Renwick is a very good one and contains matter which we cannot well spare. I have sent it on however and hope that it will be printed in some form or other. Could not the critical notice of Mr. Treadwell be incorporated into it? The work of Strickland is one of no small importance, and is got up at an expense quite unusual in this country. It seems to be deserving of more notice than could be taken of it in a page or two. Or if this plan will not answer could not Mr. R's article be provided with a new title and placed in the Miscellaneous department? One of these things, I should imagine, might easily be done.

I send you also an article on Alexanders "Canon of the Scriptures" by Mr. William Ware and another on "Thoughts on Banking" by Mr. W. H. Coleman. The latter has been examined by some of our most erudite political economists here, and as they approve of it I think it extremely safe to publish it, more especially as Mr. Coleman has studied very carefully and for a considerable time the subjects on which he has touched and has the reputation of understanding them very well. He desires however to be kept anonymous, as there are some brokers of his acquaintance of a different opinion from himself and being ill, does not want to have any controversy.

You have shortened somewhat the time allowed me to get my articles to Boston but as you have only given me information of it since the month came in you must excuse me for not obeying you this time. I will endeavor to do it hereafter.

Mr. Renwick Mr. Ware & Mr. Coleman are men who write for *pay*. The first and last of these articles, I hope you will contrive to put at all events into the next number as I promised the writers it

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

should be done, and my promise was made before you informed me that the first of the month was not soon enough.

In respect to Mr. G. Mellen's poetry we are quite agreed. Our *concern* is too poor to buy much poetry; and I dare say that Mr. Mellen will make more by writing prize poems than he could by writing poetry for us at the rate we can afford to pay. I have handed to Mr. Helleck the author of "Fanny" & of "Croaker" a copy of the first and second number; and unless he disappoints me much I shall have from him something for the next No. He is exceedingly popular here—more so than you can well imagine—and a little assistance from him would help the work exceedingly.

"Sandoval," "Boyne Water," & the "other novel" you are welcome to. I have not read them, and do not intend to do it, nor am I certain that I can get any body to notice them. For your next I shall have an article on Jicotenal a Mexican Tale by a Spaniard of this city¹³—another on a translation of "Las Partidas" or the code of Spanish Law lately published in Louisiana with such other matters as it may please fortune to send in my way.

As for Mrs. Hemans have you forgotten my telling you that Mr. Bancroft of Northampton requested of me some time since while I was editor of the N. Y. Review the privilege of reviewing that work when it appeared, and that I promised it to him? And do you not recollect that I desired, that if you had no objection, he might be permitted to do it—and that you agreed to it? I cannot, to be sure, recollect quite so well as Mrs. Quickly, in another case, whether you were at that time sitting by a sea-coal fire or not, nor what dish you were eating, nor whether it was Wednesday, nor who came into the room nor what the person who came into the room said; but I recollect the *substance of the conversation* very well which is as much as is necessary, and I have no doubt that you do also on being reminded of it. I spoke to Mr. Bancroft about it afterwards and I suppose he expects to do it. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Bancroft's poetical talent, of which there are some specimens in Cary & Lea's *Souvenir* of this year, he shows no want of ability in prose.

Make what you please of the article on Brooks's poem. I will give you in my next, what you desire, an abstract of *my opinions* on the U. S. Review & Literary Gazette and its several articles.

My compliments to Mrs. Folsom & believe me

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

I observe that copies of the U. S. Review are sent hither to several editors of Newspapers who publish the contents of the numbers as a kind of equivalent. These are the "Statesman," the "National

13. See "Americana," XXX (October, 1936), 581-83.

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Advocate" and the "Daily Advertiser." Of these the two former have a small circulation, and neither of the three ever have noticed or ever would notice the work in any other way than by performing the bargain that is by publishing a list of the contents. There are other papers whose opinions on subjects of literature are somewhat more likely to be right, who have a larger circulation & whose editors are either my personal friends or acquainted with me & well disposed towards me. These, such as the Editor, of the "N. Y. American," the "Commercial Advertiser," the "Enquirer" as it is now conducted, the "Times" &c. do not receive the work—yet they are friendly to it—and all noticed the union of the two journals in the kindest terms.

X

NEW YORK Dec 8, 1826

MY DEAR SIR

I send you two Critical Notices with Dr. Lindsley's pamphlet. I have also enclosed a *good deal* of poetry—more perhaps than can be printed in the next No. The articles sent me by Mr. Wigglesworth I do not return because I have not had time to examine and correct them.

The poem on Burns is by *Halleck* the author of Fanny and is altogether [the] noblest monument that has been erected to the memory of him whom it celebrates. It is the tribute of one great poet to the genius of another. You will oblige me by giving it the first place among the poetry of the January number. It will have a great run here, as everything written by Halleck is sought and read with the greatest eagerness. Halleck of all the literary men of the age except the author of the Waverly novels is the most universal favorite with the New York public. The poem entitled My Native Village is by a brother of mine—that entitled "A Changeful Picture" is anonymous. The translation from Heredia is not *wholly* made by myself and therefore I have not felt justified in putting my signature to it. It seems to me that the poetry of Heredia is the best which has been written about the Great American Cataract.

Mr. Halleck is fond of having his poetry handsomely, and correctly printed, and as he was not to see the proof sheet he showed some anxiety on the subject. I tranquillised him by referring to your well-known care and accuracy, and promised in your name that his poem should have all the advantages which typographical arrangement correct orthography and careful punctuation could give it. I hope you will not disclaim my authority to make such a promise.

I am in hopes of getting up a kind of association of literary gentlemen here each of whom will contribute yearly a certain proportion—a small one—to the contents of our journal—Mr. Verplanck sug-

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

gested it, the other day and offered to be one of them—provided 7 or 8 others could be induced to engage in it.

I would write about some further matters as I promised to do in my last—but the boat would be off before I could finish my letter.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

P. S. I see nothing of the Review of Brooks's poem—I fear his friends will grow impatient.

XI

NEW YORK Jan 1, 1827

DEAR SIR

I sent you a Review of the Catalogue of the Exhibition of the National Academy of Design. I send at present part of it only but you will receive the rest in 3 or 4 days at farthest, as the gentleman who is writing it only retains the last sheets in his hands to make a few additions & alterations. It may make 16 or 17 pages. I wish you would give it as conspicuous a place in the Review as possible as it is a subject quite interesting to us in New York and somewhat so to other cities.

I have been so ill lately as to be unable to write myself but you shall have a notice of the Prairies next week. I am out of poetry. If you have any I want it.

Coopers pamphlet on the Constitution relates to a question that divides the two parties of the U. S. I should think it had better not be meddled with at least as respects that question. If Mr. Everett reviews Clay's speeches I hope he will also steer clear of that question—since it is made a party question—and that he will not get in any of his *new fashioned* notions on political economy.

I think Verplanck will be persuaded to review Cooper's Political Economy but I will let you know next week. If he will not I think Porter will do it well.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

XII

DEAR SIR

I shall send a notice of the Prairie,¹⁴ & by and by something about Keppels Travels. The rest of the books mentioned in Mr. Wigglesworth's letters I am willing to leave to you.

There are several works published your way which you do not seize upon. Some of them . . .¹⁵ Johnston's Narrative, Porter's Analysis, Miss Bowdlin Rambles in Germany &c. &c. &c.—What do you mean to do with all these?

14. See the "United States Review and Literary Gazette," II (July, 1827), 306-08.

15. Two or three words are badly scribbled at this point and cannot be deciphered.

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

I sent 3 months ago a review of Lindley Murray's *Life*. I have not heard of it since. I sent also in some of the last days of last April a review of Mercier's *Discourse on Education* as a part of my contribution for the *June No.*¹⁶ Will you inform me whether you have received it?

The enclosed is the rest of Mr. Morse's article on the Exhibition—Mr. S. F. B. Morse the painter & president of the National Academy.—He is to be kept anonymous. It is of the utmost importance that the article should appear in the July No. If the whole cannot be got in it may be printed.¹⁷ I shall write again this week.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

MR. FOLSOM

XIII

DEAR SIR

The above lines are by Sands. I sent you the beginning of this week an article by Mr. Morse who is to be kept anonymous. I wish that that article should be considered as a part of my contribution for the July No. so far as is necessary but if what I have sent exceeds my 20 pages I wish that for the surplus he may be paid by the proprietors. The rest I shall advance myself. I have been somewhat out of health and unable to write till lately. I have for that reason sent no [?] verses of my own.—Ilanthe is Miss Manley—an old correspondent of the *U. S. Lit. Gaz.*

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

I shall review Millers Letters on Clerical Habits¹⁸—

XIV

DEAR SIR

I believe that you may as well get a review of the *Life of Napoleon* in your quarter. Dr. Anderson has called to tell me that he could not make an article on Everett's *America* that would not lose us 150 subscribers in Boston. The work is exclusively unpopular here. It is a political work as it seems to me, and if it were laid on the same shelf with Cooper's pamphlet on the Constitution no harm would be done I think. Verplanck has talked about an article on Coopers Political Economy, but he is lazy and I believe will never do it. Suppose you give the book to Porter.

16. The review of Charles Fenlon Mercier's "A Discourse on Popular Education" appeared in the July, 1827, issue.

17. That is how the sentence reads in the original. Did Bryant mean that it could be printed in part? Two words may possibly have been omitted in the haste of writing.

18. At the bottom of this letter appears a note scrawled by Edward Wigglesworth and signed "EW.": "Ilanthe, I asked B't who she was."

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

Mr. Blunt wants to exchange his American Annual Register for the U. S. Review. I have no objection if the other proprietors agree to it. I am making a notice of "Elliott's Address."

I have heard nothing from you about the review of Lindley Murray' life and Mercier's discourse.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

The review of Fowle's Grammar is much liked here—& also that of Brown's philosophy. I inclose the poetry you sent to me the other day—a little altered.

XV

Feb 9, 1827

DEAR SIR

I send notices of "Letters from the Bahama Islands" & "Simms's poems," and of "Almack" and "Paul Jones." The two latter are written by R. C. Sands Esq. who wrote the translation of the "Stars" from De La Martine in the last No. and who will expect to be paid for this and also, as I should have mentioned before, for the Stars, the poetry to be paid for of course at the same rate as the prose.

I send also some verses of my own and the poem by Digamma, who as you may perhaps know is Professor G. W. Doane of the new College at Hartford (Conn.) He has published a volume of poems, and although *somewhat* inferior to Lord Byron and a few others in the poetic line, is said to be a good scholar and a man of considerable talent. I do not think the verses enclosed particularly fine, but they will do, and the author has written and may write better.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

XVI

NEW YORK March 20 1827

MY DEAR SIR

I ought to have answered some things in your letters earlier, but some how it has happened that whenever I have written to you lately it has been in haste so that I was obliged to defer or at least forget many things which I had to say.

In answer to a question you put me some time since concerning the nature of the articles furnished from your quarter and the manner in which the work has been conducted there, I answer that I have been well pleased with the former, and particularly gratified with the latter. I believe that the later numbers are, if any thing, superior to the others and as far as I can judge the work is gaining in the good will of the public. I have however something to say on two or three articles. In the first place, although I doubt not that the utmost care

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

is taken to prevent it, one or two articles of intelligence have found their way into our pages which are not quite new. For example the "Chinese advertisement" in the first No. was published in *all* the newspapers five or six years ago. The "Turkish Anecdote" is more modern but I have seen it before—I cannot tell where—some time since. I do not know from what source this part of the Journal is gleaned but I should think the *Revue Encyclopedique*, might furnish a good many valuable items. It seemed to me that the article on Williston's Tacitus was too caustic and contemptuous in its tone. Had you no doubts about the insertion of "Micromegas"? It was well translated I allow—exceedingly so—but it is not new to many of our subscribers in N. Y. who have read Voltaire in the original. Besides, *Micromegas* has been translated into English already—the translation was published in London in 1753 along with that of the *Universal History*. It has been intimated to me that the extracts from the eulogies on Adams and Jefferson were a little too liberal for the taste of readers in this quarter—but this remark might have its origin in a feeling of local jealousy—the authors of these eulogies being all except Mr. Sergeant New Englanders.

As to Jones's Indian Tales of which you ask my opinion I confess that I did not like his Nantucket at all—the attempt at humour was too violent and outrageous if I may so speak. But the "Indian Tradition" I thought a great deal better—indeed it was quite good in its way—with the exception of the interview between the Great Spirit and the Evil Spirit which is altogether too extravagant for my taste. This tale if divested of the blemish to which I allude I should think a desirable contribution—but of the nature of the rest in Mr. Jones's collection I can of course form no judgment.

Prof. Renwick's article of which you speak occasioned no complaint here. I believe it is thought a fair exposition of the imperfections of the plan of execution of the Grand Canal.

And as to the article entitled "Nature" before I give my opinion of it, I would say that it is in high favour with readers here. Several persons for whose literary opinions I have great respect voluntarily expressed to me the pleasure they had experienced in reading it—among these was Miss Sedgwick the author of *Redwood*. I said that I thought parts of it a little obscure—but I could not find any body to agree with me. This obscurity is in fact my principal objection to it—but even with this defect, which does not after all exist in it to a very great degree I like the article. I like it, partly because it is an instance of the moral and intellectual speculation which is rare in our country, and which therefore I think may very agreeably diversify the pages of our journal. I do not understand the author as you seem to do, to bring a general condemnation against learning, and

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if he does, I do not agree with him. I understand him to say that too close and exclusive attention to particulars is apt to disqualify the mind for broad and comprehensive views of things. This I believe is as true as that a man who gives his sole attention to watchmaking will not be likely to be a good architect. This however is, or should be, no objection to the trade of watchmaking, for we must have watchmakers and we must have architects. I am myself an admirer of learning though not one of her most favoured admirers—but I would not exclude speculations on the moral and intellectual capacities of our nature when they were ingenious and intelligible, particularly from the Miscellaneous part of our Journal. With respect to the style of "Nature" I must confess I do not see any great objection that can be made to it, except the mistiness in one or two places.

Of Swedenborg I only know that I cannot either understand or read his works—Concerning Mr. Reed I agree with you. And as to Wordsworth, although he is a sort of poetical master of mine I do not believe that we should much disagree in opinion. I like his Peter Bell tho! To my shame be it spoken I had never read it when I received your letter, but I have read it since with great pleasure, and think that Wordsworth has written worse things. Wordsworth has his faults and among them is I think a want of terseness, an occasional wire drawing and extenuation of meaning which I do not like and should be loth to imitate. But his spirituality and his vein of lofty and profound meditation I admire and am awed by it whenever I take up his works. I think that in the literature of our own country as compared with that of England there is apparent something of a worldly material spirit such as might be expected in the literature of a people devoted to trade and gain. I could wish that the same remedy might be applied with a view of correcting our character through our literature—but I do not know that it is possible. You see Sir that this is a subject upon which much may be said. I shall leave it with observing that I am not more a friend to childishness or obscurity than you are. I do not feel any strong sympathy for the former and the latter I labour to avoid.—

I do not know who W. G. C. is—but he has lately written me from Onondaga in the western part of this State enclosing a poem which I fear I cannot publish. The Reviewer of Mr. Brooks was at first a little ill-natured about the alterations in his article but I apologized for you as well as I could. He wishes that the article might be sent to him. If you have it by you I wish you would let it be sent to me with some of the parcels that come to N. Y. but I would not make a very *painful* search after it—for really I hope you have lost it. Mrs. Simmons also wants the manuscript of her husbands letters entitled Letters from an Adventurer in London or England I forget

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which. I hope they are preserved for the poor woman has dunned me several times for them. Will you be so good as to send them out to me if they are to be found. I suppose that Mr. Wigglesworth will know something about them.

Mr. Grenville Mellen wrote me a very long and strange letter about three months ago and since that he has written me a very short one. He wants to get back some poetry of his which he thinks I have got, and also speaks of a prose contribution to this Journal. For my own part I am innocent of having in my possession any thing of Mr. Mellen's writing but his letters. He says that he has written to you on the subject but has received no answer. I have seen I believe two of his poems and sent them to Boston again—His prose I never heard of before.

Mr. Renwick told me the other day that if I pleased he would prepare an article on Sganzi's Civil Engineering a work published I believe at Boston. As it had been published some time, and you had done nothing about it I told him I thought he might venture to do it. If you have disposed of the work or have any objection to Mr. Renwick's making an article of it will you inform me immediately. Mr. Halleck was quite pleased with the manner in which his poems were printed in the Review—but I suppose the newspaper Editors in Boston do not know that there is such a work as ours for I saw the poem on Burns in the Evening Gazette, credited to the Montreal Herald. Cary & Lea manage differently. I do not suppose there is an Editor of a Newspaper in America to whom they have not sent their new "Quarterly" with a written request that it might be noticed.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

I have no great objection to reviewing Milton's Prose works but I cannot do it for the next No. Such a book you know must be read with great care—and reflected upon a great deal.

I have received no list of the names of the contributors to the two last numbers of the Journal. It places me in rather an awkward situation not to know the names of the authors of the articles in a work of which I am one of the Editors. I ought to be able to answer the first inquiries on the subject—as a knowledge of the writers adds much to the interest of such a work. Could not the names be sent me along with the 6 copies forwarded me? I should think that the most (*sic*) way, and it would be the best way as respects myself.

XVII

N. Y. Apl 5 1827

DEAR SIR

I send you an article on Dr. Clarke. I suppose you have the book at Boston. If there are inaccuracies in the language I beg you will

LETTERS BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

correct them. I send you also some poetry I have received from Jones. He wishes that the three sonnets should not all appear in the same No. I wish you therefore to print the first and second in the next No. and retain the other for the June No.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

P. S. Next week I shall send you some verses of my own & some critical notices.—

XVIII

NEW YORK Apl 11 1827

DEAR SIR

I send you a batch of poetry which I have been trying to patch up for the U. S. Review. Some critical notices which I intended to send are not finished. They will make up 2 or 3 pages & will go by the next boat.

I am obliged to your attention in regard to the names of writers of the articles.

I have just read an article in the Statesman of yr city on the March No. The writer of it complains that we review books that have been published a good while. I cannot believe however that he very sincerely disapproves this practice since his own article on the *March* No. is published on the 9th of *April* several days after the *April* No. was out.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

I send also a sentence or two about Mr. Cubi's proposed work which I suppose may go in at the end of the list of New publications.

XIX

NEW YORK Apl 12, 1827.

DEAR SIR

I send you Notices of *Tor Hill* & another Book. If the article about the *Fine Arts* in the reign of Charles is not printed I think it would not be best to do it—for I have just seen it in a Weekly newspaper.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

XX

DEAR SIR

I send you a notice of *Del Mar's Sp. Grammar* by Mr. Stoddard formerly a Tutor at Yale College, & one of the *Biblical Repository*, & two pieces of poetry.

I shall have by & by something about *Sismondi's History of the Literature of the South*, & *Dr. Miller's Clerical Manners & Habits*.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

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DEAR SIR

XXI

I send you a review of Mercer's discourse &c by Miss Robbins. I shall pay for this article myself and it will therefore be included in my 20 pages. I also send a piece of poetry by Ianthe—(Miss Manley).

I shall shortly send something more. I mean to do something with Everetts America—but it is difficult to know how to treat it. I think it contains some capital errors—and what perplexes me more, it has a political tendency, more properly speaking a leaning upon some of the questions that divide the principal parties in the country. I spoke to a distinguished literary gentleman about making a review of it, but he, after having read it, said that he could not make such a review as I would be willing to publish.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

MR. FOLSOM

XXII

I have marked a passage at the end of Mr. Ware's article which I think should be struck out—as it may not be palatable to the orthodox. If there should be any other passages in it that might be impolitic to publish please to leave them out. If you should see any errors in style either in his article or the two others you will not displease the writers by correcting them.

Very truly yrs

W. C. BRYANT

DEAR SIR

XXIII

N. Y. Aug 10 1827

I send you a Tale which has given me some trouble to write—A page or two more will be sent on, next Monday which will finish it. I shall send some poetry and perhaps a critical notice or two. I expected a Review of Miss S's Book Hope Leslie—but it does not come.

Yrs truly

W. C. BRYANT

DEAR SIR

XXIV

N Y Aug. 13, 1827

I send you a critical notice of Sismondi—a sonnet & the rest of the story.—There are several books lately published here of which I think I shall have to notice for your next—The Baroness of Reidesdel—Nide Hunfret [?] &c.

Yrs truly

Hope Leslie I suppose I shall have a review of by & by.

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XXV

DEAR SIR

"Hope Leslie" has been placed by Miss Sedgwick's brother in the hands of a person who has undertaken to give a review of it. Indisposition has prevented its being ready for this number. The other books you mention you may take if you please.

The address of Mr. Elliot, which I send you to print from I wish you would return, as it belongs to Mr. Verplanck. Along with this I send you some poetry of my own, a piece signed W. G. C. . . . by Willis G. Clarke of Onondaga, another signed J. H. B. by my brother, with several from your quarter, and two reviews.

You put a heavy load on my shoulders in printing the article on Clay's Speeches, and I have had occasion for some dexterity in parrying the attacks made upon me for it. Clay is a political man and the article is written by one of Clay's political admirers and of course, cannot be expected to suit those who are not of that class. Besides, I have some doubts whether a literary journal is the place for discussing the questions concerning the propriety of Mr. Clay's appointment as Secretary of State. For my part I always thought the appointment a very bad one—never having much respect for Mr. Clay's principles nor a high estimate of his political knowledge. But the article has been inserted and though I cannot say much for it I put the best face on the matter I can.

I like Metcalfe's article and not only consent but even wish that it may be published with the exception of one or two sentences through which I have drawn a pencil. These passages contain sentiments in which I cannot quite agree with the writer.

Yrs truly


Pioneers of the Rock-Bound Coast

BY GLEASON L. ARCHER, LL. D., BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
PRESIDENT, SUFFOLK UNIVERSITY

(PART IV)

CHAPTER XIII

HIGGINSON'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA

HERE is one phase of colonial migration of our forefathers of which we have a very inadequate understanding. To cross the Atlantic in a modern steamship, with every comfort and luxury that has been devised by man in the past three centuries, is a very different experience from that of the emigrants who came to New England three centuries ago. Fortunately for us some of our early colonists set down in writing the chief events of their long voyage to America.

Before taking up in detail the events that followed the arrival of the six transport ships at their destination on the Massachusetts coast, let us look into a typical ocean voyage such as every colonist encountered in paying the price of emigration to the New World.

Aboard the good ship "Talbot" was a clergyman named Francis Higginson, who apparently possessed all the instincts of a modern journalist. The voyage, to him, was a memorable experience. He was destined to end his days in America scarcely more than a year after his arrival. But his observations on the New England voyage will keep his memory green for centuries.

This remarkable man was about forty years of age at the time of the migration. He had been educated at Cambridge and had served for years as a clergyman of the Established Church. Through study of the Scriptures and association with Puritan leaders he eventually became a non-conformist. He was accordingly ousted from his pulpit in England, but was so highly esteemed by his congregation that a lectureship was established for him, and supported by voluntary contributions for some years.



MONHEGAN'S ROCKY SHORE



MONHEGAN ISLAND
Granite Battlements that Defy Time and Tide and Tempest

PIONEERS OF THE ROCK-BOUND COAST

He embarked on the "Talbot" with his wife and eight children, the oldest of whom was but thirteen at the time. In speaking of the embarkation from England, Higginson declares:

But we that were in the "Talbot" and the "Lion's Whelp," being ready for our voyage, by the good hand of God's Providence, hoisted up sail from Gravesend on Saturday the 25th of April, about seven o'clock in the morning. Having but a faint wind we could not go far that day, but at night we anchored against Leigh which is twelve miles from Gravesend, and there we rested that night and kept the Sabbath the next day.

It will be remembered that Gravesend is on the south bank of the Thames. The two ships were facing the necessity of threading the difficult channel by which shipping reached the open sea. This explains Higginson's next entry:

On Monday we set forward and came to the Flats, a passage somewhat difficult by reason of the narrowness of the channel and the shallowness of the water; and going over this we were in some danger; for our ship being heavy laden and drawing deep water, was sensibly felt of us all to strike three or four times on the ground. But the wind blowing somewhat strong, we were carried swiftly on, and at last by God's blessing, came safe to anchor at Gorin road.

The place referred to was a favorite anchorage of large ships bound for the Downs. The Downs, or Dunes, is a famous roadstead for ships, eight miles long and six miles wide along the south-east coast of Kent in England north of Dover. It was not until Wednesday that the "Talbot" and the "Lion's Whelp" reached the Downs. Here they were treated to an unpleasant taste of life on the ocean wave. "Thursday, Friday and Saturday," Higginson writes, "the wind blew hard from the southwest, and caused our ship to dance; divers of our passengers, and my wife especially, were sea-sick. Here the King's ship called the "Assurance" pressed two of our mariners. Here we saw many porpoises playing in the sea, which they say is a sign of foul weather."

A circumstance now developed that caused no end of concern to all those who shared the dread secret. A passenger named Browne who had joined the Company at Gravesend had been ill at the time. The ship's physician now discovered to his horror that the man was ill of smallpox. Such a contagion on shipboard could be exceedingly serious.

PIONEERS OF THE ROCK-BOUND COAST

On the following Monday when the "Talbot" was passing the chalk cliffs of Dover the passengers were greatly alarmed to see six or seven sail of Spanish privateers from the French coast bearing down upon them. England and Spain were then at war. To capture English ships heavily laden with goods, was the ambition of these lurking enemies. Many a craft on its way to America had been seized by them and carried in triumph to some Spanish port.

Fortunately for the "Talbot" it was not alone. During her delay in the Downs several other well-armed ships had joined her. For mutual protection they had set forth together. This explains Higginson's next remark:

But it seemed they (*i. e.*, the pursuers) saw our Company was too strong for them, . . . so they returned back from pursuing us any longer.

Attended by favorable winds the voyagers soon reached the Isle of Wight. A delay was encountered at this place. The ship anchored between the island and the mainland. Ten days on shipboard and the near presence of land evidently created a great desire on the part of Mrs. Higginson to step foot once more on English soil.

The condition of the wind indicated the necessity of remaining at the anchorage in the harbor of Cowes, Isle of Wight. The clergyman accordingly prevailed upon the captain to permit a small group of women, under Higginson's escort, to go ashore at Cowes to refresh themselves and to wash their linen. The old adage, wind and tide wait for no man—or woman—now had its verification. The wind suddenly turned during the night. The "Talbot" hoisted sail and moved on down the inner channel, leaving the Higginson party in the village of Cowes. Can we not imagine the consternation and alarm of the unhappy group next morning when they reached the dock to find that the ship had vanished? Mrs. Higginson had one daughter with her, Mary, a pitifully deformed child of four, but the other seven children were on shipboard. The clergyman endeavored to pacify the anxious women by assuring them that the ship could not go far without encountering adverse winds. The channel between the Isle of Wight and the mainland was difficult for sailing ships, and the wind and tide must be utilized when it served them well. Higginson argued that the captain would not desert the party, and so it

PIONEERS OF THE ROCK-BOUND COAST

proved, for during the morning all anxiety was removed by the appearance of a shallop sent back from the "Talbot" to fetch the marooned passengers.

The ship was then anchored at Yarmouth, eight miles away. The shallop had no sooner put out from Cowes than it encountered a very choppy sea, causing the small craft to wallow in a manner that soon brought distress to the passengers. When five miles had been covered the women begged so hard to be put ashore and permitted to walk the remaining three miles that the kindhearted mariners consented. The physical condition of the party when they straggled into Yarmouth was such that they were obliged to lodge in the town over night rather than go aboard the ship. The fact that the vessel was unable to leave the harbor for three days afforded an additional respite and the group did not again board the "Talbot" until Saturday.

They had not long been aboard the ship before excitement occurred over the visit of a press gang from the English Navy, the second experience of its kind since leaving Gravesend. As before indicated, England was then at war with Spain. The "press gang" was an agency much resorted to to fill up the ranks of the navy. A group of mariners, headed by a naval officer, would visit ships in harbors, or even overhaul vessels along the coast. Young and well-favored seamen were quite likely to be seized upon and carried off bodily if they offered resistance. Two of the "Talbot's" crew had been seized in the previous visitation. This second press gang seized two others. But captain and passengers joined in entreaty that the men be spared. They pointed out that the crew was already short-handed and that the lives of all aboard might pay the penalty for any further weakening of the crew. The press officer relented to the extent of releasing one of the captives.

The dreaded epidemic of smallpox had not yet manifested itself on shipboard. The unfortunate Browne had been kept apart from the other passengers as much as possible, but the ship's doctor, the captain and a few of those who knew the true nature of his malady were on the lookout for suspicious illnesses.

The Sabbath day was always very strictly observed by the Puritans and so we find the "Talbot" and its consort, the "Lion's Whelp," tarrying in Yarmouth Harbor all day Sunday. Higginson preached a sermon on shipboard during the morning. In the afternoon he was

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set ashore to preach in Yarmouth, where he was entertained by Captain Burleigh of Yarmouth Castle, an aged sea captain who had served under Queen Elizabeth.

Monday morning blew a fair wind from east southeast [declared Higginson], and the "Lion's Whelp" having taken in all her provisions for passengers, about three of the clock in the afternoon we hoisted sail for the Needles, and by God's guidance safely passed that narrow passage a little after four o'clock in the afternoon; and being entered into the sea, from the top of the mast we discerned four sail of ships lying southward from us. But night coming on, we took in our long boat and shallop, and the next day we had a fair gale of easterly wind, that brought us toward night as far as the Lizard.

The Lizard, it should be explained, is a cape that extends into the ocean on the coast of Cornwall. It is about twenty miles from Land's End, which the ships passed early on the following day. The last sight of one's native land receding on the ocean horizon when setting forth on a hazardous voyage is bound to be an event of major importance to landmen.

Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," has furnished us with some details of Higginson's farewell to England that do not appear in the original narrative. We quote the following:

When they came to Land's End, Mr. Higginson, calling up his children and other passengers unto the stern of the ship, to take their last sight of England, said, "We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome! but we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practise the positive part of Church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America!" And so he concluded with a fervent prayer for the King, and Church and State, in England, and for the presence and blessing of God with themselves in their present undertaking for New England.

Thus after nineteen days in the coastal waters of England the two ships turned their prows westward and entered upon the real voyage to America. These sailing ships were tiny in comparison to our modern ocean liners. They were veritable cockleshells in the grip of the long surges of the open sea. In a brisk breeze, more-

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over, the ship's decks were always ailt from the strain of the wind in the canvas. This gives point to the following observations by the Rev. Higginson:

We passed the Isles of Scilly, and launched the same day a great way into the main ocean. And now my wife and other passengers began to feel the tossing waves of the western sea, and so were very sea-sick . . . Thursday (May 14) the same easterly wind blew all day and night and the next day, so that some of the seamen thought we had come by this time two hundred leagues (*i. e.*, six hundred miles) from England; but toward night the wind was calm.

The ships now experienced one of those intervals of idleness to which all sailing craft were subject. The waves flattened out. The sea became like glass. The ships' sails were useless, there being no breeze whatever. Friday, Saturday and Sunday it was the same story. On Sunday morning, while they were engaged in church service, a breeze from the northwest, which was worse than none at all, being adverse, sprung up to afflict them.

On the wings of this unfriendly breeze a hostile man-of-war came out of the west and bore down upon the two ships. All was now bustle and confusion on shipboard. If a sea fight were to occur the "Talbot" and the "Lion's Whelp" must haul in their sea anchors and be ready for the manœuvres needful to bring their cannon into play.

The frightened passengers gazed with fascinated eyes upon the ocean drama in which they were so vitally concerned. The blue ocean touched the horizon on all sides and nowhere in all that expanse was there a sign of life except for their own and their sister ship, with the ominous stranger drawing nearer every minute. That the English ships intended to offer battle rather than attempt to outtail the newcomer had its effect upon the warship itself. Its commander was evidently fearful of approaching within easy cannon shot until he had investigated the naval strength of the English ships.

The hostile craft suddenly hove to and presently sent out its long boat, manned with brawny sailors, to reconnoiter. Not averse to this inspection the crews of the two ships greeted with derisive shouts the cautious approach of the long boat. Out of musket shot at all times the boat made a half-circuit of the English ships and then rowed lustily back to the parent ship.

The two clergymen, Rev. Ralph Smith being also aboard the "Talbot," had seized upon this exciting experience to implore the aid

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and protection of God upon their frightened congregation. As if in answer to their prayers they now saw the strange ship hoist sails and turn, not in their direction, but toward the eastern horizon.

The anxiety had no sooner been dispelled than an ominous development aboard the "Talbot" brought fear to every heart. For several days two of the Higginson children had been ailing. Samuel, a child of eight, and little four-year-old Mary were the victims. The mother had considered the matter of slight importance. Small children were subject to illnesses of one kind or another. For that reason Mrs. Higginson could not understand her husband's obvious alarm over the children's condition, nor the anxiety of the ship's doctor. It was only when she came hurrying on deck to fetch her husband at the close of the scene just described and to tell him that little Mary was delirious, her skin blotched and purple, that she learned the truth. The child had smallpox!

"And little Sammy? Is that what ails him?"

"Yes, my dear. It is more than possible that what ails the one ails the other also. I will call the doctor and hurry to our quarters with all speed."

Thus the dread scourge of smallpox broke out on the crowded emigrant ship. All day Monday contrary winds held the ships to bare poles, hove-to, drifting with their sea anchors. Little Mary Higginson was now desperately ill. For more than a year she had been afflicted with a curvature of the spine. The joints of her hips had become loosened and her knees deformed, a circumstance that had made her parents especially tender toward her. The smallpox had smitten her with great violence. By Tuesday afternoon her condition had become so critical that the doctor gave up all hope of saving the child. True to his prediction she died that evening. Her sorrowing father made the following entry in his journal:

And so it was God's will the child died about five of the clock at night, being the first of our ship that was buried in the bowels of the great Atlantic sea; which, as it was a grief to us her parents, and a terror to all the rest, as being the beginning of a contagious disease and mortality, so in the same judgment it pleased God to remember mercy in the child in freeing it from a world of misery, wherein otherwise she had lived all her days. . . . So in respect to her we had cause to take her death as a blessing from the Lord to shorten her misery.

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Rain and adverse winds marked with gloom the day following the burial of the first victim of the dread pestilence. The eight-year-old son of the clergyman continued to be very ill. "Thus it pleased God to lay His hand upon us by sickness and death and contrary winds," writes the chronicler of the voyage, "and stirred up some of us to make a motion of humbling ourselves under the hand of God by keeping a solemn day of fasting and prayer unto God, to beseech him to remove the continuance and further increase of these evils from us; which was willingly condescended unto, as a duty very fitting and needful for our present state and condition."

This period of fasting and prayer was continued during the following day. The Rev. Ralph Smith joined with Rev. Francis Higginson in conducting religious services. They had the great satisfaction at nightfall of a sudden shifting of the wind to a favorable quarter. After six days of adverse conditions the ships were able to resume their progress toward New England.

By Saturday the anxious parents were beginning to entertain hope that their small son might live through the smallpox ordeal. The other children had thus far been immune from contagion. Several days of prosperous wind sped them on their way, but on May 26 a sudden tempest bore down upon them from the north that, as Higginson expressed it, "hoisted up the waves and tossed us more than ever before, and held us all the day till towards night." This storm proved so violent that a large dog belonging to Mr. Goffe, the Deputy-Governor of the Company, was thrown overboard by a sudden lurching of the ship. Despite every effort of the sailors the dog was lost. It should be explained that Goffe himself never came to America, yet, like other capitalists who had invested in the stock of the Company, he was allotted land for a plantation. The dog in question was evidently intended to guard the Goffe sheep from wolves that roamed the forests of New England.

The voyagers were not delivered from the dangers of the deep by the dying down of the gale at nightfall of May 26. The following day is thus vividly recorded by Mr. Higginson:

Wednesday the wind still north, and calm in the morning; but about noon there arose a south wind which increased more and more, so that it seemed to us, that are landsmen, a sore and terrible storm; for the wind blew mightily, the rain fell vehemently, the sea roared,

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and the waves tossed us horribly; besides it was fearful dark, and the mariner's mate was afraid, and noise on the other side, with their running here and there, and crying one to another to pull at this and that rope. The waves poured themselves over the ship, that the two boats (*i. e.*, the long boat and the shallop) were filled with water, that they were fain to strike holes in the midst of them to let the water out. Yea, by the violence of the waves the long-boat's cord, which held it, was broken, and it had like to have been washed overboard, had not the mariners, with much pain and danger, recovered the same. But this lasted not many hours, after which it became a calmish day.

The pious chronicler explains with evident satisfaction that while all this hullabaloo of wind and rain was in progress he was meditating upon a difficult portion of the One Hundred and Seventh Psalm and that he arrived at a satisfactory solution of its scriptural meaning. Little progress in their journey was made for some days.

On June 1 they began to experience sultry air and unwholesome fogs. Some of the Company were ill with scurvy. Many others were now down with smallpox. Fortunately the pestilence was of a mild character and no serious cases were now under observation. The situation on shipboard, however, was so critical that the two clergymen resolved upon another day of fasting and prayer, scheduled for the next morning, in a hope that the Lord might favor them with prosperous winds. Their faith was more abundantly rewarded than they had reason to hope, as will appear from the following quotation:

The Lord that day heard us before we prayed, and gave us answer before we called; for early in the morning the wind turned full east, being as fit a wind as could blow; and sitting in my study on the ship's poop, I saw many bonny fishes (*i. e.*, bonitos) and porpoises pursuing one another, and leaping some of them a yard above the water. Also, as we were at prayer under the hatch, some that were above saw a whale puffing up water not far from the ship. Now my wife was pretty well recovered from her seasickness.

With this cheerful note we conclude the first half of the voyage to New England for on June 5, 1629, the captain estimated that they were now half way to their destination.

They encountered icebergs on June 11, thus indicating that they had reached the Labrador current. Observing that one mountainous iceberg was aground and that the strong current was apparently powerless to move it, they dropped a sounding lead and found a bank of



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A Lighthouse that Looks Upon the Sea

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forty fathoms, or about two hundred and forty feet. The mariners estimated that the iceberg towered at least that distance above the water. Evidences of the nearness of land now cheered the voyagers. Water fowl in great numbers also appeared in the vicinity of the ship.

The two vessels were striving to keep within signalling distance. On the 15th of May they ran into a heavy fog and lost sight of each other. This fog continued despite the fact that a brisk breeze was blowing. Since there was no other shipping afloat in the great ocean the mariners continued their southeasterly progress, sailing briskly through the damp gloom and taking some chances with the floating mountains of ice of which present-day mariners are so fearful while traversing the Labrador current. The "Talbot" quite naturally lost its sister ship during this day and a half of blind sailing in the gloom of the fog. They had beaten their drum at intervals and anxiously listened for a response, but in vain!

The Rev. Higginson makes record that while they were engaged in a general prayer service on the deck of the "Talbot" on June 16 the fog suddenly lifted, and they sighted the missing ship far away. The captain of the "Talbot" immediately tacked in order to approach the other. The "Lion's Whelp" was observed to be executing a like manœuvre to hasten their meeting when the heavy cloud of fog again descended to the water's edge, blotting out all view of one another.

By good fortune, however, the ships succeeded in approaching near enough so that the drum beat on the deck of the one could be heard on the deck of the other. Thus guided the vessels made a cautious approach and the commanders presently conferred together.

Despite the fact that the fog was now thicker than before so that the passengers of the respective ships could not see each other, they resumed their journey, sounding now and then to guard against the danger of encountering land. To their surprise the mariners found themselves in forty fathoms of water, which shortly decreased to thirty-six. Later soundings disclosed a depth of thirty-three fathoms. The depth continued to decrease at an alarming rate. In thick fog they feared running aground and so changed their course until they were in deeper water. In the process, however, the two ships became again separated and not even cannon shot could awaken an answering signal.

Thus dismally in the gloom the "Talbot" sailed on for another

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twenty-four hours. On shipboard the smallpox was still raging. Higginson makes the following record under date of June 18:

Thursday the wind full west, and contrary to us. This day a notorious wicked fellow, that was giving to swearing and boasting of his former wickedness . . . and mocked at our days of fast, railing and jesting against Puritans; this fellow being sick of the pox now died.

The ship had by this time discovered another shallow place in the sea bottom since they were traversing the chain of fishing banks off the Nova Scotia coast. The mariners declared their belief that they were in favorable latitude for fishing. Sails were furled and fishing tackle was gotten out. With shouts of joy the passengers hailed the welcome sight of the taking of codfish in great numbers. The sea bottom was apparently alive with mighty fish, greedy for the bait and speedily hooked. Thus in a short time the ship's decks were littered with codfish of mammoth size. A feast upon the sweet and toothsome fruits of the deep was, therefore, in order and most joyously observed by the passengers.

On June 19 the lookout on the masthead declared that he could see land lying at a great distance toward the northeast. For several days the "Talbot" continued in the general direction of New England. It was not until June 24 that the passengers themselves were privileged to behold the American continent. They were then seven or eight leagues off Cape Sable. The voyagers were cheered also by a report from the lookout that a sail was visible in their rear. Suspecting that this was the "Lion's Whelp" which had been missing for seven days—they tarried until their consort came up with them. Another death on shipboard was written into the records for this day.

After leaving the vicinity of Cape Sable and sailing onward down the coast the voyagers had a clear view of islands and of hills along the mainland shore. Let us consult the language of the chronicle itself:

Now we saw abundance of mackerel, a great store of whales puffing up water as they go; some of them came near our ship. Their greatness did astonish us . . . their backs appeared like little islands. At five o'clock at night the wind turned southeast, a fair gale. This day we caught mackerel.

The next day, Friday, June 26, the chronicler records as foggy in the morning, but clearing after a bit, revealing a sea filled with schools

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of mackerel on all sides of the ship. "By noon," Rev. Higginson declares, "we were within three leagues of Cape Ann, and as we sailed along the coast we saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shore, the more flowers in abundance we saw, sometimes scattered abroad on the water, sometimes joined in sheets nine or ten yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadows by the tide. Now what with fine woods and green trees by land, and these yellow flowers painting the sea made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertility afar off. Coming near the harbor toward night we tacked about for sea room."

The harbor mentioned in this narrative was not that of Salem, but one on the southerly side of Cape Ann. The mariners were as yet unacquainted with the coast, but perceiving a great and spacious harbor were eager to seek safety therein, for the southwest wind was troublesome and even dangerous because of the near presence of land.

The "Talbot," as previously related, had parted company with its consort in the great fog some days before. It was, therefore, alone at this time, anchored in the open sea during the night of June 25. Fog again vexed the sailors next morning, but shortly after eight o'clock the weather cleared. The wind was still adverse. The mariners, nevertheless, labored to bring their ship into a favorable position to run into the harbor. Little by little they gained, but it was afternoon before the cautious pilot dared venture into the channel. Higginson has thus described the perils encountered in the attempt:

About four o'clock in the afternoon, having with much pain compassed the harbor, and being ready to enter the same, (see how things may suddenly change!) there came a fearful gust of wind and rain and thunder and lightning, whereby we were borne with no little terror to our mariner, having much ado to loose down the sails when the fury of the storm struck us. But, God be praised, it lasted but a little while, and soon abated again. And whereby the Lord showed us what he could have done with us, if it had pleased him. But, blessed be God, He soon removed this storm, and it was a fair and sweet evening.

In the meantime the colonists at Salem had beheld the distant ship in its struggles with wind and sea. Knowing the need of a pilot to guide the travellers into Salem Harbor, Governor Endicott sent forth

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a shallop with a competent pilot to proceed at once to the scene. The "Talbot" had no sooner anchored in the strange harbor, later the famous fishing port of Gloucester, than the voyagers were aware of a small sailing craft that came gaily before the wind down the channel which they had just traversed with such difficulty. With loud hosannas the newcomers hailed the "Talbot" and were presently alongside.

"Welcome to New England!" cried their leader as he clambered onto the deck of the emigrant ship. "We bring you the greetings and the blessings of our Governor, Master Endicott."

"In God's name we return your gracious salutations," cried Rev. Francis Higginson devoutly, "but have you heard aught of our sister ship, the 'Lion's Whelp'?"

"No, not the 'Lion's Whelp,' but the 'George' has arrived. She is now safely anchored in our harbor of Salem."

"The 'George' sailed a week before we did."

"These five days she has been at Salem and our Governor has had a lookout posted to watch for the 'Talbot' and the 'Lion's Whelp.'"

The travellers were not long in uncertainty concerning the fate of their sister ship, for she presently joined them.

The harbor where the "Talbot" was now anchored was but nine miles from Salem. It was too late to make the passage that night and the following day was Sunday. In this age it would be considered quite the thing for voyagers who had long been confined in cramped quarters on ship board to complete their journey on the Sabbath day, and thus to join their friends in Salem. But the Puritan code of morals forbade any manner of work on the Lord's Day. All day Sunday, therefore, the "Talbot" lay at anchor in the forest-bordered harbor of Gloucester. The Rev. Francis Higginson preached an eloquent sermon of rejoicing at their safe arrival in the New World, yet not a soul stirred from the anchorage.

On Monday, however, the mariners, under command of the pilot sent by John Endicott, set forth from the harbor of refuge and sailed down the coast.

The narrative thus simply describes the conclusion of their long and perilous voyage:

As we passed along it was wonderful to behold so many islands, replenished with thick woods and high trees, and many fair green pastures. And being come into the harbor we saw the "George" to

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our great comfort, there being come on Tuesday, which was seven days before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world.

The next morning the Governor came aboard our ship and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wife to come on shore and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly.

Thus we end the recital of a typical voyage by which our sturdy ancestors crossed from England to the shores of Massachusetts Bay. Thus came to America the Rev. Francis Higginson, one of the first of the Puritan Clergymen who were destined to set the seal of a stern code of morals upon the infant colony on the wilderness shores of America.

CHAPTER XIV

A GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED AT SALEM

When the Higginson contingent reached Salem toward the end of June, 1629, they found a modest settlement of about ten houses for the ordinary colonists and a special residence newly completed for the Governor. Since about two hundred passengers had arrived, fifty-two on the "George," one hundred on the "Talbot" and more than forty on the "Lion's Whelp," it was necessary for them to fall to work with all speed in the construction of houses. In the meantime the new colonists set up temporary quarters in tents and huts hastily constructed. It was summer, with sunshine such as they had never experienced in England. The newcomers were, therefore, well content with conditions as they found them in Salem and could labor zealously to provide themselves with permanent homes.

The chief activity of the colony was directed to the preparation of lumber for house building. The nearby forests now resounded to the ring of axes and the busy murmur of saws in the hands of sturdy colonists. A score of houses were in process at the same time, so in a few days the settlement took on all the features of a thriving town.

Governor Endicott was ever a man of action. Suddenly confronted by the great problems involved in the settling of a large number of colonists not only in Salem, but also at various points along the coast, he made haste to lay plans for the establishment of a government for the entire territory. His letter of instructions from the Massachusetts Bay Company had clothed him with full authority as Governor-General. He accordingly issued summonses to all groups of colonists, requesting them to assemble in Salem for the setting up of a form of government.

A circumstance that favored the sending out of summonses for a general conference at Salem was the necessity of advising Governor Bradford of Plymouth of the arrival of the Leyden passengers who had been transported on the three ships "Mayflower," "Pilgrim" and "Four Sisters," that reached Salem shortly after the three ships already mentioned. Plymouth Colony had long been seeking to provide the means of transporting members of the Robinson congrega-

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tion from Leyden to America and had seized upon the sailing of the Puritan fleet as a means to that end.

James Shirley, the agent in England of the Pilgrim Fathers, had engaged passage for thirty-five Leyden colonists with the Bay Colony expedition. With their goods and chattels the long exiled Separatists landed in Salem, which was then ill-prepared for their accommodation. Governor Endicott was somewhat uneasy over the heretical views of this alien group; consequently, he made haste to send word to Plymouth Plantation to provide shipping for them at the earliest possible moment. Thus he was able to utilize the same messengers in the task of summoning all planters along the coast to a conference.

There were now to be found settlers at Weymouth, Nantasket, Merrymount, at various islands in Boston Harbor, as well as along the mainland in the territory now confirmed by royal grant to the Massachusetts Bay Company. While the Governor's messengers may not have been overwelcome, yet the sturdy planters promised to attend the conference, if only to air their views of the general situation.

A matter of immediate concern to Governor Endicott was the case of the Rev. Ralph Smith, who had arrived on the "Talbot" with Higginson. It will be remembered that the officers of the Bay Company had learned, after Smith had been accepted as one of the ministers for the Colony, that his Puritanism was unsound. He was suspected of being a Separatist. Since Smith and his family had already embarked on the "Talbot," with their household goods on shipboard, it was not deemed prudent to turn him back.

Matthew Cradock, the Governor of the Company, had, therefore, written to Endicott to give the Rev. Smith a very thorough examination as to the true nature of his religious belief. If he should be found unwilling to conform in all respects to the Puritan faith he was not to be permitted to remain in the Colony.

The suspected clergyman had no sooner landed on American soil than he found himself summoned into the presence of the stern-faced Governor. A widower and burdened with many cares, John Endicott was in no mood to treat with charity any deviation from his own conceptions of religious faith. The conference was held in the Governor's house—the house newly built in which the Rev. Francis Higginson was now a guest.

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It will be remembered that Smith had assisted Higginson in some of the religious services on shipboard. They had been together for more than seven weeks, with religious themes constantly on their tongues. Smith had quite fully revealed his unorthodox views on church ritual and had found his fellow-clergyman tolerant and sympathetic. When, therefore, he found Rev. Francis Higginson in the council room with the Governor when he entered, it seemed to him a reassuring circumstance.

Smith was no doubt hoping that the conference had been called to consider the religious duties of the four clergymen now in the Colony. Rev. Samuel Skelton had arrived on the "George"; Rev. Francis Bright on the "Lion's Whelp." It was at once apparent, however, that the Governor was concerned over whether the visitor was fit to preach at all. Ralph Smith was a straightforward and fearless man who had no hesitation in stating his views, nor in attempting to justify them to the indignant Endicott.

Higginson took little part in the inquisition, being a distressed spectator, perhaps a bit troubled over his own disclosures to the Governor of Smith's privately expressed religious opinions. The interview grew more and more stormy, ending in angry denunciations of the visitor by Governor Endicott.

"You are unworthy of sanctuary in this new land," he thundered, "and I will take means to rid us of you and yours."

Smith very well knew that this arbitrary man, clothed with autocratic authority, would take extreme measures against him. Repenting bitterly that he had brought his wife and children thus far from home, only to land in such a hornet's nest, he left the Governor's house and returned toward the rude shanty in which his family and goods were temporarily housed.

By good fortune he now espied Roger Conant near the wharf in earnest conversation with a bearded stranger. Having learned of Conant's former differences with the Governor and perhaps instinctively believing that he was a man whose judgment could be relied upon, the distressed cleric hurried toward him.

Conant and his companion turned respectfully toward the approaching clergyman, for there was no mistaking his desire to have speech with them.

"Oh, sir," cried Smith when the greetings were over, "I find myself in a most unhappy plight. I came here with my wife and chil-



SALEM "WITCHES" WHO DOTED ON POSING THUS
 Snapshot by the Author, July, 1936



NO BROOMSTICK RIDING HERE—OCTOBER MORNING IN SALEM
 Snapshot by Author, October, 1938

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dren in full confidence that it was God's will that I preach the Gospel in this place. But your Governor has just threatened to send us back to England."

"Back to England!" ejaculated Conant aghast. "What reasons does he have for such a threat?"

"That my views of religion are too liberal for this plantation. He calls me a *Separatist*."

"Aha! Like our friends at Plymouth Plantation! I was once as harsh in my judgment of them, but I have learned to appreciate that even Separatists may have kind hearts and be very good neighbors."

"Would that I could flee to them for protection."

"Master Bradford would protect you if he felt so disposed. If there is any man on this coast who is a match for our own worshipful Governor, it is the Governor of Plymouth Plantation."

"Oh, sir, tell me how I may go to him. This harsh man must not visit upon my innocent wife and children his hot displeasure against me."

Conant and his companion exchanged significant glances.

"This man," Conant declared, his face kindling exultantly, "is not of our Plantation. His shallop rides yonder at anchor. He will return tonight at Nantasko, the plantation of John Oldham. If I mistake not he will take you and yours beyond the reach of our sweet-tempered friend in the big house."

"That I will," cried the other heartily, "and find pleasure in the task. Master Oldham has a patent to Nantasko and all the land thereabouts, but this Colony is laying claim to it under a second grant from the same owner. We have no love for Master Endicott and his high-handed rule."

Thus the clergyman was offered a means of escape from Salem. That very evening he and his family were spirited aboard the visiting shallop. Before John Endicott knew what had happened the fugitives were well on their way to the Oldham trading post.

Salem was soon to witness the assembling of colonists from various points along the coast from Cape Ann to Nantasket, in answer to the summons of Governor Endicott. But it must not be supposed that Endicott was planning to establish a government in which the various plantations would enjoy representation and lawmaking power. Not at all. The Massachusetts Bay Company, of whom Matthew Cra-

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dock was Governor or Chairman, had already formulated plans for the government of the Colony, as will be seen from the following quotation from the letter of instructions to Endicott of April 17, 1629:

We have, in prosecution of that good opinion we have always had of you, confirmed you as Governor of our Plantation, and joined in commission with you the three ministers, namely, Mr. Francis Higginson, Mr. Samuel Skelton, and Mr. Francis Bright; also Mr. John and Samuel Brown, Mr. Thomas Graves and Mr. Samuel Sharpe; and for that we have ordered that the body of the government there shall consist of thirteen persons, we are content the old planters that are now there within our plantation and limits thereof, shall choose the discreetest and judicial men amongst themselves to be of the government, that they may see we are not wanting to give them fitting respect, in that we would have their consent (if it may be) in making wholesome constitutions for government; always provided, that none shall be chosen, or meddle in their choice, but such as will live amongst us and conform themselves to our government.

Thus it will be seen that the colonists along the coast were very much restricted in what they might do at the conference. They were privileged to choose two members of the council of thirteen provided they could agree among themselves upon any two men. Since the various local settlements had little to do with one another and each unit was headed by pioneers with ideas and ambitions of their own the probability of agreement was not great. With this explanation we may the better understand the following provision:

But if they shall refuse to perform this our direction, then we hereby authorize you and those nominated to be of the council aforesaid, to nominate and elect two such men as in your opinions you shall hold meet for that place and office; and for the other three which will be wanting to make up the full number of thirteen (which we have styled the council of Massachusetts Bay) we hereby authorize you with the aforesaid seven persons to choose and nominate them out of the whole body of the company, as well as of those that are there as of those that come now.

It is not to be supposed that John Endicott declared in advance to the colonists whom he summoned to Salem the nature of his instructions from the home office of the company. They were bidden merely to a conference to establish an orderly government for the protection

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of all. The conference itself, therefore, held possibilities of disillusionment and animosity.

Even Thomas Morton, the impudent and reckless troublemaker of Merrymount, was among those who assembled in Salem at the Governor's conference. To a man of his sardonic humor it must have been a great satisfaction to rub elbows with the very planters who had not long before combined against him and caused his arrest for trading firearms with the Indians. It will be remembered that in spite of the heavy expense of legal proceedings Morton's case had been thrown out of the English courts and the culprit himself had returned to America. The vexation of his former captors and even of the Governor himself was heightened by the fact that Morton was a clever lawyer, more than a match for them all in this business of establishing laws and regulations.

When Governor Endicott had opened the meeting, after an eloquent prayer by Rev. Samuel Skelton, and had read to the assembled planters the terms imposed by the Massachusetts Bay Company the first skirmish of the conference was on.

"Do I understand, Master Endicott," inquired Thomas Morton with biting sarcasm, "that we may choose two members of the sacred thirteen, provided we can agree upon two planters who will each in turn agree to anything the other eleven may decide?"

"The choice of two planters must be made in good faith," rejoined the Governor icily, "and only such may be chosen as are known to be law-abiding."

"How indeed may any man be law-abiding until laws are made by which he may abide?"

"The laws of Holy Writ and of the land from which we came are our true and proper guides, Master Morton."

"In that event, Master Endicott, I am indeed doubly qualified to serve this Colony. I was accused not long since of offenses not so much as mentioned in Holy Writ and the judges in the courts of England restored me my liberty in that I was arrested for no offense against the laws of our homeland."

Governor John Endicott had been bred a soldier. He was no match in the subtleties of language for the astute Morton. His only reliance in a contest of this sort was upon the learned and pious clergyman, Samuel Skelton. It will be remembered that Skelton had arrived

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a full week before Higginson and Bright reached Salem. He had brought with him, moreover, a copy of the letter of instructions by which Endicott was to be guided. Together they had analyzed and weighed its contents. Skelton, moreover, had a very thorough knowledge of the laws of Moses and was eager to put those laws into operation.

The situation in which the colonists found themselves was, indeed, peculiar. They had never understood the mysteries of the common law of the homeland, and they distrusted the system because of its amazing technicalities. There was no special reason why they should endeavor to apply so complicated a system of laws in their simple and primitive settlements on the coast of New England, especially when no one in their midst except the discredited lawyer, Thomas Morton, knew anything of the common law of England. The clergyman was astute enough to perceive that if the colonists, to whom the Bible was already a daily companion, could be persuaded to accept it as their guide in secular affairs, the Colony would become utterly dependent upon it, thus magnifying the importance of the church and of its clergy as interpreters of the word of God. He, therefore, strongly championed the idea of disregarding the common law of England and relying upon those higher laws that might be found only in the Bible. Endicott, therefore, fell in with the plan to make Holy Writ their sole reliance in the new Colony. He now presented to the assembly a written document in the nature of an informal constitution which he and Rev. Samuel Skelton had prepared. The general tenor of the document was that the Colony should rely upon the Bible not only for spiritual guidance, but also for direction in all civil affairs.

"What better guide can men have than God's holy word?" declared Endicott at the conclusion of the reading of the articles. "In the Bible we find the laws by which crimes are punished and the very punishments themselves. What more fitting thing that in this new land we should look to the holy book for the ordering of our daily lives?"

Thomas Morton, of Merrymount, was on his feet. "But Master Endicott, there are many things in the Hebrew laws that Englishmen have long refused to obey."

"Quite true, Master Morton, the Ten Commandments, for instance, but we be for the most part a God-fearing group of men and

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women, and there should be no hardship to any if all are required to obey the commands given by God himself on Mount Sinai."

"I speak not of the Ten Commandments, Master Endicott. These Commandments be very popular at my little settlement of Mare Mount. I am thinking of whether this Colony is to be English or Jewish, whether all the males in this Colony are to be subject to a certain well-known bit of Jewish surgery."

"Stop, Master Morton," thundered the Governor with livid countenance. "If you have come here to make light of our holy book—to cause trouble in this solemn hour, then know you that I have full power to deal with such as you."

"Nay, nay, Master Endicott. I am merely pointing out that the English nation has long since learned that the laws and customs of the Jews, handed down by Moses more than three thousand years ago, are not suitable for Christian man. Our neighbors at Plymouth have tried the experiment these nine years past, and they have found it necessary to make new laws for their own guidance."

"Master Morton has pointed out a great truth, Master Endicott," cried Roger Conant earnestly.

"Will it not be said in England that we have become Separatists and not Puritans, if we make the same experiment?"

"Nay, Master Conant, we have no intention of relying entirely upon the Bible, for we must deal with matters not touched upon by the Good Book."

"Then, Master Endicott," rejoined Thomas Morton, "there can be no objection to the plan I have in mind of adding to your statement a proviso that we follow the dictates of the Bible in all points not inconsistent with the laws of England."

Greatly as John Endicott disliked Thomas Morton and much as he distrusted any proposition that Morton might advocate, yet this proposal was so fair on its face that even he could not openly oppose its adoption.

The next proposition before the assembly was the burning question of trading with the Indians. It will be remembered that to some of the early colonists trade with the natives was one of the most potent allurements of the New World. Here and there along the coast might even then be found a tiny settlement that was virtually a trading post to which Indians of the nearby forest came with furs

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and other products of the chase with which to barter for gaudy trinkets, knives, articles of clothing and the like. These furs could be sold in England at great profit. Thomas Morton had already won unholy gain by trading guns and ammunition with the Indians, despite the fact that to place firearms in the hands of the savages was a potential menace to every colonist, man, woman and child, in New England. Another article of trade was that perennial mischiefmaker, intoxicating liquor. The white man's firewater seemed to have a fatal lure for the simple children of the forest. It was demoralizing if not deadly in its effect, for the stoical Indian had no self-control in the use of the potent beverage. Morton and others had taken full advantage of this weakness of their savage neighbors, for they had speedily discovered that a thirsty Indian would surrender almost anything in exchange for firewater.

The new plan of vesting all trading privileges in the Company itself would automatically deny to all colonists the right to trade or barter with the Indians. Every colonist who had already established himself on the coast quite naturally regarded this plan as an invasion of his rights as an Englishman. However, these colonists may have distrusted Thomas Morton, yet in the discussion of so grave a matter they welcomed his powerful championship. All eyes were turned upon Morton as he arose to address the gathering after Endicott had read the clause prohibiting private trade or barter with the Indians.

"Master Endicott, I protest most solemnly against this plan which you have read. Methinks it is contrary to our rights as freeborn men. It is dangerous as a policy of life in this wilderness."

"How now, Master Morton, will you presume to criticise a policy enjoined upon us by the proprietors of this Colony?"

"Criticise it, yes, with my whole heart, and I beg leave to explain the reasons for my criticism. First, it is contrary to all custom in England to deny any man a right to sell his property to whomsoever may desire to purchase it. Do you question the truth of this statement, Master Endicott?"

"But we are no longer in England," replied the Governor impatiently. "We are in this new land which belongs to the Massachusetts Bay Company. We are graciously permitted to remain in this Colony provided we are willing to obey just and equal rules and regulations."

"But this, I submit, is not a just rule—nor a fair rule. If I have

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a chair or a table more than I need for my own use, may I not sell it to any other Englishman?"

"There is no rule to prevent you from so doing."

"Precisely, but if an Indian should desire an axe and would gladly pay me in peltry for the same, by your rules it would be unlawful for me to truck with him?"

"You would be dealing with heathen savages and not with Christian men. The Company reserves to itself all trading privileges with the native tribes."

"How then may the Indian barter for my axe, or better still, for a string of beads or a knife? Must he travel to Salem to buy something that is in my possession in Mare Mount?"

Governor Endicott, like the choleric soldier that he was, found his temper almost beyond control. Morton's manner was irritating, but his logic was quite maddening.

"What is the Indian to think of this state of affairs?" continued Morton belligerently. "If he comes to me for things that I have hitherto supplied him, and I refuse to sell to him more, is he not likely to take it gravely amiss? The natives are revengeful and treacherous. This policy would expose every little outpost along the coast to hostility and danger."

"On the contrary," cried Endicott angrily, "it would prevent further mischief on the part of men who traffic in guns and gunpowder without regard to the safety of their neighbors. The savages already have too many guns in their possession. They shall have no more."

Then followed a heated altercation. Morton stoutly denied the imputation in the Governor's words. He aimed deadly shafts of satire at the plan. But when Endicott finally declared that the revenue from trade with the Indians would be devoted to the building of churches in the Colony and also to the expense of erecting forts at strategic points along the coast, the assembled colonists saw the matter in a new light. The burden of churches and forts would be upon the shoulders of every colonist. Any plan that might lighten that burden was, therefore, a benefit to all, whereas the right to trade with the Indians might be of little or of no value to the average colonist. It was only such men as the hated and feared Thomas Morton who could derive much personal gain from the privilege.

Thus deserted, the Master of Merrymount could do little but rage

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at the injustice of the plan, and to threaten appeal to the courts of England. One by one the old planters affixed their signatures to the articles of agreement—all except Thomas Morton, who had refused to witness the spectacle. It may be that the astute lawyer realized that he had better be on his way while the angry Governor was still intent on the main purpose of the conference. Before the meeting adjourned the Morton shallop was heading out to sea before a lazy breeze, safely out of reach of Endicott's restraining power. Morton was on his way home to Merrymount, fully resolved to carry on his Indian trading as before.



"PIONEER VILLAGE," SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS—A DISTANT VIEW
Snapshot by the Author, July, 1936



SALEM COMMON
Snapshot by the Author, October, 1938

CHAPTER XV

AN INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING CHURCH

It was inevitable that John Endicott, the pioneer Governor of the Salem Colony, should encounter tribulations in his own official family. It will be remembered that the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Bay Company had sent over with the Higginson contingent seven men commissioned to assist Endicott in the government of the Colony. Five others were to be selected to make up a council of thirteen, including the Governor himself as Chairman.

Since these seven assistants to the Governor, chosen in England, were prominent or wealthy men, no doubt strangers to Endicott, there would naturally be rivalries of authority to be threshed out when the "Council of Massachusetts Bay" should begin to function. There were two members of the Council, John and Samuel Brown, who deserve especial mention at this time, because of a serious dispute in the infant Colony in which the Browns were very prominent.

The first mention that we find of them in the Company records occurred in the letter of instructions to Endicott under date of April 21, 1629:

We had almost forgotten to recommend unto you two brethren of our Company, Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Brown, who though they be no adventurers in the general stock, yet are they men we do much respect, being fully persuaded of their sincere affections to the good of our plantation. The one, Mr. John Brown, is sworn as an Assistant here, and by us chosen one of the Council there; a man experienced in the laws of our Kingdom, and such an one as we are persuaded will worthily deserve your favor and furtherance; which we desire he may have.

The Browns soon demonstrated their independence of mind in that most dangerous of all fields—religion. It has previously been pointed out that the Puritans were a sect of the Church of England who believed in purifying it from its abuses, working within the church to that end. Now the three clergymen who had newly-landed in America were confronted by a great practical problem. While in England they had of necessity worked under the domination of the

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established church, subject to its will and governed by its bishops and dignitaries. But now they were facing the problem of setting up a church in the wilderness, with a great ocean separating them from ecclesiastical overlords of the Church of England. Should they perpetuate in their churches in Massachusetts Bay the very abuses against which they had so long struggled, or should they establish a church modeled upon the Church of England, but purified from features deemed by them objectionable? A real difficulty lay in their pathway if they were still to claim Church of England allegiance. The rulers of the Established Church might order them to conform in all respects, thus raising a very embarrassing issue. Might it not be better to do as Plymouth Plantation had done—declare their church an independent religious body?

In this dilemma the three clergymen appealed to Governor Endicott for official sanction to set up a reformed church with no official connection with the Church of England. John Endicott, despite his recent harsh treatment of Rev. Ralph Smith, had by this time seen the futility of an attempt of non-conformists to establish anything but a non-conformist church. The boldness of the move appealed strongly to the spirit of a bold and resolute man, such as he.

Endicott, thereupon, laid the matter before such of the Council as had already been chosen. To his surprise and dismay two of his official family at once rose up in protest.

"We are not keeping faith with those who sent us if we do this thing," cried John Brown, in great agitation.

"In what way," responded Rev. Samuel Skelton, "can this be construed a breach of faith? Do not all of our brethren deplore certain customs of the Established Church?"

"True enough, Master Skelton, but are we to abandon the Church of England merely because we desire improvements therein?"

"Not so, Master Brown. But can we be expected to establish on these shores the abominations against which we have labored? Master Higginson and Master Bright agree with me that our church in this Colony should be purified of all such abuses, but in other respects to resemble the Established Church."

"This is plain treason to the Established Church. It is setting up a church like that of Plymouth—nothing less."

"I do not agree with you, Master Brown," broke in Governor

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Endicott tartly, "there is a difference between conforming to the Established Church in all essential particulars as we propose to do and having no ritual at all as is the case of our brethren at Plymouth."

"A distinction in degree merely. The principle is the same—we become Separatists and when that fact is known in England it will prove the undoing of this Colony."

Thus they argued the matter pro and con. The two Browns stood out for strict conformity, whereas the other members of the Council advocated a church modeled upon the Puritan conception of a ritual free from Catholic influences. The Church of England, when established by Henry VIII and his Parliament less than a century before, as we know, had substituted the reigning sovereign for the Pope of Rome, but had made few other changes. The close resemblance of the Church of England in its essential characteristics to the Roman Catholic Church had long been a sore affliction to English Protestants and especially to the Puritan sect. Freed from the overshadowing power of the English Crown and at liberty to establish their own Church in America, it was inevitable that the new Colony should set up a church in conformity with their own views, having no official relation with the Church of England.

In every group of men there will usually be found some who stubbornly resist change from accepted customs. The fact that there were two such men in the Council itself was at least indication that among the colonists at Salem there might be a faction that would cling to the ritual and customs of the Church of England. Governor Endicott's triumph in the Council, however overwhelming it may have seemed at the time, was not the last that would be heard of adherence to the Established Church.

The present generation of Americans may wonder at the fact that both the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Colonies yoked civil government and church government together. But there is a perfectly logical explanation. They were following accepted usage in so doing. In this Puritan Colony, founded as an asylum for persecuted members of the faith, church and state were to be one and inseparable. In fact there was no precedent for anything else. From the very beginning of the English nation there had been a union of church and state, the church, in fact, often assuming to govern the state, especially during the reigns of the weaker kings.

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Governor Endicott, as a loyal adherent of the Puritan faith, was, therefore, eager to establish a strong and well-organized church in Salem. The church was to be his reliance; his refuge and strength in the problems that confronted him. Now, to establish a church involved more than the mere gathering together of the inhabitants to listen on the Sabbath Day to one or another of the clergymen then in the Colony, since preaching services were held every Sunday as it was. This preaching, however, lacked authority. A call was accordingly sent out to all members of the faith to assemble in an appointed place for the choosing of a pastor and for the establishment of a general form of church government. This proclamation set aside July 20 as a solemn day of fasting and prayer for guidance in the choice of a pastor and teacher.

By pastor was meant the chief minister of a church. He preached the Sunday sermon and was the leader of the flock. Every Puritan church of early times seems to have had a teacher, or assistant to the pastor, apparently with general oversight of the mid-week lectures. These lectures were in reality sermons for the instruction of the people in truths taught by the Bible, for there were no Sunday schools or Bible schools in those days.

While Governor Endicott was thus preparing for the expected setting up of an independent church in America there was, unknown to him, an even more zealous movement afoot for the defeat of his much-desired project. John Brown, the leader of this movement, had been a lawyer in England, a man of no small ability and powers of persuasion. His brother, Samuel, had been a merchant in London. Both men were highly regarded by those who had been fellow-passengers with them during the voyage to America. As will no doubt be remembered, they had lost their fight in the Council, but sincerely believing that to abandon the Book of Common Prayer and the well-known rituals of the Church of England would be a grave mistake, they set about secretly to interview their acquaintances concerning the proposed change. They pointed out the well-known zeal of Charles I to enforce conformity to the Established Church. They argued that so radical a step among the newly arrived colonists might cause the destruction of the Colony itself. The ambitious plans of the Massachusetts Bay Company, upon which plans their future depended, might thus be thwarted by the rash action of their colonists in America.

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These arguments were convincing to many. But the Browns were struggling against great odds. The ministers of the Colony had already begun to conduct services in which the hated ritual was almost entirely neglected. The simplicity and directness of this new type of service appealed to the people. An oft-repeated ritual that had lost much of its spiritual significance, quite naturally suffered in comparison with prayers by eloquent clergy, voicing the thoughts and aspirations of their followers and appropriate to their present needs. The charm of novelty and human interest was thus added to the balance in which the old order and the new were being weighed in the public mind.

There were even greater obstacles in the path of the leaders of this secret campaign. The ministers themselves were unanimous for the change. Laymen in those days were hardy indeed who dared oppose the opinions of university trained clergymen. Then, too, there was the well-nigh invulnerable position of the party in power. Governor Endicott, with his military training and headstrong nature, could brook no opposition. His masterful conduct in the meetings of the Council had already marked him as a leader who would enforce his views at all costs.

The fateful date arrived—July 20, 1629. It was a cloudless day, with a gentle breeze stirring the Salem cornfields and bringing to the assembly, gathered in the shade of a grove of trees in the outskirts of the settlement, the cooling breath of the nearby ocean. A platform had been erected in the midst of the grove and upon it were assembled the Governor and Council, with the two ministers, Skelton and Higginson.

The service opened with prayer by Rev. Samuel Skelton, a prayer for guidance, but also an eloquent and moving appeal that laid hold upon the hearts of the people drawing them with him to the heights of a lofty resolve. It is no small thing to blaze a new trail in politics or religion. The assembled colonists, lately released from the overshadowing danger of persecution for their faith, knew full well the significance of the action which they were being called upon by their votes to ratify. For this reason they listened with rapt attention as Governor John Endicott rose from his seat of honor to address them. Bluntly and with all the directness of a soldier he stated the purpose of the meeting.

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Four weeks have passed since our brethren in holy orders arrived at this place [he began impressively] and we have had much comfort from their teachings, but we be a disorganized company. We hail from different parishes in England. As yet we have no church and no parish, no organization. We are met today under God's blessed guidance to choose us a pastor and to organize ourselves into a parish, with regulations suited to our needs in this new land. Let us, therefore, choose from these noble and devout men who were ministers of parishes in England a pastor for this flock in America.

As we know, there were then two clergymen in Salem, Rev. Samuel Skelton and Rev. Francis Higginson, Rev. Francis Bright having gone South to the settlement at Charlestown. Skelton and Higginson were thereupon formally examined by the Governor and his assistants upon their religious opinions. Each of them gave answer that a minister of God's holy word must have a twofold calling. First, he must be called of God to preach the Gospel, that is to say, he must feel within his own heart an urgent desire to become a minister. Each clergyman professed to have thus been called of God. The second requirement of a clergyman, they each averred, was a call by the people over whom the candidate was to be a pastor. In those days such a view was radical in the extreme, since clergy in England were assigned to their parishes by ecclesiastical authority without regard to the wishes of the people of the parishes affected. It was, therefore, a distinct move toward democracy not only in religious matters but also in secular affairs for, as previously pointed out, the English people had hitherto regarded church and state as inseparable, with no right of local self-government.

Rev. Samuel Skelton might well have been regarded as the leading candidate for the office of pastor, since he enjoyed the powerful friendship and support of the Governor himself. John Endicott had been a parishioner of Skelton when the latter had been in the active ministry in England. It was no surprise to anyone, therefore, when Samuel Skelton was elected official head of the Salem Church and Rev. Francis Higginson was elected teacher.

The Brown faction was well content with the choices of pastor and teacher, but when the assembly was called upon to decide between establishing a branch of the Church of England in the Colony, or to create an independent Puritan Church, John Brown, the lawyer, brought into play all of his powers of persuasion against the innova-

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tion. The Governor had hoped that all opposition had by this time been allayed. Even when Brown arose to speak Endicott could not believe that anything more was involved than the unsupported voice of one man. He soon had reason to alter his opinion. An able lawyer has a way of so marshalling known facts that listeners become convinced, even against their will, that the lawyer is right. Brown was able, eloquent and full of zeal for the cause that he had espoused.

As the Governor listened to the lawyer's argument he was amazed at the audacity and persuasive power of the man, but even more at the effect he was obviously producing upon the assembly. A hostile audience was becoming progressively less hostile. Applause from a mere handful of supporters soon gave place to spontaneous outbursts from the ranks of the Governor's staunchest supporters. Before the speaker had reached his climax the Governor turned uneasily to Rev. Samuel Skelton.

"Master Skelton," he whispered hoarsely, "this madman will undo all our plans! You must answer him!"

"That I will," replied the other grimly. "I will answer him. God's word is mightier than any Prayer Book."

The Book of Common Prayer was, of course, the visible symbol of the Church of England. To abandon its use in church services and rely wholly upon the Bible for guidance was the united wish of the Governor and his ecclesiastical advisers. In Brown's argument he had stressed the danger of such an innovation, picturing the wrath of Charles I and the English clergy, if such radical action were to be taken in the new Colony. His listeners knew all too well the zeal of the Established Church in enforcing conformity. Much as they desired the abandonment of distasteful ritual, their fears of reprisals in England against the newly formed Company caused them to listen with great attentiveness to the lawyer's argument.

Logic and religion, however, are not always yokefellows. There is something elemental in religious opinions—blind faith, perhaps, or prejudice that springs forth in response to kindling words of a religious leader.

John Brown had spoken effectively. Had a vote been taken at the close of his argument, he might well have triumphed over his adversaries. But Rev. Samuel Skelton arose from his place beside the Governor to address the assembly. Fired with zeal for the cause

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which he had espoused and indignant at what seemed to him the lack of courage of the opposite faction, he was soon launched upon a speech of moving eloquence. Holding in one hand the Book of Common Prayer and resting the other on the opened pages of the Bible, he closed his address by a dramatic appeal to his auditors to choose between the two. In the stress of emotions it perhaps did not occur to the multitude that the two books were not necessarily antagonistic.

Seizing upon the mood of the assembly, Governor Endicott put the motion, with the result that by an overwhelming vote of the Church of England was abandoned in favor of a Puritan Church to be self-governing and independent, the Bible alone being its guide in ritual and belief.

Before the meeting adjourned came the solemn and impressive ceremony of consecrating the newly-elected pastor. The assembly was confronted by the circumstance that they were creating a new and independent church. It was impossible to follow precedents of the laying on of hands by clergy of the same or a higher order. Endicott and his advisers, however, hit upon the expedient of consecrating their pastor by action of the civil authorities. After a fervent "season of prayer" the Governor and the members of the Council gathered around Rev. Samuel Skelton. Each laid a hand upon him declaring that they did so in token of his consecration as the first pastor of the Salem Church.

When the ceremony had been completed as to Skelton himself, it was decided to be proper for him to proceed to the consecration of his assistant, Rev. Francis Higginson. In the presence of the assembled church members, Skelton called Higginson before him and caused him to kneel while he prayed for the blessing of Heaven upon the work to be undertaken. Laying his hands upon the head of the kneeling clergyman, Skelton declared him the duly elected teacher of the faithful in the Salem Church.

The last official action of this extraordinary assembly was to fix upon August 6, 1629, as another day of fasting and prayer for the choosing and ordaining of elders and deacons, for the adoption of a confession of faith and a form of church covenant according to the scriptures. Rev. Francis Higginson was requested to draft, in the intervening two weeks, the covenant and confession of faith.

CHAPTER XVI

HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNOR ENDICOTT

Governor John Endicott had many problems to face in the summer of 1629. His obligations to the Massachusetts Bay Company demanded that the transport ships, some of which were still in Salem Harbor, be loaded with a salable cargo and sent home at the earliest possible moment. Furs taken in trade with the Indian tribes were highly prized in England, but the quantity on hand in Salem when the Higginson expedition arrived was necessarily small. It had been sent home by the first returning ship.

Cradock had written in his original letter of instructions to the Salem Colony urging the speedy return of the transport ships with the best cargo obtainable—dried fish if the colonists had the means to catch and cure the same, but if no better cargo could be had, then to load the ships with lumber. To quote Cradock's own words: "There hath not been a better time for the sale of timber these seven years than at present, and therefore, pity it is these ships should come back empty." He also expressed a desire that sassafras and sarsaparilla be sent home in quantity, together with sumac, if there were such to be had in the forest.

The "Talbot" was one of the ships especially mentioned whose return to England must be hastened with all speed.

"But pray do not detain her any long time," Cradock wrote, "to cut timber, or any other gross lading; for she is at £150 a month charges, which will soon eat out more than the goods she would stay for is worth."

Facing so great a responsibility, with several ships in the harbor in the process of unloading or taking on cargo, Governor Endicott was at his wits' end to find men enough for the various activities of the Colony. It must be remembered that house-building was an imperative necessity, for a large portion of the newly arrived colonists were still living in tents and huts until houses could be provided for them.

The Puritan conception of the duties of a government no doubt added greatly to the cares of Endicott and his associates. In the various letters of instructions from the Bay Company the Governor

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was ordered, among other exacting tasks, to see to it that every family in the Colony maintained morning and evening devotions.

Our earnest desire [the letter of April 17, 1629, informed him] is that you take special care, in settling these families, that the chief in the family, at least some of them, be grounded in religion; whereby morning and evening family duties may be duly performed, and a watchful eye held over all in each family, by one or more in each family to be appointed thereto, so that disorders may be prevented, and ill weeds nipped before they take too great a head.

Thus we may understand the complete paternalism of this new venture in free-government—the necessity of a watchful eye over the daily life of every individual in the Colony. That the officials of the Bay Company understood full well the difficulties in the way of such personal oversight of the colonists may be seen from the following admonition which immediately follows the language above quoted:

It will be a business worthy of your best endeavors to look into this in the beginning, and, if need be, to make some exemplary to all the rest; otherwise your government will be esteemed as a scarecrow. Our desire is to use lenity, all that may be; but, in case of necessity, not to neglect the other, knowing that correction is ordained for the fool's back. And as we intend not to be wanting on our parts to provide all things needful for the maintenance and sustenance of our servants, so may we justly, by the laws of God and man, require obedience and honest carriage from them, with fitting labor in their several employments; wherein if they shall be wanting, and much more if refraction, care must be taken to punish the obstinate and disobedient, being as necessary as food and raiment.

This language may seem to us of the present day to be a tyrannical and unwarranted interference with the personal life of the individual colonists, but here again we find an illustration of the Old World conception of government. The individual, according to Old World ideas, existed for his government rather than the government existing for the benefit of the individual. Personal liberty and the rights of the common man were still afar off, but even in this Puritan Commonwealth there were already glimmerings of democracy, as witness the Governor's action in calling the chief men of the Colony together to elect a pastor and teacher and to set up a new form of church worship.

It is a singular fact that John Endicott, the first Governor of the

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new Colony, was one of the most stern and iron-handed governors in all the history of Massachusetts Bay Colony. He it was who years later as Governor of Massachusetts hanged Quakers on Boston Common. We may, therefore, form some idea of the strictness of discipline inaugurated by him in the infant colony at Salem. Clothed as he was with unlimited powers from the home government and endowed by nature with a narrow and uncompromising outlook upon life, his rule could not fail to be memorable for its severity.

It must not be supposed that the powers granted to the government at Salem were confined to mere oversight of the religious life of the inhabitants. The leaders of the colonizing movement sincerely believed that if they could maintain a godly community the chief problems of government would be solved. To this belief we may perhaps trace the extraordinary efforts of the Puritan Colony to enforce morality upon all persons within their borders. The various letters of instruction to Endicott are eloquent examples of this singleness of purpose. Let us consider the following from the letter of May 28, 1629:

We may not omit [the letter declares] out of our zeal for the common good, once more to put into your mind to be very circumspect in the infancy of the Plantation to settle some good orders (*i. e.*, regulations), whereby all persons resident upon our Plantation may apply themselves to one calling, or other, and no drones be permitted to live amongst us; which if you take care now at the first to establish, will be an undoubted means, through God's assistance, to prevent a world of disorders, and many grievous sins and sinners.

This language of the Puritan board of directors in England to their Governor in America contains an undoubted truth. That truth has passed into a proverb, familiar to us all, that an idle brain is the devil's workshop. In modern times youths who shun honest toil and endeavor to live by dishonest means furnish society with its chief problems of crime and misery. The difficulty of enforcing legislation to curb idleness has always been an insuperable obstacle. But the Puritan leaders were not the kind to voice platitudes without making strenuous efforts to put them into practical operation. Let us see how they proposed to banish idleness.

Servants and the unmarried were assigned to certain families and required to render obedience to the heads of such families. This

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made it possible to put into operation an extraordinary system of family registers in which the activities of each member of a family or group was recorded by the head of the family. The language in which these regulations were voiced deserves repetition. We quote from the letter of April 17, 1629:

We also send you the particular names of such as are entertained (*i. e.*, employed) for the Company's service; amongst which we hope you will find many religious, discreet and well ordered persons, which you must set over the rest, dividing them into families, placing some with ministers, and others under such as being honest men, and of their own calling, as near as may be, may have care to see them well educated in their general callings as Christians, and particular according to their several trades, or fitness in disposition to learn a trade.

If we turn to the letter of May 28 we find the following:

The course we have prescribed for keeping a daily register in each family, of what is done by all and every person in the family, will be a great help and remembrance to you and to future posterity for the upholding and continuance of this good act, if once well begun and settled; which we heartily wish and desire as aforesaid.

The more we study these important documents of Puritan life and thought the more convinced we must become that these men were not wild-eyed visionaries who expected to create Utopia in America by stern dealing with individuals. To their minds stern dealing was necessary to attain a great ideal in statecraft, but they were fully aware of the danger of tyranny, oppression and meanness in the administration of these stringent regulations. Their desire to prevent tyranny and to see to it that justice would be done to all persons, great or small, in their Colony is strikingly manifest in the following extract from the letter of May 28:

And as we desire all should live in some honest calling and profession, so we pray you to be impartial in the administration of justice, and endeavor that no man whatsoever, freeman or servant to any, may have just cause of complaint herein. And for that it cannot be avoided but offenses will be given we heartily pray you to admit of all complaints that shall be made to you, or any of you that are of the Council, be the complaint never so mean, and pass it not slightly over, but seriously examine the truth of the business; and if you find there was just cause for the complaint, endeavor to right the oppressed in the best manner you can.

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Could we ask for a more lofty expression of the fundamentals of justice than this letter of instructions of three centuries ago? But there is more in the same letter indicative of the profound understanding of human nature possessed by these early Puritans and of their wisdom in linking ethical theories with actual practice. They understood full well the pettiness and frailty of human nature and the temptation that some might be under to abuse their authority. Let us see how they proposed to guard against abuses.

Quoting again from the letter of May 28, 1629:

Such as are by us put in authority, as subordinate governors of families, if they shall abuse any under their government, and after gentle admonition do not reform it, fail not speedily to remove them, as men more fit to be governed than to govern others, and place more fit and sufficient men in their stead.

Thus it will be seen that petty tyrants were to have no place in the Puritan Colony. If admonition failed to correct faulty conduct then the offending leader was to be deposed and a new leader of that family or group to be placed in his stead, he himself to be subject to the orders of his successor in office.

Since human nature is ever prone to backbiting and to unjust and groundless complaints, it might well be supposed that the Governor and Council would be in danger of much unnecessary inquiry into conduct of family heads. But the letter of instructions carried its own solution of such possibilities, as will be seen from the following:

If you find any complaint to be made without just cause given, let not such a fault escape without severe punishment, and that forthwith and in public, whereby to terrify all others from daring to complain against any that shall be set over them without a just cause. We pray you take this earnestly to heart, and neglect not the due execution thereof upon plaintiff or defendant, according to the nature of the offense. It will be a means, through God's mercy, of preventing many inconveniences and disorders, that otherwise will undoubtedly befall you and the whole government there.

In some respects Governor Endicott and the Council were left free to deal with ordinary offenses against the common weal, but there were particular offenses against which they were commanded to make stringent regulations. The first of these may be deemed the forerunner of those "blue laws," so-called, for which Massachusetts

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was afterward famous—the matter of profanity. The Puritans took their Bible very seriously. The Ten Commandments meant much to them. You will remember that one of those Commandments read thus:

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who taketh his name in vain.

Now the Puritans believed that any such sinful violation of the Third Commandment in their Colony might endanger the welfare of all, hence the following admonition to Governor Endicott, as contained in the letter of May 28:

And amongst other sins we pray you make some good laws for the punishing of swearers, whereunto it is to be feared too many are addicted that are servants sent over formerly and now. These and other abuses we pray you who are in authority to endeavor seriously to reform, if ever you expect comfort or a blessing from God upon our Plantation.

It is thus manifest that the punishment of blasphemy was dictated not by a narrow dislike of the practice but by an earnest desire to win from the Almighty a blessing for all the people of the Colony. The same was true of other restrictive regulations that originated from the Ten Commandments. Take, for instance, the injunction concerning the Sabbath. The Puritans, as we have observed in the progress of this story, were very punctilious in the matter of Sabbath observance. In fact, the Sabbath seems to have been regarded as beginning at sundown on Saturday. A controversy was later to develop over the custom, for there were those in the Colony who contended that the Sabbath began on Sunday morning and they disdained to follow the Jewish theory that a day began at sunset and continued until sundown of the following day. It is interesting, therefore, to observe that this early New England custom did not originate spontaneously in Massachusetts. It was expressly ordered by the Directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company in their letter under date of April 17, 1629.

And to the end that the Sabbath may be celebrated in a religious manner [the letter reads] we appoint that all that inhabit the plantation, both for the general and particular employments (*i. e.*, those who were working for the Company and those who pursued private employments), may surcease their labor every Saturday throughout

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the year at three of the clock in the afternoon; and that they spend the rest of that day in catechising and preparation for the Sabbath as the ministers shall direct.

There was another portion of the letter of instructions of April 17 that bears eloquent testimony alike to the care that the promoters of the Colony bestowed upon the selection of immigrants and their zeal to purge America of wicked persons who may have obtained entrance into this land of promise.

And whereas amongst such a number [the letter reads] notwithstanding our care to purge them, there may still remain some libertines, we desire you to be careful that such, if any be, may be forced, by inflicting such punishment as their offenses shall deserve, (which is to be, as near as may be, according to the laws of this Kingdom), to conform themselves to good order; with whom after admonition given, if they amend not, we pray you proceed without partiality to punish them, as the nature of their fault shall deserve; and the like course you are to hold both with planters and their servants; for all must live under government and a like law.

The colonists were also instructed as to their duties in respect to the Indians.

We trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of our Plantation [Cradock wrote to Endicott] by endeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel; which that it may be the speedier and better effected, the earnest desire of our whole Company is, that you have a diligent and watchful eye over our own people, that they live unblamable and without reproof, and demean themselves justly and courteously towards the Indians, thereby to draw them to affect our persons, and consequently our religion; as also to endeavor to get some of their children to train up to reading and consequently to religion, whilst they are young; herein to young or old to omit no good opportunity that may tend to bring them out of that woeful state and condition they are in.

This survey of the extraordinary responsibilities imposed upon Governor Endicott is by no means complete. The burden of care, of watchfulness to protect the infant colony against possible Indian treachery, against human nature itself in man, woman or child of his own followers that might cause a lapse from Puritan conceptions of morality and consequently the incurring of the wrath of the Almighty against the Colony, were well nigh staggering. None but a strong

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and resolute man could have borne up under the strain as did John Endicott. So we may picture him in the closing days of July, 1629—valiantly active, the driving force in every field of activity of the Colony—oversight of morning devotions in every family; over the labors of the day of every individual, whether of domestic employment or the heavier tasks of the settlement. The Governor thus loomed in the background of the feverish activity of loading the ships still in the harbor, preparing cargo for the stevedores or ferrying it across from the wharf to where the ships lay at anchor. His was the ultimate responsibility for the efficient labor of those who struggled to fell giant trees in the nearby forest, and for the teamsters who fastened chains to the great logs and goaded the slow-moving oxen to strain at the task of hauling them to the sawmill. There was not an ox in the settlement, had he possessed the intelligence, that might not have traced his woes directly back to the taskmaster in the big house. The men who operated the sawmill with its ponderous and awkward machinery knew that the output of their daily toil was each night being reported to Governor Endicott. Carpenters and laborers who struggled to erect beams, cross-beams and rafters knew that the eye of the Governor was upon them. They knew also that he watched their progress as they clothed these sturdy skeletons of oak and pine with newly-sawed boards; as they noisily hammered home handmade nails supplied them from the nearby smith. They knew that every hour was vitally important. They were fashioning homes for families now living in tents or rude shelters, sufferers from rain, mosquitoes and other annoyances.

Thus it was that in every field of activity of the Colony the Governor and his assistants, tireless and watchful, furnished direction and incentive for the labors of every soul in the community.



A PUBLIC SQUARE IN SALEM, WHERE
HISTORY WAS MADE

Snapshot by Author, October, 1938



ACROSS THE SQUARE OPPOSITE SALEM
COMMON

Snapshot by the Author, October, 1938

CHAPTER XVII

TREACHERY IS REVEALED

One day in early August of 1629 Governor John Endicott was hurrying from the town wharf toward his own home. It was the hour for the midday meal. Although the Governor was a widower, yet his generosity in offering asylum to the Rev. Francis Higginson and the latter's family had temporarily provided him with a capable house-keeper. Meals prepared by an experienced housewife were much superior to the products of his own amateur attempts. The Governor was, therefore, more keenly interested in mealtime than he had formerly been. Work was progressing well in all directions. The last of the transport ships would soon be loaded with a return cargo and ready to sail for England. The Governor, therefore, had reason to be in an unusually amiable mood. As he neared the Governor's house, however, the sound of hurrying footsteps, and of his own name called in unmistakable agitation, caused Endicott to halt abruptly. Rev. Francis Higginson was at his heels.

"Oh, Master Endicott, so fortunate to have overtaken you—I have news, disturbing news—"

"Bad news, you say!"

"Aye, bad news. There is treachery afoot, good sir—treachery in the Council itself."

"In our Council of New England? Surely there must be some mistake."

"No mistake, Master Endicott. The two Browns who have fought against the establishing of our church have now secretly set up a rival church."

"A rival church—in Salem? But they have no minister."

"They have no minister, truly, but they do have the Book of Common Prayer—and they are meeting for services with John Brown and his brother as leaders."

"Master Higginson, this is indeed heavy news. But it cannot be tolerated—it shall not be tolerated."

"Your instructions from the Bay Company, Master Endicott—do they say anything about the form of services to be held in this Colony?"

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"No, no, there is nothing definite on this point, but there is something that may help us. Let us summon Master Skelton. Let us look into the matter."

The two men hurried homeward—the noonday meal now of little importance, a formality to be complied with for the sake of Mrs. Higginson and the children. The Governor sat in his usual place at the table, abstracted and frowning until the meal was ended. Hearing Rev. Samuel Skelton at the door, he hastily excused himself and hurried out of the dining room to meet the newcomer.

"Well, well, my dear Governor, why this sudden summons? Nothing serious, I hope."

"Serious enough, I promise you. We need your advice and assistance before the other members of our Council arrive. Master Higginson will be with us directly."

While the two men were awaiting the coming of the other clergyman, Governor Endicott, in a few brief sentences, gave Rev. Skelton the story of the rival religious services now being conducted in Salem. Again and again Skelton declared the story fantastic and impossible but when Higginson joined them the latter presented such convincing evidence that there could be no further doubt.

The three men now examined the various letters of instruction from England to discover what authority, if any, might be vested in the Governor to deal with a situation such as this.

"Look you here," cried Governor Endicott. "Here is the matter plainly stated. In speaking of the ministers the letter of April 17th provides as follows: 'For the manner of exercising their ministry and teaching both our own people and the Indians, we leave that to themselves, hoping they will make God's word the rule of their actions; and mutually agree in the discharge of their duties.'"

"Truly there is authority therein for the action of our planters in agreeing upon a reformed church, but does it give us, as a Council, the right to punish those who refuse to follow our leading?"

"Not in so many words, Master Skelton, but have we not agreed—all of us—that we will live by God's Holy Book, both in matters of faith and in civil affairs?"

"Even so, Master Endicott."

"Then is not a secret violation of the will of our people an act of rebellion that calls for punishment?"

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"That may be, but I should wish the judgment of our brethren of the Council upon it."

"They have been summoned to attend us—all save the Browns themselves. They should be here at any moment."

Salem was then under virtual military discipline. Governor Endicott well knew the value of precision in all things. Mealtime was uniform throughout the settlement, in order that tasks might be laid aside at the same moment and resumed as promptly at the close of the period. The members of the Council who had been summoned to the Governor's house were to report immediately after dinner, as the noonday meal was then quite generally known. Hurrying thither the assistants were shortly assembled in the Endicott council room, listening to the story of mutiny in which two of their associates were ringleaders.

"Why are they not here?" demanded one of the Councillors. "Shall we try men behind their backs?"

"Not so," replied Governor Endicott tartly. "Neither should guilty men be permitted to deliberate upon their own punishment."

"But surely they have the right of Englishmen to furnish evidence as to guilt or innocence."

"True enough and we will send for them presently. I have called you men together for a private conference that we may decide what right we have to punish them if it should be found that they are guilty of setting up a rival church in our midst."

The Councillors were in the thick of debate, with nothing definite accomplished, when the two Browns unexpectedly arrived at the Endicott door, having heard rumors of the Council meeting. In so embarrassing a predicament the Governor took the only course open to him of causing the accused brothers to be admitted at once to the Council meeting. It may be that John Brown had already sensed the purpose for which the Council had convened.

"A secret session of the Council, I see." The sneer in his voice did not escape the irascible Governor.

"Certainly, Master Brown, since you have already set the example of secrecy. In fact, we were discussing Parson Brown and his Prayer Book."

The lawyer flushed darkly. "Do you presume to insinuate, Master Endicott, that it is unlawful to use the Prayer Book of his Majesty the King in a Colony established by his royal permission?"

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"We will discuss that hereafter. But now, my good sir, we would know from your own lips whether on yesterday, the Lord's Day, you and others did hold a religious meeting, separate and apart from the church established by the people of this Colony."

"And if I should refuse to answer you—what then?"

"That is for this Council to decide. But we have evidence on the point and it is not needful that you should answer—your refusal is confession of guilt."

"Not so," cried Brown fiercely. "Under the laws of England a man is not obliged to furnish evidence against himself. You forget sir, that I am a lawyer and understand very well the rights to which an Englishman is entitled."

"Master Endicott," interposed Rev. Samuel Skelton, "would it not be well to have the witnesses brought before us at once?"

"They have been summoned and will be with us anon. But Master Higginson may in the meantime tell us what he knows of the matter."

Rev. Francis Higginson had no sooner begun his recital than he was interrupted by an angry outburst from John Brown.

"Master Endicott, I protest against this man's recital of gossip. This is hearsay evidence—not admissible in a court of justice."

"But we have witnesses to all these things," protested the clergyman.

"Then produce your witnesses and have done with idle prating."

Proceedings were now halted by universal clamor, but presently Rev. Samuel Skelton calmed the group enough to make himself heard.

"It is doubtless true, brethren, that we are not acting as a court of justice should act in so grave a matter. But if I mistake not we need someone to conduct this preliminary trial. My reverend brother, Master Higginson, may well act in that capacity. Now, sir," addressing himself to John Brown, "is it not customary for the prosecutor to state what he expects to prove against an accused person—to state it in advance of calling his witnesses?"

Brown bit his lip with vexation. The pastor had scored an important point. The lawyer was obliged to admit the propriety of outlining the case in advance. Higginson thereupon resumed his summary of what various colonists had reported to him after having attended the meeting at which the Browns had conducted a Church of England

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service. By the time the clergyman had finished, the witnesses themselves were at the door, Governor Endicott having previously dispatched the Higginson boys to fetch them.

The chagrin of John Brown was complete. Men whom he had trusted, now that the affair had come to light, made haste to turn State's evidence against him. No useful purpose could be served in prolonging the trial.

"Call no more of the caitiffs and cowards," he raged. "My brother and I will avow like men that we have done our best to redeem this Colony from heresy, even though we may be surrounded by heretics. But we have committed no crime. You men of this Council do but injure your own cause the more to call us to account for reading the Book of Common Prayer on the Lord's Day. Shame be upon you one and all that you be traitors to our holy faith."

"Silence!" thundered Endicott with livid countenance. "We will not tolerate such scurvy insults under this roof. Call our sheriff at once, for these men go not forth from this meeting except in custody."

"How now, Master Endicott, have you so far forgotten the rights of Englishmen that you seek to imprison men who have committed no wrong? It is true that we differ from you in opinion but not even the King himself would presume to imprison those who do not agree with him in matters of faith."

"This is not a matter of disagreement merely, Master Brown. You have secretly set up a hostile faction in this settlement—you have raised the standard of rebellion. It is not for your thoughts but for your acts that I am to give you into custody."

Since the Council, in its incomplete meeting prior to the arrival of the accused men, had not arrived at a decision, the announcement by Governor Endicott that he was planning to arrest John Brown and his brother became a signal for surprise and consternation. There was some uncertainty as to the right of the Governor to resort to such drastic action against a member of the Council without an express vote of that body. Members of the Council who deplored the conduct of the Browns were, nevertheless, constrained to oppose the Governor's action as hasty and tyrannical. The two clergymen, however, upheld Endicott. It was largely due to their eloquence that the dispute was settled in the Governor's favor.

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The men were arrested and taken from the Governor's house to a place of confinement. After their departure the Council settled down to the important question of what form of punishment should be meted out to the culprits.

"Methinks we are stirring up a hornet's nest," declared Roger Conant earnestly. "These men have powerful friends in England. Whatever we may do to them is sure to trouble us hereafter."

"True enough, Master Conant," responded Governor Endicott, still flushed from the excitement of the recent debate, "but if they be permitted to continue their disturbances here then we will surely be undone."

"Can we not banish them from our borders?" asked Rev. Francis Higginson. "If they be no longer in our midst they may cease to trouble us, even as Ralph Smith, who fled from this plantation not long since."

"But Smith has been received into fellowship by our brethren at Plymouth—he is preaching in their church. John Brown and his brother would have no place of refuge unless we send them back to England." The speaker was Roger Conant.

"A good idea, Master Conant. What say you, gentlemen of the Council, that we sentence the Browns to banishment to England and send them back on the ships that sail next week?"

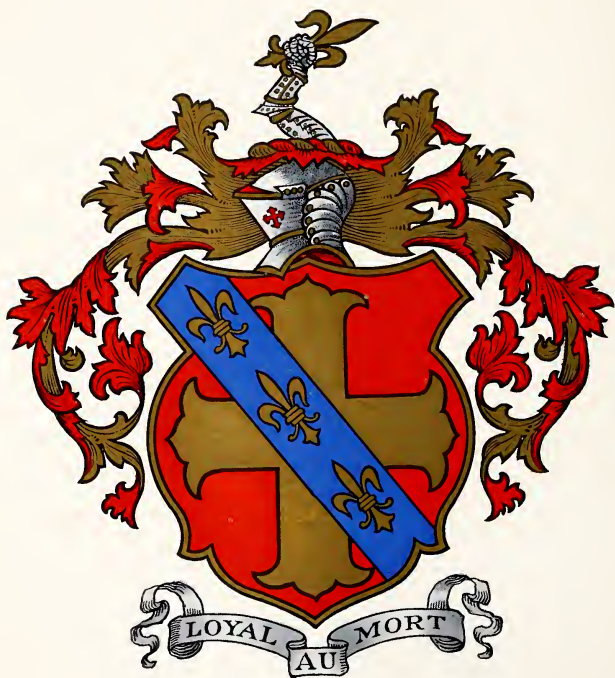
"Why try them at all?" cried Rev. Samuel Skelton. "Why not send them back to England with written accusations against them, to be tried by the Bay Company itself?"

"That would be shirking our plain duty," responded the Governor hotly. "Their offense is against this Colony, against the rules that we have established for its safety and well-being."

"I am not so sure that our duty is plain," responded the clergyman dubiously. "We cannot afford to make any mistakes that John Brown, clever and contentious barrister that he is, may use against us."

Despite the Governor's earnest desire to put the men on trial in Salem, the milder plan of sending them back to England to be tried for their insubordination prevailed. So it came to pass that when the last of the ships set out on the homeward journey during the following week the two Browns were aboard, raging and defiant, breathing of vengeance when they should reach England.

(To be continued)



Lafimer

Latimer and Allied Families

By J. J. McDONALD, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



THE surname Latimer is derived from a corruption of the ancient Norman word, *latinier*, meaning a speaker of Latin, or more generally, an interpreter, since the term Latin included languages in general at the time. According to the Peerages, the noble families of this surname are descended from Wrenock, the son of Meirric, who held certain lands on the Welsh border, under the ancient Norman kings, by the service of being *latimer*, or interpreter, between the Welsh and the English.

Arms—Gules, a cross patonce or, over all a bend azure semée-de-lis of the second.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Crest—A dexter arm in armour embowed, the hand grasping a fleur-de-lis.

Motto—*Loyal au mort.*

(Crest and Motto used by family.)

Early records of the name show, in 1086, Hugo Latinarius; in 1273, Alan le Latimer and Symon le Latimer; and in 1513, William Latymere, in the "Register of the University of Oxford."

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

The best known, perhaps, of the English Latimers was Bishop Hugh Latimer, Protestant martyr, and one of the principal promoters of the Reformation in England. Born about 1490 at Thurcaston, Leicestershire, he was the son of a yeoman and entered the University of Cambridge about 1505. He was elected a Fellow of Clare College in 1509, and was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1510, and with that of Master of Arts in 1514, having taken holy orders before the latter date. During these earlier years of his career he was a most careful observer of even the most minute rites of his faith, but about 1523 he was according to his own statement, converted from Romanism. Having been appointed a University preacher, his discourses soon attracted wide attention and his influence grew rapidly. In the Lent of 1530 he was invited to preach before Henry VIII, who was much pleased with his sermon and soon afterwards appointed him one of the Royal chaplains. The King's favor

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partly also resulted from the fact that Hugh Latimer, having been made one of the committee to examine into the validity of the King's marriage to Katherine of Arragon, reported in favor of the King's divorce. In 1531 he accepted the living of West Kington or West Kington, Wiltshire, conferred upon him by Henry VIII. During this period his strong support of the cause of Reformation brought him several times into conflict with high church dignitaries and in 1532 he was excommunicated and imprisoned. Through the interference of the King he was released and, following Cranmer's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, Hugh Latimer's influence became very strong. After Henry VIII formally repudiated the authority of the Pope, in 1534, Latimer was, together with Cranmer and Cromwell, one of the chief advisors to the King regarding the legislative measures that rendered the repudiation complete and irrevocable. It is generally acknowledged that Latimer's sermons did more than anything else to establish the principles of the Reformation in the minds and hearts of the people. In September, 1535, he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester. He resigned his bishopric four years later. In 1546 he was again committed to the Tower of London, from where he was freed through a general pardon on the accession of Edward VI. In January, 1548, he resumed his preaching and he immediately attracted great crowds. Shortly after the accession of Mary, in 1553, he was summoned before the Council at Westminster. Tried at Oxford, where he was imprisoned again for a year, he was eventually found guilty of heresy and on October 16, 1555, was burned at the stake at Oxford, together with Bishop Nicholas Ridley. He went to his death with the same courage that characterized his entire life. His utter lack of intolerance, his great sincerity and his remarkable eloquence made him one of the outstanding figures of the English Reformation.

One of the historic episodes in Bishop Latimer's career, mentioned above, has been depicted in a mural painting by the English artist, Ernest Board. It is to be found in the House of Commons, London, in the corridor leading from the Central Hall to the Tower Waiting Hall, was presented to Parliament by Lord Wandsworth, and is entitled "Latimer Preaching before Edward VI at St. Paul's Cross, A. D. 1548."

(Sir M. Conway: "The Historical Paintings in the Houses of Parliament," p. 5. "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. XVI, pp. 242-243.)

LATIMER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Robert (1) Latimer, first of this family in this country, came to America in the "Hopewell," arriving in Boston in 1635. Robert Latimer was a mariner, being master, part owner and finally full owner of a coasting vessel. He removed to New London, Connecticut, about 1660. According to some records he died at New London in 1671, but other records state that he was "probably lost at sea about 1671." In 1690 his widow petitioned the court for a distribution of his estate, and it was divided equally between the two Latimer children and the two Jones children, surviving from his wife's first marriage.

Robert (1) Latimer married, at Charlestown, Massachusetts, September 1, 1662, Ann (Griggs) Jones, daughter of George and Alice Griggs, and widow of Matthew Jones. Children: 1. Robert (2), of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born November 14, 1667; married Jonathan Prentiss or Prentice.

(James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, p. 59. Madison C. Bates: "Latimer History and Genealogy." Family records.)

II. Robert (2) Latimer, son of Robert (1) and Ann (Griggs-Jones) Latimer, was born in New London, Connecticut, February 5, 1664, and died November 2, 1728. He became one of the prominent citizens of the Colony and captain of the militia and often served as a member of the Colonial Legislature and the Governor's Council.

He married Hannah, a widow, but neither her family name nor that of her first husband is known. Children: 1. John. 2. Robert, married, June 17, 1731, Mary Huntley. 3. Jonathan (1), of whom further. 4. Samuel, married, July 11, 1723, Elizabeth Hallam. 5. Peter, married, April 23, 1732, Hannah Picket.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Jonathan (1) Latimer, son of Robert (2) and Hannah Latimer, was born in Connecticut about 1698. A copy of the distribution of his estate in 1778 is on record. He is mentioned in contemporary records as a large landholder.

He married, April 6, 1721, Borrodil or Borodel Denison. (Denison V.) Children: 1. Annie, born about 1723; married, October 3, 1741, Charles Buckley. 2. Jonathan (2), of whom further. 3. Elizabeth, born September 6, 1726; married Joseph Denison. 4.

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Mary, born April 16, 1729; married Joseph Deshon. 5. Amos, born December 5, 1730. 6. Robert, born February 26, 1732. 7. Henry, born February 28, 1737. 8. Daniel, born August 16, 1739. 9. John, born December 21, 1741. 10. Borrodil, baptized February 19, 1744; married Matthew Coit.

(Family records.)

IV. Colonel Jonathan (2) Latimer, son of Jonathan (1) and Borrodil or Borodel (Denison) Latimer, was born in New London, Connecticut, March or May 27, 1724, and died in Tennessee in 1790.

Jonathan (2) Latimer served in the French and Indian War. He has also a distinguished Revolutionary War record:

In 1775, after hearing of the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, he marched his Company to Boston and was at Bunker Hill.

July 6, 1775, he was commissioned Major of the Third Company.

June 20, 1776, commissioned Lieut. Col., Fourth Battalion.

Oct., 1776, commissioned Col. of Third Regiment, men from New London and Lyme.

Sept. 19, and October 9, 1777, engaged in the Battles of Saratoga. The Conn. Regiment commanded by Jonathan Latimer is highly spoken of by General Gates.

(Caulkin: "History of New London, Connecticut," p. 512. Hinman: "Connecticut in the Revolution," pp. 186, 233, 236. "Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution," pp. 79, 403, 504.)

About 1790, Colonel Latimer determined to move with his family from Connecticut to Tennessee. He was then an old man of sixty-six or seven years of age, but it is believed the move was decided upon in order to take advantage of the government's offer of free land to those who had served in the Revolution. His children were grown, many of them married, at the time of the removal from Connecticut. The journey was long and tiresome, made by ox-drawn wagons over poor roads, which were often almost impassable. Wherever it was possible, use was made of the many streams in order to make the journey easier. They traveled into the Cumberland country which lay on both sides of the line between Tennessee and Kentucky; on the east were the western foothills of the Cumberland Mountains, on the west the Tennessee River, with the Cumberland River running through it from the east to west. The Latimers settled

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in Robertson County, about ten miles north of the Cumberland River and fifteen miles northeast of Nashville.

The journey, with its hardships, proved too much for Colonel Latimer, who died when they had almost reached the end of the long trip. He was buried in Tennessee, near Nashville.

Colonel Jonathan (2) Latimer married, in Connecticut, Lucretia Griswold. (Griswold IV.) (Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXXIX.) Children: 1. Hannah, born September 19, 1747; married Daniel Rogers. 2. George, born July 29, 1749; married, October 10, 1773, Rachel Smith. 3. Borrodil, born December 13, 1750; died young. 4. Jonathan, born April 12, 1753; married, August 3, 1775, Elizabeth Chapel. 5. Borrodil, born April 12, 1755. 6. Wetherell, born March 18, 1757. 7. Charles, born June 30, 1759. 8. Robert, born November 2, 1760. 9. Nicholas, born June 8, 1763. 10. Griswold, born September 8, 1764. 11. Joseph, of whom further. 12. Nathan, born February 25, 1768. 13. Daniel, born May 4, 1771.

(Madison C. Bates: "Latimer History and Genealogy," pp. 6-7. Family records.)

V. Joseph Latimer, son of Colonel Jonathan (2) and Lucretia (Griswold) Latimer, was born at New London, Connecticut, January or June 8, 1766, and died at his home in Cherry Grove, near Abingdon, Illinois, August 18, 1846.

Joseph Latimer, about forty years after his father came to Tennessee, decided to remove with his family to Illinois. His family, at the time, numbered more than twenty, including his ten children and their families. The first year, 1830, they traveled only as far as Sangamon County, Illinois. There they stayed for a short time, until, in 1831, leaving behind Jonathan and Alexander and their families, they continued their journey towards the northwest, to what later became Cherry Grove, Knox County, Illinois. Here there was an abundance of prairie land, magnificent untouched forests and good water. The choice of this land was available at the government price of one dollar and a quarter per acre.

Six of Joseph Latimer's children, with their families, located in what was known as the Cherry Grove neighborhood and acted together in the matter of school and church affairs. They built a

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log cabin to be used as schoolhouse and church, as soon as they had built their own houses and were settled. This, the first school to be built in Knox County, had for a teacher Robert Bell.

In June, 1835, the Cherry Grove Cumberland Presbyterian Church was organized at the home of Joseph Latimer with thirteen charter members, seven of whom were Latimers.

The church and school grew together. In 1836 another building was erected for the use of both groups. It was in this new church building that the Cherry Grove Seminary was started in 1836 or 1837. This school increased in size and reputation, until it had an annual enrollment of about one hundred pupils. With expansion, new buildings were added and it became a boarding school, so that pupils from distant towns could study there. Within thirty years after its organization, the founding of four or five other colleges and schools within a short radius made it apparent that the need, which had brought Cherry Grove Seminary into existence and made it such a valuable part of the community, no longer existed, and consequently, in 1866, the school closed and the library that had been collected was sent with the good wishes of the trustees to Lincoln College. The Latimers played a very important part in the growth of this school and many of the children were educated within its walls.

Joseph Latimer married, at Gallatin, Tennessee, in 1795, Anna Dobbins, who was born in South Carolina, May 10, 1776, and died at Cherry Grove, Illinois, February 9, 1853. Children: 1. Mary, born in Tennessee, August 30, 1797, died near Abingdon, Illinois, May 9, 1858; married Israel M. Marshall, born July 16, 1788, died in Abingdon, Illinois, August 17, 1881. 2. Borodel, born March 14, 1799, died October 18, 1800. 3. Elizabeth, born in Tennessee, March 22, 1801, died at Winnebago, Minnesota, March 15, 1868; married, in Robertson County, Tennessee, October 2, 1817, William M. Weir, born in South Carolina, November 8, 1794, died in Robertson County, Tennessee, October 31, 1854; removed to Minnesota. 4. Jonathan, born in Tennessee, May 23, 1803, died at Cherry Grove, Illinois, August 4, 1866; married, at Gallatin, Tennessee, February 27, 1827, Nancy West, born November 13, 1802, died in Cherry Grove, October 18, 1887. 5. Sarah, born in Tennessee, May 31, 1805, died in Seattle, Washington, February 10, 1888; married (first), in Tennessee, January 17, 1822, Richard Freeman Boren;

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married (second), at Cherry Grove, Illinois, in 1849, John Denny; by her second marriage she was both stepmother and mother-in-law to her husband's two sons, Arthur and David Denny, who were pioneers in founding the city of Seattle. 6. Alexander, of whom further. 7. George Griswold, born in Tennessee, February 28, 1810, died at Cherry Grove, February 25, 1848; married, in Sangamon County, Illinois, October 25, 1832, Rebecca Drennan, who was born in Illinois, February 26, 1814, and died in Cherry Grove, January 24, 1895. 8. John Carson, born in Tennessee, August 18, 1812, died at Shenandoah, Iowa, February 13, 1898; married, in Warren County, Illinois, January 5, 1834, Anne (Nancy Ann) Pearce. (Pearce II, Child 1.) 9. David F., born in Tennessee, March 7, 1815, died at Cherry Grove, November 19, 1836. 10. Susan Pauline, born at Lebanon, Tennessee, July 19, 1817, died at Farragut, Iowa, September 25, 1884; married, at Cherry Grove, November 21, 1833, Urban David Coy, born in Nelson County, Kentucky, September 14, 1810, died in Farragut, Iowa, February 10, 1876.

(Madison C. Bates: "Latimer History and Genealogy," pp. 8-28. Family records.)

VI. Alexander Latimer, son of Joseph and Anna (Dobbins) Latimer, was born in Robertson County, Tennessee, September 7, 1807, and died near Winnebago, Minnesota, October 27, 1892.

Alexander Latimer moved with his father from Tennessee to Illinois in 1830. He and his brother Jonathan remained in Sangamon County, where the family had stopped before moving to Knox County. Jonathan joined his father in Knox County in 1832, but Alexander remained in Sangamon County for another year. While he was living there, Mr. Latimer became acquainted with Abraham Lincoln. He served under Lincoln's command in the Black Hawk War, and later kept up a friendly correspondence with him for a number of years. Unfortunately, the letters from Lincoln, which Mr. Latimer had very carefully saved, were destroyed in a fire which burned down his house. The Rev. Henderson Ritchie, who married Mr. Latimer's eldest daughter, Mary, stated that Lincoln told him that he had often held Mary, as a baby, and played with her. Mr. Latimer was a farmer and a merchant.

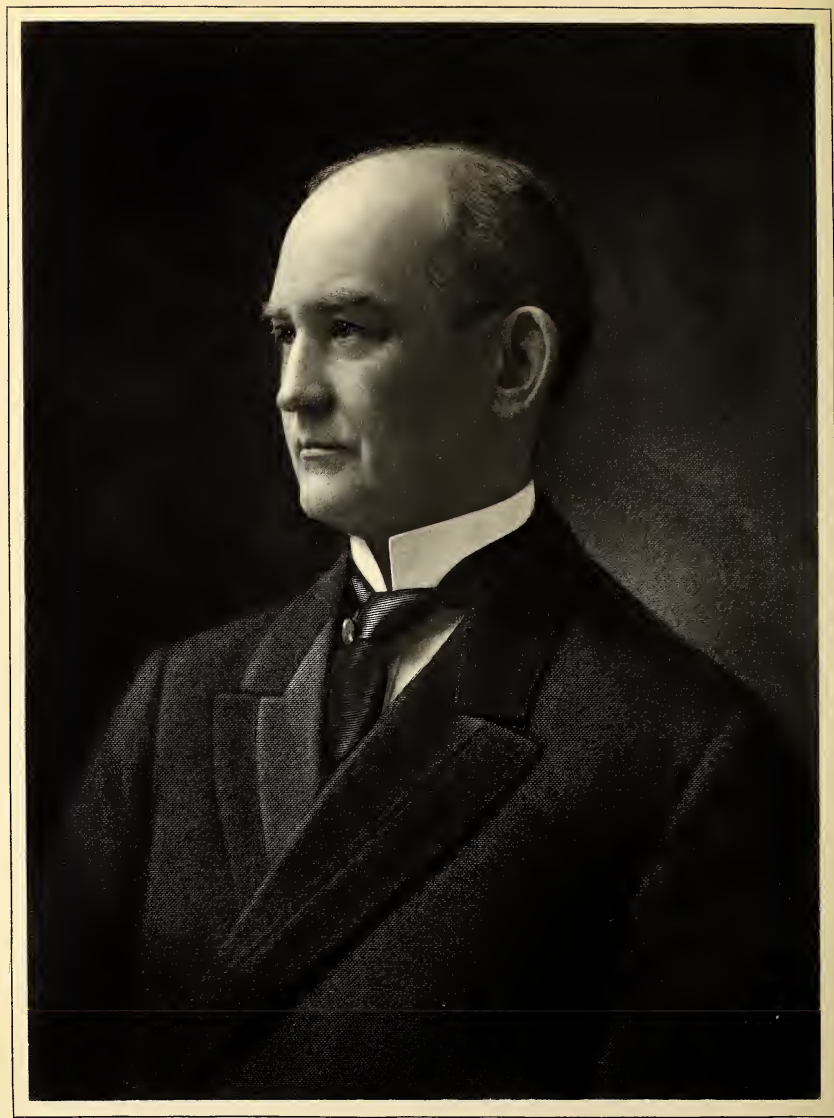
Alexander Latimer married (first), in Tennessee, October 1, 1829, Eunice Jane Guthrie, who was born in Robertson County,

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Tennessee, October 8, 1809, and died in Cherry Grove, Illinois, September 15, 1840. He married (second), in Illinois, March 4, 1841, Julia Ann Hart, who was born May 13, 1819, and died in Cherry Grove, March 27, 1850. He married (third), in Illinois, September 5, 1850, Sarah Candace Chesney, who was born August 31, 1824, and died in Seattle, Washington, May 22, 1895. By this marriage there were five daughters. Children of the first marriage: 1. Elizabeth Ann, died August 25, 1842. 2. William Guthrie, of whom further. 3. Mary Louise, born November 23, 1834, died May 11, 1914; married, September 3, 1856, the Rev. Henderson Ritchie, born December 23, 1828, died at Kansas City, March 2, 1915. 4. James Smith, born November 27, 1836, died January 27, 1893; married, November 27, 1854, Sarah Beard. 5. Joseph McDowell, born September 18, 1838, died September 13, 1842. 6. Robert Alexander, born September 13, 1840, died May 3, 1843. Children of second marriage: 7. Washington Kays, born November 3, 1842, died in Andersonville Prison, Georgia, during the Civil War, January 23, 1865; served with Company D, 9th Minnesota Volunteers. 8. Pleasant Hart, born May 2, 1844, died in 1912; married, in January, 1870, Lucy Ella Day. 9. Sarah Jane, born May 7, 1847, died in August, 1915; married, in 1868, John W. Dowdy. 10. Cordelia Ann, born May 14, 1849, died in May, 1924; married, in January, 1870, C. M. Phipps. Children of third marriage: 11. Narcissa Leonora, born November 10, 1851, died in 1900, at Seattle, Washington; married, in 1869, Orion O. Denny. 12. Eliza Alice, born September 20, 1856; married, in 1888, Charles Fowler. 13. Harriet Ellen, born April 9, 1859; married, December 25, 1878, Charles Stephens. 14. Clara Candace, born August 10, 1861; married, in 1888, Arthur F. Bickford. 15. Emma Chesney, born January 24, 1864; married, in 1886, Charles Reynolds.

VII. William Guthrie Latimer, son of Alexander and Eunice Jane (Guthrie) Latimer, was born in Galesburg, Illinois, July 24, 1832, and died in Seattle, Washington, February 1, 1898. He was a direct descendant of Elder William Brewster, of "Mayflower" fame, and was educated at Hedding College, Abingdon.

William G. Latimer served in the Civil War, and was appointed second lieutenant, Company 11, 83d Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, by Governor Richard Yates of Illinois. He spent most of his life in



M. H. Latimer

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farming in Illinois, where he lived until 1882. In that year he settled in Seattle and engaged in the business of buying and selling real estate. Mr. Latimer was one of the first white men to stand on the present site of Seattle, for in 1852 he crossed the plains with an ox team and visited this territory. Two years later he returned to Illinois, and it was not until 1882 that he went to Seattle. He was elected treasurer of King County in 1887 and built the first schoolhouse in the county.

To the end of his life he was active in the Grand Army of the Republic, serving at one time as commander of John F. Miller Post and also of Stephen's Post. He was widely known in Masonic circles.

William Guthrie Latimer married (first), in Abingdon, Knox County, Illinois, January 25, 1860, Martha Jane Pearce. (Pearce IV.) The ceremony was performed by the Rev. W. Henry, minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Latimer married (second) Rosa Lynch. Children of first marriage: 1. Rosa Bonheur, born in 1861, died at Berwick, Illinois, in 1882. 2. Norval Hastings, of whom further. 3. Vinnie, married Elmer Cassell. 4. Erie, married T. R. Johnson. Child of second marriage: 5. Hollis, died in San Francisco, in May, 1935.

(Family records.)

VIII. Norval Hastings Latimer, son of William Guthrie and Martha Jane (Pearce) Latimer, was born in Berwick, Illinois, May 7, 1863, and died in Seattle, Washington, November 23, 1923.

After attending the district schools near Monmouth, Illinois, until he was about fifteen years of age, Mr. Latimer worked for about a year on his father's farm nearby. Then he went to Kirkwood, Illinois, and accepted a position as messenger in the First National Bank. Thus early he began the association with banking which he was to maintain to the end of his life. Later he became a bookkeeper and remained in that position in the same institution until 1882, when he accompanied his parents to Seattle.

That same year he secured employment in the Dexter Horton Company, bankers, as messenger and janitor, sweeping out the bank and performing a variety of simple tasks. His pay was fifty dollars a month. Six months later he was made assistant cashier and in 1889 he became manager of the bank, virtually performing all the duties of president of the bank and cashier, as these officers were content to

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leave them in his capable hands and devote most of their time to private interests. In 1910 a new charter was secured for the bank and the name was changed to the Dexter Horton National Bank, Mr. Latimer being made president and director. Throughout the remainder of his life he controlled the policy and interests of this institution, one of the strong and reliable banks of the Northwest, which carries on a banking business of very large proportions. This bank is now known as the Seattle First National Bank.

Although this bank was the center of his interest and the recipient of most of his time and energy, he had many other interests, both as a banker and in other types of business activity. He was a director and a member of the executive committee of the Dexter Horton Trust and Savings Bank, president of the First National Bank of Port Townsend and president of the Wauconda Investment Company, owners of Seattle property valued at one and one-half million dollars. One of the active organizers of the Seattle Clearing House Association, he was chosen president for no less than sixteen consecutive terms. He was also president of the Diamond Ice Company, the Puget Sound Traction, Light and Power Company, and the Snoqualmie Falls Power Company. As a banker he had great opportunities of serving his city and State, and he made the most of them. To quote from an article which appeared in a local publication at the time of his death:

N. H. Latimer was truly as much of a sacrifice to his love for his country, as if he had died on the battlefield in one of the nation's wars. As chief executive of the Dexter Horton National Bank of Seattle since 1889, he had a tremendous opportunity of serving his city, the business concerns of his city and the whole Pacific Northwest. He loved Seattle, he loved his bank and he loved his work. He rendered very faithful service to the business circles of his city. He was one of those men who was always working and carrying an infinite volume of detail. . . . There are many thousands of men in business who owe much of their success to the helping hand of Latimer. There are thousands and thousands of other men in businesses who are grateful to him for little business kindnesses, and there are hosts of others who treasured up words and sentences of kind thoughts that he had expressed to them.

During the World War, Mr. Latimer served as a member of the housing committee, and as a member of the National Guard he did military duty with the Seattle Rifles in 1890. He was at one time

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president of the Washington State Bankers Association and was also very active in the American Bankers Association. A life member of the Rainier Club, he was also a life member of the Seattle Golf Club. He was one of the founders and past commodore of the Seattle Yacht Club, and a member of the Arctic Club, and of the Tacoma Club, Tacoma, Washington. As for his Masonic affiliations, he was a member of Arcana Lodge, No. 87, Free and Accepted Masons; the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite; the Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; and one of the few thirty-third degree Masons in the city. A regular attendant at Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Mr. Latimer was an earnest and devout Christian.

Perhaps his favorite recreations of an outdoor character, and he was very fond of all kinds of sports, were yachting and duck hunting. Yachtsmen on the Pacific Coast remember the "Honey Boy," a trim cruiser he had built in Boston, Massachusetts. She was an eighty-five footer, and Mr. Latimer intended to have her delivered by way of the Panama Canal, but as she was needed on the coast sooner than he had planned he had her shipped by rail instead. This entailed many difficulties, however. In the first place it was necessary to have the boat cut down to sixty-five feet and that it was found necessary to cut the sides off so that she could get through the railroad tunnels. Nevertheless, the "Honey Boy" was one of the finest yachts in the Northwest. At the outbreak of the war she was turned over to the government for naval use.

In 1918, Mr. Latimer was a member of the commission ordered to be sent to Japan in the interest of foreign relations. He was all ready to leave, transportation and passports all obtained, when the project was called off because of difficulties arising from war conditions.

Mr. Latimer loved all types of athletics and took part in many of them; he enjoyed the out-of-doors and spent a good deal of time at his country place, "Norval Hall," with its lawn and flowers. He also had absorbed intellectual interests and hobbies; he was a great reader and especially fond of technical books on electricity and architecture. This latter hobby bore fruit. Not only did he spend many happy hours designing houses, but he designed the beautiful new Dexter Horton Building and its interiors, a credit to any architect. Early in his life in Seattle he took to collecting books and data on

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Northwestern history and had several thousand volumes on this subject, a collection of very great historical importance and value. Mrs. Latimer is carrying on this work and seeing to the preservation of these data. She is very active in Historical Society circles, and there is no doubt that the results of her careful work will be of great value in understanding the development of this section of the country.

Mr. Latimer's family have spent the warm seasons in recent years in their country home, "Bell Vista," at Port Madison, Washington.

Norval Hastings Latimer married, May 22, 1890, Margaret Moore. (Moore VII.) Children: 1. Arthur Griffith, born in Seattle, February 12, 1892, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. During the World War he was commissioned as an ensign in the United States Navy and served on the transport "Northern Pacific," making six round trips to France with troops and munitions. In college he was a member of Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity and Skull and Crescent Honorary Society. He is a Mason and member of the College Club, Bondmen's Club and Rainier Club in Seattle. After a background in commercial and investment banking he became proprietor of his own investment banking firm and for many years was identified with the underwriting of worthy local securities. A lover of outdoor sports, speed boats, horses, hunting and fishing, he aspires, when retiring from business, to develop a ranch for breeding polo ponies. He married (first), in 1921, Mary Dudley Walker, who died in December, 1932, daughter of Mrs. William S. Walker, of Aberdeen, Mississippi. He married (second), Velva Stout, of Tacoma, Washington. Children of first marriage: i. Corinne, born September 2, 1923. ii. Arthur G., Jr., born October 12, 1927. 2. Chester Moore, born May 11, 1893, attended Broadway High School, Seattle, followed by two years at Belmont (California) Military Academy, 1909-12, where he was active in football and baseball, having been captain of the latter team during his senior year. He was first lieutenant of infantry company, member of G E K Fraternity and holder of double scholastic honors each year. In 1915 he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy from Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, where he was a member of the 'varsity wrestling team for two years (weight one hundred and twenty-nine pounds), captain during his senior year, champion lightweight wrestler, and also a member of the senior student council. He enlisted in

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the First Officers' Training Camp, San Francisco, but not being among the first called enlisted in the United States Navy for duty on submarine chasers. His service record reads: Service duty with rank of boatswain mate, first-class, Bremerton Navy Yard; commissioned ensign, receiving highest rating in class; was assigned to staff of Admiral Coontz, commandant of Navy Yard; took command of subchaser No. 308 and was assigned to duty with submarine base at San Pedro, California. He is a member of Phi Gamma Delta, the Rainier, Arctic, Inglewood Golf and Seattle Yacht (a former director and treasurer) clubs; a thirty-second Scottish Rite Mason; Knight Commander, Court of Honor, 1934; treasurer of all Scottish Rite bodies since 1925; and on official staff Lodge of Perfection for seven years. He is a trustee and treasurer of Jeffs Orphan Home, trustee of Washington Children's Home and Ruth School for Girls, and a former vestryman of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1915 he began as messenger for the Dexter Horton National Bank at a salary of thirty dollars per month, serving through various clerical positions. In the spring of 1919 he was made assistant cashier, later became assistant vice-president in charge of the new-business department, and is now vice-president and a director. He married, September 15, 1923, in Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Seattle, Mildred Lewis, a member of the Junior League. Children: i. Lael, born in 1924, baptized in St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church. ii. William Lewis, born in 1926, baptized in Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church. iii. Chester Moore, Jr., born in 1932, baptized in Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church. 3. Earl Hastings, born September 22, 1895, was graduated from Broadway High School in 1915, and from the University of Washington with the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1920. At high school he was president of the junior class and of Science Club, vice-president of the freshman and sophomore classes and the Senior Dramatic Club, chairman of the Senior Ball Committee, member of the Midget football team, Midget track team and Midget baseball team. In 1917 he enlisted in the aviation service, graduating from Balloon School, Fort Omaha, Nebraska, November 15, 1917. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1918, and upon completion of the course received a pilot's license as free balloon pilot, one of few such licenses held in this country, and was transferred to Morrison, Virginia, in command of the 23d Bal-

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loon Company. On December 24, 1918, he was graduated from Balloon School, American Expeditionary Forces, with highest grades ever awarded in this school. At the close of war he was placed in command of seventy-seven men and was mustered out in New York, April 29, 1919. After graduating from college he entered the employ of the Dexter Horton National Bank in the collection department, later becoming head of the contract department, and at the present time he is head of the loan and discount department. He holds the certificate (with honors) from the American Institute of Banking and was sent as a representative from his bank to the Institute's convention held in Baltimore, Maryland. He is ex-secretary of the Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity and a thirty-second degree Mason. During his recreational hours he delights in the study of magic, and he is a member of the International Brotherhood of Magicians, Ring No. 59. He married, April 30, 1929, Muriel Burroughs; children: i. John Singleton, born November 15, 1932. ii. Marlene, born September 3, 1935. 4. Allan Wallace, born February 25, 1899, was graduated from Broadway High School, where he was president of the senior class and of the dramatic society in 1917, and from the University of Washington, College of Business Administration, in 1921; at the university he was a member of the rowing crew during his freshman year, and class chairman, social committee. He originated the Junior Yacht Club, and was commodore in 1922-23. He served during the World War in the heavy artillery. He is vice-president of Hartley Rogers and Company, Seattle. He is a member of Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity and a Mason. He married, in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Seattle, September 1, 1923, Alice Norma Tucker, a member of the Junior League, and they spend the summer months in their home in Port Madison, Washington. Children: i. Joan, born October 26, 1924. ii. Norval Hastings, II, born February 13, 1926. iii. Marlice, born June 14, 1927. iv. Avalee, born April 10, 1931. v. Allan Wallace, Jr., born August 3, 1932. 5. Walter Burnside, born in Seattle, June 3, 1901, an honor graduate of Broadway High School, and a graduate of University of Washington, junior certificate electrical engineering, graduate business administration, 1923; treasurer of senior class, chairman junior "prom" and assistant manager track team for three years. In 1934 he received three diplomas, American Institute of Banking courses. In 1923 he received an appointment to



*(From L. to R.) Margaret L. Lattimer, William L. Lattimer, Arthur Griffith Lattimer,
 Roy L. Lattimer, Allen Wallace Lattimer, Walter Burrows Lattimer, Edwin Lattimer, Carl Hastings Lattimer.*

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the National City Company, of New York, completing a two years' course in one and one-half years. He then returned to the employ of the National City Company, later entering the employ of the Dexter Horton Bank, now the First National Bank of Seattle. He is a member of the Tennis, Yacht, College, Forty-Nine, and Washington Athletic (charter member) clubs, and for two years was a member of the committee of Junior Club and also treasurer. He is also a member of the American Institute of Electrical Engineering, Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity, and Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church. He enjoys the recreational sports of tennis, hunting, swimming (long distance), camping and mountain climbing, having climbed Mt. Rainier to the summit, 14,444 feet, in record time (nine hours and forty-five minutes). He married, in Paris, France, June 14, 1932, at the fashionable 16th arrondissement, the Mayor of Paris being witness, Florence Keyser, former secretary to American Ambassador Walter Edge. 6. Ray Norval, born Easter Sunday, April 12, 1903, attended Broadway High School and University of Oregon, for two years, and in 1925 was graduated from the University of Washington, where he was a member of the crew squad. During last year in college he entered the Aviation School, completing consecutively ground school, primary flight training, advanced training (flight), professional examinations, and received commission in United States Naval Reserve as naval aviator, also transport pilot rating from Department of Commerce. His aviation record to date is: A year active duty with Aircraft (Sand Point, Seattle) Squadrons; battle fleet, San Diego, California; and intensive military flying and officer's duties, Pensacola, Florida. Upon completion of active duty and having been transferred to reserve status, he took up commercial flying in the interior of Alaska. He is a member of Phi Gamma Delta, Naval Air Club of Seattle, and Reserve Officers' Association. In 1934 he was promoted lieutenant, junior grade, United States Naval Reserve. He is an expert rifleman and machine gunner, and his hobbies are yachting, study of psychology, naval architecture, hunting and musical appreciation. He married, at Yuma, Arizona, in 1931, Fern Morrissey. Children: i. Sharon. ii. Calhoun, born August 15, 1936. 7. Vernon Guthrie, born in Seattle, August 16, 1904, a graduate of the University of Washington, class of 1927. At college he was an active leader in campus activities and

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was elected to the Oval Club, honorary society, in recognition of his services to the university as an undergraduate. He is a member of Phi Gamma Delta. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics in 1926. He was a student on the Pioneer University World Cruise in 1926-27, visiting forty-four foreign countries. He was assistant cashier, Seattle branch office, New York Life Insurance Company during 1927-29, and agency representative during 1929-34. Founder and organizer of the Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1930, and its first president and a director during 1931-34, he was elected to the board of trustees of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce in 1931, and was elected as director of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1930 and its first president and a director during 1931-34, to the board of trustees of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce in 1931, and a director of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, 1931-32. He is a member of the Washington Athletic Club and the College Club of Seattle and formerly was a member of the Seattle Yacht Club. He married, October 23, 1929, Mary Potter Dudley, of Aberdeen, Washington, daughter of Lovelle Potter and Elizabeth Benn (Crammatte) Dudley. Children: i. Elizabeth, born in Aberdeen, Washington, October 5, 1930. ii. Gordon Dudley, born March 27, 1936. 8. Margaret, born in Seattle, July 22, 1906, was graduated from St. Nicholas School for Girls at Seattle in 1923, and Castilleja School for Girls at Palo Alto, California, in 1924. She attended the University of Washington, 1925-27, and the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts in Paris, France, in 1927. She traveled extensively throughout Europe, including sixteen countries, and visited the Panama Canal and the Canadian Rockies in 1930. She is interested in many activities, being a member of the Orthopedic Hospital Guild, and the Junior League of Seattle, and is particularly interested in Braille work for the blind. She married, February 11, 1931, at Trinity Parish Church, Charles Preston Callahan, born in Auckland, New Zealand, October 17, 1901, son of Charles Joseph Callahan. Charles Preston Callahan held the rank of junior deck officer in the cadet division of the merchant marine during the World War, and has since been continuously associated with the A. G. Manufacturing Company. Children: i. Charles Latimer Callahan, born in Seattle, Washington, October 30, 1932, christened Easter Sunday, April 16, 1933, in Trinity Parish Church. ii. Margaret Susan, born January 7, 1936.

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The death of Norval Hastings Latimer on November 23, 1923, after a long struggle against ill health that began on October 15, 1921, with a stroke of paralysis, marked the loss of a man who, for over forty years, had been associated with banking in Seattle, Washington, and who had enjoyed the great privilege of watching at first hand the development of that city from pioneer beginnings and of aiding it to become a great and flourishing city. Not only as a power in banking, but as an individual who by his personality and force of character did much to influence his acquaintances and fellow-citizens, he left his mark on this city. Its business, civic and social life, its clubs and intellectual circles were all touched by his life which was many-sided, but suffered no loss of attainment thereby. With his death another man who had watched one of the historic dramas of American life played out, who spanned the period from pioneer days to the present, and who took so active a part in that drama, was lost to Seattle. The years that have passed have only made more evident his many fine qualities and the magnitude of his contribution to the life of the city.

(Family data.)

(The Denison Line)

Denison and its variants, Dennis, Denniss, Denis, Dennison, Denisson, and Denyson, are taken from the baptismal name, "the son of Denis." Crossing over from France, both the masculine and feminine forms, Denis and Denise, were in common usage, as this font-name was very popular for a while, especially in Yorkshire and the North, and has left its mark in such familiar surnames as Dyson, Denny, Dennett, Dyatt, Dyett, and Dye, apart from the list given above. Tennyson and Tenison are also variants. Denison and Denyson are the forms which are usually found in the old English records, such as the parish registers of Stortford, Hertfordshire. The ancestors of the Denisons were probably Huguenots, who resided in Flanders, migrating from there to England. The later descendants of George Denison adopted the spelling Dennison.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." A. L. Dennison: "Dennison Family," p. 6.)

Arms—Argent, on a chevron engrailed gules, between three torteaux, an annulet or.

Crest—A dexter arm embowed, vested vert, the hand proper grasping a scimitar.

Motto—*Domus grata.*

(Matthews: "American Armoury.")

I. *William Denison*, son of John and Agnes Denison or Denyson, was baptized at Stortford, England, February 3, 1571, and died

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at Roxbury, Massachusetts, January 25, 1653. According to the inscription on his tombstone, he was a Master of Arts, and since two of his sons were graduates of the University of Cambridge, it is possible that he received his education there also. In 1631 he sailed for New England on the ship "Lion," with his wife and children, except the eldest son, who remained in England. They located at Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he became a leader in civic and religious affairs. His name is third on the list of the founders of the First Church of that town, which was organized about 1632, with John Eliot as pastor. He was also a founder of the free school of Roxbury. He was one of the first deacons of the church and in 1634 was a constable and a deputy to the General Court. A list of early freeholders shows that he possessed two hundred and sixty-seven acres of land. In 1637 he and his son, Edward, were among several other Roxbury men who were disarmed for "seditious libel," because they were followers of Anne Hutchinson, the religious leader, who drew many of the more intelligent to her way of thinking.

William Denison married, at Stortford, Hertfordshire, England, November 7, 1603, Margaret Monck, also described as the Widow Chandler, who died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, February 23, 1645. Children: 1. John, baptized at Stortford, April 7, 1605; educated at Cambridge; remained in England when the family migrated to America; vicar of Stanton, Hertfordshire, 1660-70. 2. William, baptized October 5, 1606; a soldier at the siege of Breda, Holland. 3. George, baptized October 15, 1609, buried in 1615. 4. Daniel, born October 18, 1612, died in 1682; was graduated from Cambridge University, England; accompanied his parents to Massachusetts, where he became major-general of militia; was Speaker of the House of Representatives and for twenty-nine-years was one of the assistants; his autobiography, preserved by descendants and published in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," is the authority for identifying the family with the Denisons of Stortford; married Patience Dudley, a daughter of Governor Dudley. 5. Edward, baptized November 2, 1616, died April 26, 1668; accompanied his parents to Massachusetts, and resided at Roxbury; married Elizabeth Welde. 6. Sarah, born and died in 1615. 7. George, of whom further.

(J. L. Glascock: "Pedigree of Denison," in "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLVI, pp. 352-54. Drake: "History of Roxbury, Massachusetts," pp. 50, 90-91.)

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II. Captain George Denison, son of William and Margaret (Monck-Chandler) Denison, was baptized at Stortford, Hertfordshire, England, December 10, 1620, died at Hartford, Connecticut, October 24, 1694, and was buried in the Center Street Churchyard there. He accompanied his parents to America and resided with them at Roxbury, Massachusetts. Shortly after the death of his first wife, in 1643, he returned to England and served under Cromwell, taking part in the battle of York, or Marston Moor. After being wounded at Naseby, he was nursed back to health in the home of John Borodell, whose daughter he later married as his second wife. In 1645 he returned to Roxbury, where he resided until 1651, when he removed to Connecticut. From 1651 to 1654 he was in New London and in 1652 he was granted two hundred acres of land in the Pequotsepos Valley at Mystic. (The name of the town was later changed to Stonington.) During King Philip's War he was a captain under Major Robert Treat and took part in the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675. The following year he was in command of the forces which pursued the remnant of the Narragansett and Wampanoag Indians, and succeeded in defeating them, capturing Chief Cononchet, who was brought to Stonington. He also assisted as magistrate to enable the Pequot chiefs, designated by the English, to control the remainder of their tribe. The house, which was later known as the Oliver Denison house, was built in 1663, and stood a few feet west of what was the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Ford in 1899.

Captain George Denison married (first), about 1640, Bridget Thompson, born September 11, 1622, died in 1643; he married (second), probably in England, Ann Borodell, died September 26, 1712, aged ninety-seven, and was buried at Stonington, Connecticut, in Elm Grove Cemetery. She was the daughter of John Borodell. Children by first marriage: 1. Sarah, born March 20, 1641; married Thomas Stanton, Jr., of Stonington. 2. Hannah, born May 20, 1643; married (first), in 1659, Nathaniel Chesbro; married (second), July 15, 1680, Captain Joseph Saxton, of Stonington. Children by second marriage: 3. John, of whom further. 4. Ann, born May 20, 1649; married, November 28, 1667, Deacon Gresham Palmer, of Stonington. 5. Borodell (twin), born in 1651; married, June 16, 1680, Samuel Stanton, of Stonington. 6. George (twin), born in

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1651, died December 27, 1711; resided at Westerly, Rhode Island; married Mercy Gorham. 7. William, born in 1655, died at Stonington, March 26, 1715; married Sarah Stanton. 8. Margaret, born in 1657; married, June 5, 1676, James Brown, Jr., of Swansea, Massachusetts. 9. Mercy, born in 1659, died March 10, 1671.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of Stonington, Connecticut," pp. 336-338. J. D. Baldwin and W. Clift: "Descendants of Captain George Denison," pp. 6-8, 11, 14, 175, 231.)

III. Captain John Denison, son of Captain George and Ann (Borodell) Denison, was born July 14, 1646, and died in 1698. His will is dated April 26, 1698, and the inventory which accompanies it shows that the estate was valued at £509 12s. 10d. At the time of his marriage to Phebe Lay the parents of each conveyed them land, Captain Denison granting them a farm near the mouth of the Mystic River, in Stonington, while Robert Lay gave them the house and land at Saybrook, which he had purchased of John Post. The old Denison house at Stonington was built by either Captain John or his father. It is mentioned in the diary of Thomas Miner as being moved a short time before his death. It held at least six generations of Captain John's descendants.

Captain John Denison married, November 26, 1667, Phebe Lay, born in 1650 and died in 1699, daughter of Robert and Sarah Lay, of Saybrook, Connecticut. Children: 1. John, Jr., born January 1, 1669, died at Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1699; married, in 1690, Ann Mason, daughter of Captain John Mason. 2. George, of whom further. 3. Robert, born September 7, 1673; resided at Mohegan, now called Montville, Connecticut; married, in 1696, Joanna Stanton. 4. William, born April 7, 1677, died January 30, 1730; resided at North Stonington, Connecticut; married, in 1698, Mary Avery. 5. Daniel, born March 28, 1680, died October 13, 1747; resided at Stonington, Connecticut, and was a deacon there; married (first), January 1, 1703, Mary Stanton; married (second), October 27, 1726, Jane Cogswell. 6. Samuel, born February 23, 1683, died May 12, 1683. 7. Ann, born October 3, 1684; married (first) Samuel Minor, and (second) Edward Denison, of Westerly, Rhode Island. 8. Phebe, baptized April 6, 1690; married Ebenezer Billings, Jr. 9. Sarah, born July 20, 1692; married Isaac Williams.

(J. D. Baldwin and W. Clift: "Descendants of Captain George Denison," pp. 17, 34, 60, 84, 120, 311-13, 315.)

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IV. George Denison, son of Captain John and Phebe (Lay) Denison, was born March 28, 1671, and died January 22, 1726. He was graduated from Harvard in 1693, and resided in New London, Connecticut, where he served as town clerk, county clerk and clerk of probate. George Denison married, in 1694, Mary (Wetherell) Harris, who died in 1711, widow of Thomas Harris, daughter of Daniel and Grace (Brewster) Wetherell, granddaughter of Jonathan and Lucretia (Oldham) Brewster, and great-granddaughter of Elder William Brewster, famous "Mayflower" Pilgrim. Children: 1. Grace, born in 1694. 2. Phebe, born in 1697. 3. Hannah, born in 1699. 4. Borrodil, or Borodel, of whom further. 5. Daniel, born in 1703. 6. Wetherell, born in 1705. 7. Ann, born in 1707. 8. Sarah, born in 1709.

(*Ibid.* W. R. Cutter: "Genealogical and Family History of Connecticut," Vol. I, p. 176. Family records.)

V. Borrodil or Borodel Denison, daughter of George and Mary (Wetherell-Harris) Denison, was born in 1701. She married Jonathan (1) Latimer. (Latimer III.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Griswold Line)

Arms—Argent, a fesse gules between two greyhounds courant sable.

Crest—A greyhound passant proper.

Motto—*Volando reptilia sperno.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

I. Matthew (1) Griswold, the second son of George Griswold, was born about 1618 or 1620 in Kenilworth, Warwickshire, England, where the family was seated for many generations. In 1684 he calls himself "66 years old." He died at Lyme, Connecticut, in January, 1698-99.

He came to this country in 1639 and settled in Connecticut, first at Windsor, and later at Saybrook, in that part of the latter settlement which later became known as Lyme. He was frequently representative of Saybrook and later of Lyme and became a large landowner.

Matthew (1) Griswold married Ann Wolcott, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Saunders) Wolcott. Henry Wolcott was of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630. Children, order of birth not known: 1. Matthew (2), of whom further. 2. John, died young. 3. Elizabeth, died in July, 1727; married (first), October 17, 1670, John

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Rogers, of New London, Connecticut; (second), August 5, 1679, Peter Pratt; (third) Matthew Beckwith. 4. Ann, married, September 2, 1674, Abraham Brunson, of Farmington, Connecticut. 5. Sarah, married Captain Thomas Colton, of Springfield.

(James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 317; Vol. IV, p. 620. E. E. Salisbury: "The Griswold Family of Connecticut," in "Magazine of American History," Vol. II. Family records.)

II. Matthew (2) Griswold, son of Matthew (1) and Ann (Wolcott) Griswold, was born in 1653 and died January 15, 1716, "aged 63." He was a resident of Lyme, Connecticut.

Matthew (2) Griswold married (first), May 21, 1683, Phebe Hyde, daughter of Samuel Hyde, of Norwich, Connecticut. She died in 1704. He married (second), after May 30, 1705, Mary, widow of Thomas Lee; she died October 27, 1724, "aged 68." Children of first marriage: 1. Phebe, born August 15, 1684. 2. Elizabeth, born November 19, 1685. 3. Sarah, born March 19, 1687. 4. Matthew, born September 15, 1688. 5. John, born December 22, 1690, whose son was Governor Matthew Griswold, of Connecticut, who, in turn, was the father of Governor Roger Griswold, of Connecticut. 6. George, of whom further. 7. Mary, born April 22, 1694. 8. Deborah. 9. Samuel, who died January 10, 1728, "aged 29." 10. Thomas, who died June 27, 1716. 11. Patience.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Rev. George Griswold, son of Matthew (2) and Phebe (Hyde) Griswold, was born August 13, 1692, in Lyme, Connecticut, and died October 14, 1761. He was graduated from Yale College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1717. His name heads the list of members of his class, five in number, and he was graduated with second honors and as salutatorian of his class; his oration, in his own handwriting, is said to be the oldest Yale College document of its sort known to exist. He became the first pastor of the Lyme Second Society Church, serving from 1719 to 1761.

Rev. George Griswold married (first), June 22, 1725, Hannah Lynde, daughter of Nathaniel Lynde, of Saybrook, Connecticut, and a descendant of the distinguished English Roman Catholic family of Digby. (Royal Descent from Charlemagne XXXVIII.) He mar-

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ried (second), July 20, 1736, his cousin, Elizabeth Lee, granddaughter of Thomas Lee, of Lyme, Connecticut. Children of first marriage: 1. George. 2. Rev. Sylvanus. 3. Elizabeth, married John Raymond, of Montville, Connecticut. 4. Lucretia, of whom further. Children of second marriage: 5. Samuel. 6. Andrew. 7. A daughter. 8. A daughter.

(E. E. Salisbury: "The Griswold Family of Connecticut," in "Magazine of American History," Vol. II. Family records.)

IV. *Lucretia Griswold*, daughter of Rev. George and Hannah (Lynde) Griswold, was born at Lyme, Connecticut, March 26, 1731. She married Colonel Jonathan (2) Latimer. (Latimer IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Pearce Line)

Pearce, with Pierce, Pearse, Peers, and other variations, is derived from the Old French *Pierre* and the Old English *Piers*, meaning Peter. This old name was widespread in England, and is found again and again in old records. As early as 1379, Magota Peres-wyf and Isolda Peerdoghter appear in Yorkshire. In the time of Elizabeth we have Robert Pearce. In 1601 William Pearce is registered at the University of Oxford, and in 1738 Thomas Pearce married Elizabeth Jones.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Gules, on a bend between two cotises or, an annulet sable.

(Burke: "Encyclopædia of Heraldry.")

I. *Thomas (1) Pearce*, first of the line of whom we have record, was born in Maryland, February 11, 1745, and died in Urbana, Champaign County, Ohio, June 15, 1826.

According to family tradition and records, Thomas (1) Pearce was the son of Jeremiah and Deborah (Allen) Pearce, and was a descendant of Rev. Everardus and Anneke Jans Bogardus. The line of descent, according to these sources and the several additional references quoted, was as follows:

I. *Anneke Jans*, born about 1607-08, died in 1663, according to tradition, for which, however, no documentary proof has ever been found, was the daughter of Wolfert and Catharine or Tryntje (Jonas) Webber. Wolfert Webber is said to have been the son of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and later William I of Holland, from a morganatic marriage to a lady whose name is not known.

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Anneke Jans married (first), about 1620, Jan Roeloffsen, and (second), in 1638, Rev. Everardus Borgadus, a native of Holland, who came to this country in 1633, and was one of the first clergymen in New Netherland (New York). Her first husband had received from Governor Van Twiller a grant of sixty-two acres of land on lower Manhattan Island, now and for many years past in the possession of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, New York City.

II. Willem Bogardus, son of Rev. Everardus and Anneke Jans Bogardus, married, August 29, 1659, Wyntje Sybrant.

III. Anna Bogardus, daughter of Willem and Wyntje (Sybrant) Bogardus, married, January 29, 1682, Jacob Brouwer or Brower.

IV. Adam Brouwer or Brower, son of Jacob and Anna (Bogardus) Brouwer or Brower, married, July 13, 1717, Deborah Allen, daughter of George and Elizabeth Allen. He came to Monmouth County, New Jersey, and settled in the vicinity of Farmingdale.

V. Deborah Brouwer, or Brower, daughter of Adam and Deborah (Allen) Brouwer or Brower, married, November 25, 1755, Jeremiah Pearce. They were the parents of six sons and one daughter, the known sons being Job E., Jeremiah, Thomas, Adam, and John.

VI. Thomas Pearce, son of Jeremiah and Deborah (Brouwer or Brower) Pearce, married, January 13, 1780, Mary Barns, daughter of Joseph Barns, of Shepardstown, Virginia.

(Family records in the possession of George T. Pearce, of Gladstone, Illinois. "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LV, pp. 201-43. E. Salter: "History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties, New Jersey," p. xiii.)

Statements have been made that Thomas (1) Pearce was born in New York State, and Revolutionary service in New York has been credited to him. Other records state that he lived in Frederick County and served in the Revolution from that part of Maryland. No mention of a Thomas Pearce, however, is found in the tax lists or church records of Frederick County. Later records would seem to prove that he was born in Maryland and was living in Kent County during the Revolution.

His military record is given as follows: "Kent County Militia, 1778. Thomas Pearce, Private, 1st Class. Captain Peregrine Brown, 6th Company, Col. Richard Graves, 13th Battalion." "Thomas Pearce, Private, 6th Company, 1778. Captain John Day."

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In 1797 Thomas (1) Pearce removed to Kentucky, where he lived for several years. In 1801 he removed to Ohio and settled on land now occupied by the city of Urbana. There he built his home and there his son, Milton, was born in 1803, the first white child born in that section. It was on the land where he cleared his fields that the present Monument Square and the business section of the city of Urbana now stand.

Several records of business transactions are found for Thomas (1) Pearce, among them one in which, on June 22, 1816, he and his wife Elizabeth deeded to George Stockton, of Fleming County, Kentucky, a survey made January 11, 1811, for eighty acres on Military Warrant 5263. This would indicate that their place of residence in Kentucky had been Fleming County.

After his death, on the twentieth day of June term of Court, 1826, Harvey Pearce and Milton Pearce, his sons, were appointed administrators of the estate of "Thomas Pearce, Sr."

Thomas (1) Pearce married (first), in Maryland, January 1, 1768, Mary Barnes; and (second), in Kentucky, July 7, 1799, Elizabeth Collins. Children of first marriage: 1. Joseph. 2. Lewis. 3. Elizabeth. 4. Thomas (2), of whom further. 5. James. 6. John, married, October 4, 1806, Elizabeth Stewart. 7. Jane. 8. Jesse, married Nancy. 9. Mary. 10. Andrew, married, September 8, 1825, Malinda Lewis. Children of second marriage: 11. William, born in Kentucky in 1801. 12. Milton, born in Ohio in 1803. 13. Harvey Collins, born in Ohio in 1805, died in 1891; married, in 1831, Beulah Barrett, born in 1809, died in 1885. 14. Clarissa, born in 1807. 15. Wesley, born in 1809; in 1827 chose John Wallace as his guardian. 16. Rhuey (Rhea), born in 1812; she and her younger sister, Sarah, chose St. Ledger Neal as their guardian in November, 1828. 17. Sarah, born in 1815.

(B. F. Bowen and Company: "History of Champaign County, Ohio," Vol. II, p. 402. "D. A. R. Lineage Books," Vol. LXXXVIII, National Number 87417, p. 127. J. F. Brennan: "Biographical Cyclopeda and Portrait Gallery, State of Ohio," p. 391. G. A. Hanson: "History of Old Kent," p. 363. "Index to Revolutionary War Militia Lists of Maryland," at the Maryland Historical Society, pp. 72-91. "Unpublished Revolutionary Records of Maryland," compiled by the Baltimore Chapter of the D. A. R., Vol. II, pp. 174, 210. "U. S. Census of Maryland," p. 47. "Champaign County, Ohio,

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Miscellaneous Records," AA, pp. 159, 161. "Champaign County, Ohio, Minutes of Court of Common Pleas," Vol. XII, p. 353; Vol. XIII, pp. 26, 228. "Champaign County, Ohio, Deed Records," C, p. 45; F, pp. 466, 525, 625; G, 274. "Champaign County, Ohio, Marriage Records," A, p. 4; B, p. 234.)

II. Thomas (2) Pearce, son of Thomas (1) and Mary (Barnes) Pearce, was born, probably in Maryland, and died in Warren County, Illinois, August 22, 1853, aged, according to the inscription on his tombstone at Berwick, Illinois, "seventy-four years, eleven months and twenty-seven days." He removed to Kentucky with his father in 1797, and from there to Champaign County, Ohio, in 1801, settling where Urbana now stands. By 1833, and perhaps before that year, he had removed to Warren County, Illinois, where he spent the rest of his life. It is possible that he lived in Pekin, Tazewell County, Illinois, for a short time about 1830, as his son Andrew is said to have been there at that time.

Thomas (2) Pearce was a private in the War of 1812; he is on the muster roll of First Company of Spies under command of Captain Christopher Wood, attached to a brigade of Ohio troops under command of Brigadier-General Edward W. Tupper, from September 4, 1812, to March 2, 1813. His service began October 22, 1812, and expired February 5, 1813, when he was discharged "sick."

A deed is recorded November 22, 1815, stating that on December 27, 1814, Charles Arbuckle and Esther of Greenbrier County, Virginia, deeded to John Cartmell and Thomas Pearce for "\$5 lawful money of Virginia, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a tract containing 500 acres. Survey 3424." Several other transactions concerning this land are recorded. On May 9, 1820, "Benjamin Cheny, Thomas Pearce, Jr., and John Cartmell all of Champaign County; whereas they purchased jointly a five hundred acre tract, Virginia Military Land Survey, No. 3428; Agreement: Benjamin Cheny's part 125 acres, $\frac{1}{4}$ part; Thomas Pearce, Jr.,s' part to be $\frac{1}{2}$ of the $\frac{3}{4}$ to stakes, etc., including his buildings and place where he now lives . . . , etc." On May 2, 1827, Benjamin Cheny and Sarah sold to Thomas Pearce, $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In 1833, after Thomas and his wife, Phebe, had removed to Warren County, Illinois, they conveyed all their land to John Cartmell; the $187\frac{1}{2}$ acres conveyed in December, 1814, and the $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres conveyed in 1827, all for \$1,250.

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The original will of Thomas (2) Pearce is on file in the Warren County, Illinois, Courthouse, with the final report of the executors. The will is dated February 1, 1851, and was probated September 20, 1853. He named as executors, "My son Andrew G. Pearce, my son-in-law John C. Latimore and Ivory Quimby." Among other bequests were: "unto my wife Phebe Pearce during her natural life . . . one third part of all my estate. . . ." "I give and bequeath the remaining two thirds of my estate to my son Andrew G. Pearce, and my daughters Matilda Barret, Nancy Latimore, Mary E. Quimby and Sarah Temperance Pearce." He also made provision for some grandchildren, children of a deceased son and two daughters. The appraisal list of personal property, on October 14, 1853, included a spinning wheel, a buggy wagon, one two-horse wagon, one log wagon, one high horned cow, some oats and corn.

Thomas (2) Pearce married twice; the name of his first wife is not known. He married (second), July 4, 1815, Phebe (Little) George, widow of William George, whom she had married February 3, 1814. By her first husband she had a son, William Francis George, born early in 1815; he married Nancy and lived in Warren County, Illinois. Phebe (Little-George) Pearce died in Monmouth, Warren County, Illinois, January 29, 1869. In her will she devised to her daughters, Mary E. Quimby, Sarah T. Whitenack, and her step-daughter, Anne Latimer, share and share alike. At the close of the final distribution of the estate there is a record that "There is a legacy unsettled in the State of New Jersey of \$300, due to the estate of testatrix by the will of her mother Sarah Collins, and that the will has been disputed and has been in the law undetermined, etc." This would seem to prove that Phebe Little had been born in New Jersey and that after her father's death her mother had married (second) a Mr. Collins. Child of first marriage of Thomas (2) Pearce: 1. Anne (Nancy Ann), born before 1815; married John Carson Latimer. (Latimer V, Child 8.) Children of second marriage: 2. Andrew G., of whom further. 3. Matilda, married a Mr. Barret. 4. Mary E., married a Mr. Quimby. 5. Sarah Temperance, married W. W. Whitenack. 6. A son, deceased by 1851.

(B. F. Bowen and Company: "History of Champaign County, Ohio," Vol. II, p. 402. "D. A. R. Lineage Books," Vol. LXXXVIII, National Number 87417, p. 127. Copy of Original Record in the

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Archives of the Adjutant General's Office in Washington, D. C. ("War of 1812, Records"). "Champaign County, Ohio, Deed Records," B, p. 407; E, p. 350; H, p. 49; L, p. 80; N, p. 339. "Champaign County, Ohio, Miscellaneous Records," AA, p. 209. "Champaign County, Ohio, Marriage Records," A, pp. 44, 48. "Warren County, Illinois, Courthouse Records.")

III. Andrew G. Pearce, son of Thomas (2) and Phebe (Little-George) Pearce, was born in Champaign County, Ohio, November 16, 1816. He went to Pekin, Tazewell County, Illinois, in 1830, and a year later removed to Berwick Township, Warren County, Illinois.

Andrew G. Pearce married, May 28, 1840, Eliza Powers, born near Cincinnati, Ohio, January 19, 1819, living in Berwick, Illinois, in 1887, daughter of Aaron and Martha (Colby) Powers. Aaron Powers died in Greenbush Township, Warren County, March 26, 1862. Children: 1. Martha Jane, of whom further. 2. Theodore C., born March 9, 1843. 3. Mary C., born March 18, 1848. 4. George T., born July 1, 1855.

(Chapman Brothers: "Portrait and Biographical Album of Warren County, Illinois," p. 354. "Knox County, Marriage Records, Galesburg, Illinois.")

IV. Martha Jane Pearce, daughter of Andrew G. and Eliza (Powers) Pearce, was born in Warren County, Illinois, March 28, 1841, and died at Kirkwood, Illinois, before 1876.

Martha Jane Pearce attended school in Berwick, Illinois, and Hedding College in Abingdon, Illinois. At the age of twelve she joined the Methodist Episcopal Church.

She married William Guthrie Latimer. (Latimer VII.)

(*Ibid.* Family records.)

(The Moore Line)

The locality near a moor began the evolution of the surname Moore for those who resided in such places, and the early English records contain the name under various spellings. According to the Hundred Rolls, John atte Mor was living in County Norfolk in 1273. His contemporaries in other counties were Adam Atte Mor, County Oxford; Fulco de la More, County Hunts; Pontius de la More, County York.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")





Moore

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Arms—Azure, on a chief indented or, three mullets pierced gules.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a Moor's head and shoulders in profile sable, wreathed about the temples.
(Burke: "General Armory.")

I. Samuel (1) Moore, who was born probably in England, died at Woodbridge, New Jersey, May 27, 1688. He was a resident of Newbury, Massachusetts, before 1653, and two of his marriages are recorded there. About 1666, soon after the Province of New Jersey was ceded by the Duke of York to John, Lord Berkeley, and to Sir George Carteret, Samuel (1) Moore established himself at Woodbridge, New Jersey, filing in that place and in Piscataway Township a survey for a number of tracts of land. December 27, 1667, a patent for seventy acres of land was assigned to him at a yearly rental of a half penny sterling per acre. Part of this tract, located at what is now Lower Rahway, remained in possession of the family until the latter part of the nineteenth century. His mansion with its land extended over sixteen acres.

Samuel (1) Moore became a man of influence and much prestige at Woodbridge. He served for nineteen years as the town clerk, being the second incumbent of that post at Woodbridge. He was made deputy to the General Assembly and returned to that office five times. In 1668 he was chosen delegate to the first Legislature held in the Province of New Jersey at Elizabethtown. He assisted in laying out land in 1669, being aid to the surveyor general, and was appointed constable that same year. The next year he held the post of overseer of the highway, from 1672 to 1687 he served as rate maker, and he was rate gatherer from 1675 until 1679, and again in 1683. He was elected a moderator for one year, and served as assistant justice of the township court from 1669 to 1671 and from 1675 to 1680-81. A large grant of three hundred and fifty-six acres was made him in 1670, while his brother Matthew, who had also come from Newbury, received one hundred and seventy-seven acres. The honor of the presidency of the township court came to him in 1672, and he retained the post until 1674. He served during 1672-73 as marshal of the Province under Governor Carteret and also for several years as treasurer of the Province of East Jersey, the salary for the latter post yielding him nine pence per pound. In the military forces he held the rank of lieutenant.

In appreciation for some signal public services, the nature of which does not appear on the old records, a dispatch was sent on

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December 7, 1672, by the proprietors of Whitehall, to the Governor, the Council, and the Receiver General, ordering for Samuel (1) Moore a payment annually of ten pounds for the next seven years and authorizing them to give him sixty acres of upland for each person in his family, in addition to the land he already had taken up as a settler; a proportionate amount of meadowland was also ordered to be donated to him. His popularity grew steadily, and in 1683 he was appointed high sheriff for Middlesex County, at that time a position of great dignity and much responsibility. He was also for a time messenger for the House of Deputies. He was made overseer of the poor in 1682, and during that same year an Act of Legislature invested him with the office of commissioner for laying out highways, bridges, landings, and fences in Middlesex County.

In June, 1683, "by a unanimous vote he was made choice of to keep ordinary for this towne." This was the first tavern set up at Woodbridge.

Samuel (1) Moore married (first), May 3, 1653, in Newbury, Massachusetts, Hannah Plummer, who died December 8, 1654; he married (second), in Newbury, December 12, 1656, Mary Ilsley, born about 1638, died after June 3, 1678, at Woodbridge, New Jersey, daughter of William and Barbara Ilsley, of Newbury. He married (third), December 23, 1678, Anne Jaques (or Jaquish). Children of second marriage, born at Woodbridge, New Jersey: 1. Elizabeth, born July 20, 1668. 2. Samuel, born March 31, 1670; married (first), October 26, 1693, Sarah Higgins; married (second), June 2, 1718, Mary Harrison. 3. Thomas, born July 26, 1672; married December 25, 1699, Mary White. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Enoch, a twin, born June 3, 1678. 6. Francis, a twin, born June 3, 1678; adopted by Simon Rouse, of Rahway, New Jersey, originally of Duxbury, Massachusetts. Child by third marriage: 7. Sarah, born September 16, 1681, died in January, 1688.

(Ambrose M. Shotwell: "Annals of Our Colonial Ancestors and Their Descendants," pp. 18-24. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of New England," Vol. III, p. 231. Rev. Joseph W. Dally: "Woodbridge, New Jersey, and Vicinity," pp. 28, 29, 36, 95, 100, 109, 336-38. "Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 325-665; Vol. II, pp. 337-38.)

II. John Moore, son of Samuel (1) and Mary (Ilsley) Moore, was born at Woodbridge, New Jersey, May 20, 1674. An item in the

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old records shows that about 1714 John Moore and John Kinsey, pursuant to an act of the General Assembly, were chosen to coöperate with the justices in respect to the building of a gaol and a courthouse.

John Moore married (first), March 18, 1699, Hope Robinds, born at Woodbridge, New Jersey, December 10, 1681, daughter of Daniel and Hope Robinds. He married (second), in Woodbridge, New Jersey, November 21, 1717, Mary Oliver. Children of first marriage: 1. John, born at Freehold, New Jersey, December 3, 1700. 2. Joseph, born October 5, 1703. 3. Benjamin, born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, October 10, 1705; married, between the 21st of the first month and the 18th of the second month, 1750, Elizabeth Shotwell, who died the 31st of the 9th month, 1750, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth Shotwell, of Staten Island. 4. Enoch, born December 7, 1707, died December 18, 1755; married, 6th month, 1735, Grace Brotherton. 5. Samuel (2), of whom further. 6. Daniel, born August 24, 1711. 7. Rachael, born October 15, 1713. Children of second marriage: 8. Mary, born January 17, 1718-19. 9. William, born August 30, 1720. 10. Hannah, born March 31, 1722. 11. John, born May 13, 1725. 12. Deborah, born March 28, 1727. 13. Sarah, born December 6, 1728.

(Ambrose M. Shotwell: "Annals of Our Colonial Ancestors and Their Descendants," p. 19. Rev. Joseph W. Dally: "Woodbridge, New Jersey, and Vicinity," pp. 338, 339.)

III. Samuel (2) Moore, son of John and Hope (Robinds) Moore, was born, probably in Woodbridge Township, April 4, 1709, and died at Rahway, New Jersey, about 1751. He followed the calling of carpenter and later became a merchant in Lower Rahway.

Samuel (2) Moore married, about 1729, Mary, who died 17th of 5th month, 1811, aged ninety-seven years. It is believed that she came from Holland. Mary Moore married (second) a Mr. Elston or Alston, a widower, and (third), a man named Hays. A manuscript in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society calls her "the widow Alston," upon her marriage to Samuel (2) Moore. Children: 1. Mary (Polly), married Morris DeCamp. 2. Joseph, born at Rahway, New Jersey, January 9, 1731, died 6-10-1793; married, 21-2mo.-1751, Christiana Bishop. 3. Edward, born November 6, 1733, died at Rahway, New Jersey, 8-3mo.-1822. 4. Sarah, born

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July 31, 1735. 5. Isaac, born July 10, 1737. 6. John, born May 11, 1739. 7. Samuel (3), of whom further.

(Ambrose M. Shotwell: "Annals of Our Colonial Ancestors and Their Descendants," pp. 20-23. Rev. Joseph W. Dally: "Woodbridge, New Jersey, and Vicinity," p. 338.)

IV. Samuel (3) Moore, son of Samuel (2) and Mary Moore, was born at Rahway, New Jersey, April 4, 1742, and died in 1820, "aged 80," in Norwich, Ontario, Canada. By request he became a member, 16-11mo.-1774, of the Friends Monthly Meeting for Rahway and Plainfield. Before the Revolution he was living at Uniontown, New Jersey, but his sympathies being with the Tories, he went to New York City during the war. However, being a non-resistant Quaker, he gave no aid to the British. At the close of the war he took refuge in Nova Scotia, and his Rahway property was confiscated. With the exception of a son and a daughter, his family accompanied him to Canada, where he was admitted, 15-7mo.-1802, to the Nantucket Monthly Meeting. Six years later he returned to New Jersey, but after his wife died he migrated to Norwich, Upper Canada, where he bought 2,000 acres of land.

Samuel (3) Moore married, 8-11mo.-1763, Rachel Stone, born September 21, 1743, died at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, December 7, 1813. Children: 1. Sarah, born at Uniontown, New Jersey (now Menlo Park), died in North Norwich, Canada, 14-8mo.-1842; married, in New York City, 31-5mo.-1781, Hugh Webster, Jr. 2. Joseph, lived near Chillicothe, Ohio. 3. Crowell, married Experience Clarkson. 4. Phæbe, married Moses Shaw. 5. Enoch, married Elizabeth. 6. Rachel, married Joseph Young. 7. Elias Brittan. 8. John, married (first) Anna Gillam; (second) Deborah Stogden. 9. Samuel (4), Jr., of whom further. 10. Lindley Murray, born 31-5mo.-1788, died at Rochester, New York; married Abigail L. Mott, who died 6-9mo.-1846, daughter of Adam and Anna Mott. 11. A child, died in infancy.

(Ambrose M. Shotwell: "Annals of Our Colonial Ancestors and Their Descendants," pp. 21-23. Family records.)

V. Samuel (4) Moore, Jr., son of Samuel (3) and Rachel (Stone) Moore, was born, probably in Nova Scotia, Canada, in 1783 or 1784 and died at Rahway, New Jersey, probably about 1860. He sailed



Margaret Moore Latimer.

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a coaster between Nova Scotia and Boston. During the War of 1812 his vessel was captured by the British and he was set ashore. He was a strict Friend and, when the "meeting divided," he stayed with the Hicksite branch, the original Quakers.

Samuel (4) Moore, Jr., married (first), at Falmouth, Massachusetts, about 1808, Charity Gifford, who died about 1812. He married (second), at or near Rahway, 28-9mo.-1815, Elizabeth Lundy Shotwell, born in 1795, died in 1827, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Moore) Shotwell, of Rahway, New Jersey. He married (third), at Rahway, New Jersey, about 1829, Margaret Moores, born 16-8mo.1788, died in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, daughter of of Robert Moores. Child of first marriage: 1. Prince. Children of second marriage: 2. William Shotwell. 3. Charity. 4. Harvey Shotwell. 5. Samuel Lindley. 6. James, died in infancy. 7. Philip Dorland. Children of third marriage: 8. Elizabeth. 9. Elias Brittan, of whom further.

(Ambrose M. Shotwell: "Annals of Our Colonial Ancestors and Their Descendants," p. 21. Rev. Joseph W. Dally: "Woodbridge, New Jersey, and Vicinity," p. 337. Family records.)

VI. Elias Brittan Moore, son of Samuel (4) Moore, Jr., and Margaret (Moores) Moore, was born in Rahway, New Jersey, March 26, 1832, and died on the Tulalip Indian Reservation in the State of Washington, November 5, 1885. He went with his wife to Seattle from New York in 1870.

Elias Brittan Moore married, January 12, 1864, Judith Cox Jones, born September 23, 1832, died in Seattle Washington, in May, 1907. She was the daughter of Isaac Jones, who was born in England and died in Newark, New Jersey, and his wife, who was also born in England. Children: 1. Margaret, of whom further. 2. Mollie S., married George M. Coupe, of Seattle. 3. Judith Johnson. 4. Wallace Henry, died in Alaska. 5. Myrtle. 6. George W.

(*Ibid.* Family data.)

VII. Margaret Moore, daughter of Elias Brittan and Judith Cox (Jones) Moore, was born in Chicago, Illinois, June 7, 1869. She married, May 22, 1890, in Seattle, Norval Hastings Latimer. (Latimer VIII.)

Mrs. Latimer is still residing in Seattle, where she is very active in

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all charitable and social welfare work, including the Children's Orthopedic Hospital, Seattle Nursing Service, and Annie Wright Seminary Club. She is a member and trustee of the Sunset Club, president of the Seattle Historical Society, trustee of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra, president of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Olympia, and a member of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church.

(Family data.)

(Latimer Royal Descent from Charlemagne)

I. Pepin of Landen, Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia, was made Duke of the Austrasian Franks, A. D. 680.

II. Begga, daughter of Pepin, Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia, married Ansegis, son of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz.

III. Pepin d'Heristal, Duke of Austrasian Franks, died in 714. ("Cambridge Medieval History," Vol. II, p. 126.)

IV. Charles Martel, born in 690, died in 741; routed the Saracens near Poitiers, A. D. 732.

V. Pepin the Short, born in 714, died in 768; King of France, 752-68.

VI. Charlemagne or *Charles the Great*, born April 2, 742, died January 28, 814; Roman Emperor, 800-14.

VII. Louis the Pious, born in 778, died in 840; Emperor, 814-40.

VIII. Charles the Bald, born in 823, died in 877; Emperor, 875-77.

IX. Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, married Baldwin I, Count of Flanders.

(H. B. George: "Genealogical Tables Illustrative of Modern History," Table No. XII.)

X. Baldwin II, who died in 918, married Aelfthryth, daughter of Alfred the Great, King of the West Saxons, and of his wife, Elswitha.

XI. Arnulf the Elder, married Adele, daughter of Heribert II, Count of Vermandois (a Carlovingian).

(*Ibid.*, Table No. XXIX.)

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XII. Baldwin III, Count of Artois, died in 962; married Mathilda, daughter of Hermann Billung, Duke of Saxony.

XIII. Arnulf II, born in 961, died in 989, Count of Boulogne and Flanders, 965-89; married Susanna, daughter of Berenger II, King of Italy.

XIV. Baldwin IV, Count of Flanders, 989-1036; married (first) Otviga, daughter of Friedrich, Count of Luxemburg. She died February 21, 1019, and he married (second), Eleanore, daughter of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. She died without issue.

XV. Baldwin V, Count of Flanders, son of Baldwin IV, by his first wife Otviga, married Adela, daughter of Robert II, King of France.

(C. M. Allström: "Dictionary of Royal Lineage," Vol. I, pp. 271-72.)

XVI. Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders; married (first) Gerbod, Avocat of the Abbey of Saint Bertin, at St. Omer; she married (second) William the Conqueror.

XVII. Gundred, daughter of Matilda of Flanders by Gerbod, Avocat of the Abbey of Saint Bertin at St. Omer, married William, Earl of Warren.

XVIII. William, second Earl of Warren, married Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandois.

(E. A. Freeman: "History of the Norman Conquest of England," Vol. III, p. 67.)

XIX. Reginald Warren, son of William, second Earl of Warren, and Elizabeth of Vermandois, married Alice, daughter and heir of William de Wirmgay.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 195; Vol. III, p. 688.)

XX. William Warren, son of Reginald and Alice (de Wirmgay) Warren, married Beatrice, daughter of Hugh de Pierrepont.

XXI. Beatrice Warren, died in 1204, daughter of William and Beatrice (de Pierrepont) Warren, married (first), Doun Bardolph, and (second), Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 195. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, pp. 133-41.)

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XXII. *John de Burgh*, son of Hubert and Beatrice (Warren) de Burgh, did not inherit the earldom of Kent because it was confirmed to his father in 1226 with the limitation that the earldom should descend to his issue by the third wife, Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland. John de Burgh married Hawise, daughter of William de Lanvallei, who was one of the twenty-five sureties of *Magna Charta*.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, pp. 111-12. Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, p. 142.)

XXIII. *John de Burgh*, son of John and Hawise (de Lanvallei) de Burgh, died in 1280, leaving three daughters.

(T. C. Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. I, p. 112.)

XXIV. *Hawise de Burgh*, daughter of John de Burgh, married Robert Grelle or Gresle, who was summoned for military service in 1277 and was knighted at Christmas, 1278.

(Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VI, pp. 107-08.)

XXV. *Joan Grelle*, daughter of Robert and Hawise (de Burgh) Grelle, married Sir John la Warr, who is mentioned in the "Victoria History of Lancashire." John la Warr was made a Knight of the Bath in 1306 by the Prince of Wales and was frequently summoned to Parliament, both in his father's lifetime and after, between 1307 and 1342. He took part in the Scotch, Flemish, and French wars and was at the sea fight off Sluys in 1340; was captain of twenty men-at-arms and twenty archers at the siege of Nantes in 1342, and was at Crecy in 1346. He died in 1347, and his will with codicil, directing his burial to be in Swineshead Abbey, was proved at Lincoln in June, 1347.

(Victoria: "History of Lancashire," Vol. I, pp. 333-34.)

XXVI. *Catharine la Warr*, daughter of Sir John and Joan (Grelle) la Warr, married (first) Robert de Brewer, who died in 1325; she married (second) Warin Latimer, who was born about 1300 and died August 13, 1349, son of Thomas, Lord Latimer, by Lora, daughter of Henry Hastings; grandson of John Latimer by Christian, daughter of Walter Ledet; and great-grandson of William Latimer, of Scampston. He fought at Boroughbridge in 1321 and in the

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expedition to France in 1345 and 1346. He and his father are listed in the English Peerage as Lord Latimer and resided at Braybrook in Northampton.

(Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. VII, pp. 453-54, 463.)

XXVII. Elizabeth Latimer, daughter of Warin and Catharine (la Warr) Latimer, married Thomas Griffen. The title of Lord Latimer eventually descended to the Griffens after the death, without issue, of her four brothers.

XXVIII. Richard Griffen, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Latimer) Griffen, married Anne, daughter of Richard Chamberlain.

(*Ibid.*, p. 456.)

XXIX. Nicholas Griffen, son of Richard and Anne (Chamberlain) Griffen, died in 1436; he married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Pilkington.

XXX. Nicholas Griffen, son of Nicholas and Margaret (Pilkington) Griffen, was born in 1426 and died in 1482. He became Lord Latimer, as heir to his uncle John Griffen, who in turn received the title from his grandmother. He was sheriff of Northampton in 1473, besides holding other offices. Nicholas Griffen married (first) Catherine, daughter of Richard Curzon; (second) a Roos; and (third) Marina Green.

(*Ibid.*, p. 457.)

XXXI. Catherine Griffen, daughter of Nicholas and Catherine (Curzon) Griffen, married Sir John Digby, who was the son of Everard and Agnes (Clark) Digby, and grandson of Robert and Jane (Bellers) Digby.

("Visitation of County of Leicester," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. II, p. 40.)

XXXII. William Digby, son of Sir John and Catherine (Griffen) Digby, is mentioned in the "Visitation of Leicester." The Digby line was investigated by Colonel Joseph L. Chester. He states that Nichols' "History of Leicestershire," Vol. IV, p. 19, mentions Sir John Digby and his son William, and that William is described as marrying Helen, daughter of John Roper, and dying without issue.

Colonel Chester does not agree with the county history and gives as his reason a quotation from the will of Sir John Digby. A bequest was made to "Elyne Mountegue, late wife to my son, William Digby

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of Luffenham, now deceased, and daughter of John Roper." He provided it should later go to John Digby, "son of my said late son, William Digby." After that it was to go to other heirs male of William. Helen Roper married (second) Sir Edward Montague and died in 1563. She mentioned in her will her son, William Digby, and smaller boys.

Colonel Chester, having proved that William Digby had at least two children, then proceeds to show that a Digby pedigree was in the possession of the late Earl Digby, of Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, and follows the early record of the family as found in the "Visitations." This pedigree states that William Digby was married twice; (first) to Rose Perwich (or Prestwich), and (second) to Helen Roper.

The marriage of a William Digby with Rose Perwich (or Prestwich) of Lubenham in County Leicester is mentioned in the "Visitation" of that county in 1619, which also names their two sons. The Digby pedigree at Sherborne Castle, after giving the early history of the family as above, gives the children of William Digby. Among them is *Simon*, of whom further.

("Visitation of Leicestershire," in "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. II, p. 63. E. E. and E. M. Salisbury: "Family Histories and Genealogies," Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 442-46.)

XXXIII. *Simon Digby*, son of William and Rose (Perwich or Prestwich) Digby, is mentioned in the "Visitation of Leicester" in 1619, and in the pedigree of the family of Earl Digby at Sherborne Castle. According to the pedigree, Simon was beadle in the county of Rutland, and married Anne, daughter of Reginald Grey, of York.

XXXIV. *Everard Digby*, son of Simon and Anne (Grey) Digby, married, according to the pedigree at Sherborne Castle mentioned above, Katherine, daughter of Mr. Stockbridge de Vandershaff Theuber de Newkirk.

(E. E. and E. M. Salisbury: "Family Histories and Genealogies," Vol. I, Part 2, p. 445.)

XXXV. *Elizabeth Digby*, daughter of Everard and Katherine (Vandershaff) Digby, is given in the above-mentioned pedigree as marrying a Mr. Lynde.

The above record, found in an English source, provides an interesting confirmation of traditions and family records in this country.

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Among the written records is an old Bible record. It is a copy of the "Breeches Bible," printed in 1595, and in 1892 owned by Mrs. Cornelia (Walter) Richard, of Boston, a descendant of Chief Justice Lynde. This Bible has on the outside of the covers "Enoch Lynde" in large gilt letters. Pasted on the first fly leaf is a memorandum evidently by Nathaniel Lynde:

An Extract of something to be remembered from the leafe before the Title page of a Bible of my Grandmother, Mrs. Elizabeth Lynde, sent over to my father Simon Lynde and rec^d by him 13th May 1675; at the same time written in the 2d Leaf with his own hand as followeth, viz: "This Bible formerly my Father Mr. Enoch Lynde's who died the 23rd Aprill 1636, afterwards my dear Mother Eliz. Lynde had. She departed this life 1669 and 13th May 1675 This Bible was brought me here to Boston in New England and sent me by Eliz.a Parker who writes me my mother gave it to her when she tended on her but presents it to me, that it might not goe from my Family. But that I and mine might improve it and Its Holy Truths which I beg of God we may. That keeping his Word we may thereby be kept, and found among the number of the Righteous ones. So prayeth Simon Lynde, Boston, New England 13th May 1675."

On the first page of the second fly leaf this record is found:

My grandparents by my father.	{	Mr. Enoch Lynde dyed 23 April Ano Dom. 1636. Mrs. Elizabeth Lynde, his wife whose maiden name was Digby dyed Ano Dom. 1669.
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My grandparents by my mother	{	Mr. John Newdigate dyed 4 Sept. 1665 aged 85. Mrs. Anne Newdigate died 1679 aged 84 years.
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N. B. Living children 9 sons and 3 daughters were born unto them in 23 years from Decem- ber 1653-1676	{	My hon ^d Father Simon Lynde Esq. was born June 1624 was contracted to my hon ^d mother, then Hannah Newdigate, in Feb. 1651 and was married to her upon his return from England Feb. 1652 and dyed 22 Nov. ^{br} 1687 aged 63 years. My hon ^d mother Mrs. Hannah Lynde was born 28 June 1635 and dyed 20th Dec ^{ber} 1684 in the old house and the same room, where she herselfe and most of her 12 children were born in Boston.
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In addition to the record in the Bible presented above, there are several copies of an ancient pedigree in various branches of the American family. This pedigree gives the following concerning Elizabeth Digby:

Elizabeth Digby whose Parents dying while she was young, she was sent into Holland for Education and there Instructed in the Protestant Religion her relations being generally Roman Catholics. She was a near relation to Jn^o Digby 1st Earl of Bristol who introduced her son Simon Lynde to Kiss K. Charles hand: She dyed a widow 1669.

Enoch Lynde is described on another page of the Bible as a grandson of Nathan Lynde and of Mrs. Elizabeth Lynde, but his parents are not known. He may have been born in the Netherlands or was at least of Dutch descent. Enoch Lynde was a shipping merchant engaged in foreign trade and had a contract to carry mails to the Low Countries. He acted as an agent for the government during the war with France in 1627. His widow is mentioned in an old business paper as residing in Buttolph Lane in London in 1651. He married, October 25, 1614, at the Church of St. John in the Parish of Hackney near London, as above mentioned, Elizabeth Digby.

(E. E. and E. M. Salisbury: "Family Histories and Genealogies," Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 359-60, 363, 364-69, 445.)

XXXVI. *Simon Lynde*, son of Enoch and Elizabeth (Digby) Lynde, was born, according to the old Bible record, in June, 1624, and died November 22, 1687. He married, in February, 1652, Hannah Newdigate, daughter of John Newdigate, of Boston.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 371-74.)

XXXVII. *Nathaniel Lynde*, son of Simon and Hannah (Newdigate) Lynde, was born November 22, 1659, and died October 5, 1729. He married (first), in 1683, Susannah Willoughby, who died February 22, 1709; he married (second) Mrs. Sarah (Lee) Buckingham, widow of David Buckingham and daughter of Thomas Lee.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 396-98, 402, 407, 409, 410.)

XXXVIII. *Hannah Lynde*, daughter of Nathaniel and Susannah (Willoughby) Lynde, was born September 10, 1698, and died prior to 1736. She married, June 22, 1725, the Rev. George Griswold. (Griswold III.)

(*Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 34.)

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XXXIX. *Lucretia Griswold*, daughter of the Rev. George and Hannah (Lynde) Griswold, was born March 26, 1731. She married, January 28, 1747-48, Colonel Jonathan (2) Latimer. (Latimer IV.)

(C. D. Parkhurst: "Latimer Family," in "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LII, p. 17. H. A. Baker: "History of Montville, Connecticut," p. 316.)

XL. *Joseph Latimer*, son of Colonel Jonathan (2) and Lucretia (Griswold) Latimer, married Anna Dobbins.

(H. A. Baker: "History of Montville, Connecticut," p. 322.)

XLI. *Alexander Latimer*, son of Joseph and Anna (Dobbins) Latimer, married (first) Eunice Jane Guthrie.

XLII. *William Guthrie Latimer*, son of Alexander and Eunice Jane (Guthrie) Latimer, married (first) Martha Jane Pearce. (Pearce IV.)

XLIII. *Norval Hastings Latimer*, son of William Guthrie and Martha Jane (Pearce) Latimer, married Margaret Moore. (Moore VII.)

BOOK REVIEWS



ANDLEDAY ART, by Marion Nicholl Rawson. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York City, \$5.

We have found ourselves "held in the thrall" of this book from the first page of it to the last; we have read it through—which cannot be stated for many books, probably of most books. And it occurs to us, as a result of this pleasurable and profitable experience, that if the earlier folk of whom and about whose handicraft it is written might know of the intimate and practical way in which the common round of their times and the high lights of their candlelights have been interpreted, or rather brought along down to us and our times, they would have a new reason for giving thanks after their happy old fashion. For Marion Nicholl Rawson is a most sympathetic explorer in the lands and usages of old times, as the number of her volumes on related subjects that have preceded this one are proof sufficient. We have been putting the days of old too lightly by; the painstaking clarity of this work of pleasure and of use may no longer allow us to do so. Herewith, every page of the results of the author's exploration and research, intelligently illustrated, too, cannot fail to make an enduring impression upon many who have put the simple life too far away altogether.

Numbers of books have appeared that have given us no more than a distant horizon; now may we enter with this author into the busy glow of the elder industries of a candlelighting age, and actually see forgotten people at work at forgotten handicrafts in their homes and workshops. Arts, the simple arts, and numerous manifestations of Colonial and later art-performance, in ascending scales of primitive products to near-perfection of concentrated effort—these are most interestingly and entertainingly investigated and described—the content of a book which is, as we have stated, quite unequalled as a practical expression of real friendship with yesterday's people and their work of use, skill and ornament.

Carving, sculpture, pottery, the arts graphic, painting, silhouettes, furniture of artists, the smith as an artist, glass art, architecture, and many another theme—these have not merely been touched upon, but

BOOK REVIEWS

gotten in touch with. Students of "old times," readers of all books that actually are worth writing, are the gainers from this publication.

Taunton, Massachusetts.

F. W. H.

"The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840; A Study in Church Life," by William Wilson Manross. Two hundred and seventy pages. Columbia University Press, \$3.25.

Here is a study of American church history in an attractive style, factual without being boring. Its scope is confined to the Episcopal Church in the United States during the first four decades of the last century.

In the sphere of institutional religion the period witnessed keen inter-denominational rivalry for national leadership, from the results of which we have not yet recovered. The now familiar adjuncts of church life—principally, missionary movements, theological seminaries, Sunday schools, sewing groups, revivals, Bible and tract societies, took root and developed during these years. Hence the book.

The author surveys the emergence of the Episcopal Church from its Church of England colonial sources, and indicates the difficulties to be overcome, on account of the ties between the mother church and the English government, during and after the struggle for independence. From a vast array of authentic source material he has succeeded in abstracting a very readable digest.

The principal divisions of this monograph are functional, dealing with the Rector, the Missionary, the Parish, the Services, the Layman, and the Layman at Work. Each is dealt with in rich detail which characterizes transition from uncertainty to assurance as to objectives and means. In material things the author notes the change from pitch pipe to organ, from footwarmers to anthracite stoves, from oil lamps to gas light, from ugly church centered "three decker" pulpits to ones of modest size set to the side of the building, and in architecture from colonial to Gothic style, etc. The book is fortified with seventeen pages of bibliography and complete index.

Glen Rock, New Jersey.

J. E. B.

"Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era," by Robert A. East; 387 pages. Columbia University Press, New York City; P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London.

BOOK REVIEWS

The thesis of this monograph is of value to those who are interested in understanding the evolution of our present business machine. According to the author's hypothesis the basis for large scale business organization was laid during the colonial era. But there was a lag due to reliance on British commercial credit, imperial restrictions, and a general economic provincialism. It took the Revolution to sweep away such restrictions and to force the Americans out into the stream of daring speculative enterprise which was to promise in our day "a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage."

The effect of the Revolutionary forces—expansion of markets, stimulus of new investment ideas, and the rise of new business groups moving toward large scale business associations—on the various geographical areas is shown. The author supports his thesis by giving something of a biographical sketch of the "new business" leaders and their activities. Robert Morris, Silas Deane, Jeremiah Wadsworth, and members of the Livingston and Schuyler families, as well as many of their lesser associates, are paraded across the stage of the Revolutionary drama. Although the patriotism of some is not questioned, their rôles were not beneficent ones. The speculators' activities under two flags—which confirms the suspicion lurking in the minds of many that the "god of profits" knows no national boundaries—are revealed.

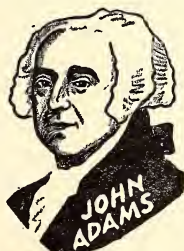
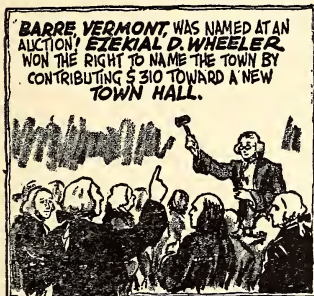
Although the conservatives received a political "worsting for several years," as a result of the democratic virus which was loosed under the impetus of the Revolution, they gradually regained control, inaugurated a régime of impersonal and institutionalized capitalism, and paved the way for the economic and political development which elevated the Hamiltonian philosophy to the dignity of a national gospel.

One may wonder if the author has over-emphasized the influence of the Revolution in the development of American business, but his copious references to sources as well as to secondary materials and his extensive bibliography indicate that he has made a careful study of the subject.

University of Arkansas.

A. L. V.

ODDITIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY



WAS THE
ONLY PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES
WHO RECEIVED THE
ENTIRE ELECTORAL
VOTE.



BORN ON AMERICAN SOIL IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN **SNORRO**, SON OF THORFINN KARLESFNI AND GUDRID, BORN IN 1007. GUDRID WAS THE WIDOW OF LEIF ERICSSON'S BROTHER, THORSTEIN.

© HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE - NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF U.S.



THEME CENTER OF THE NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR
Whose Thoroughfares Are Paved with More than 1,000,000 Square Yards of Asphalt

AMERICANA

APRIL, 1939



The Queen of the Confederacy

BY CRADDOCK GOINS, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI



N October 16, 1906, a certain gracious, dark-eyed old lady gracefully parted from the stirring scene of American affairs. The end came in New York City. Three days later her body went through the streets behind a military band and a troop of United States regulars. The casket was draped in the starred St. Andrew's cross of the Confederate flag. It was followed by a band of sorrowful men who had marched through that flag's unhappy destinies, members of the New York Camp, United Confederate Veterans.

There was an escort of mounted policemen by order of the mayor. The band played "Dixie" and other airs of Southern sentiment. The funeral train was laden with flowers, including wreaths from Governor and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

Such was America's parting salute to Varina Howell Davis, whose spirit flashed a rose-red glow against the thunderclouds of secession that shocked the Nation, stirred the world and immortalized certain sentimental values for posterity's most popular legends.

Thus passed the first lady of the Confederate States of America, who won in sorrowful exile the most spectacular honors ever paid the obsequies of any woman by this government. No first lady of the United States was ever honored in life or death as dramatically as the widow of the man who so furiously flared the torch of rebellion in the face of that government.

A Nation fairly stood on tiptoe for this final glimpse of a remarkable American. Yet no one will mark this anniversary. For Mrs. Jefferson Davis strode across the national horizon under hys-

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terical conditions that made it impossible to fix a complete image of her character. Everything was topsy-turvy. A Nation that had just emerged from the public insanity that caused it to hang a woman and persecute innocent people out of profound grief for the assassination of Lincoln, now was applauding the "Rebel Queen," as Mrs. Davis sometimes was called, and was hissing the martyred Lincoln's unhappy widow wherever she appeared.

The pendulum of public popularity was doing crazy things. Mary Todd Lincoln was suffering humiliation unbearable at a time when she needed kindness most. Varina Howell Davis was enjoying amazing popularity at the hands of the very people from whom she had least to expect. Perhaps it was because the people just did not know what to do with her.

Anyhow, in hazy mists of tears and turmoil the Nation laid her somberly aside with nothing for its memory but pictures caught out of focus in a fragmentary moment of her impassioned public scene, a scene that had known her eager face in curious blends of pride and prayer, humility and hauteur, passion and tenderness—a scene that had known her variously as a patrician beauty in Mississippi, a gracious hostess in Washington, Richmond and Montgomery; a wretched fugitive in the swamps of Virginia and the Carolinas; a prisoner in Georgia, and a queenly refugee in Havana, Montreal, London, Paris, Berlin and other foreign centers.

However, a fairly human picture of the Southern soldier's "Queen Varina" can be brought to view by washing away many of the emotional absurdities that have overshadowed it.

We pick up that picture as it lay blurred in a Nation's tears on the day of her burial. Then a public that had drawn her image in broken lines of cruelty and harshness viewed her in equally grotesque shapes of melodramatic sadness.

None of this was as she would have wished. Yet much of it was her own fault. She was not to blame for having to spend the last years of a sorrowful life among the very people who had stripped her land of the rich jewels of the most idealistic social order this continent ever knew. The North didn't understand it. Friends in the South bitterly resented it. To no one could Varina explain. A woman of qualities so truly remarkable in many ways was pathetically helpless at self-justification.

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Actually she had little choice in the matter. When the dream-house of her Confederacy crashed, her own fate was sealed as inexorably as a soldier sentenced to die at dawn. Her doom was banishment from the land she loved. It was either rust away in Mississippi, pine away in alien courts, or employ her rich talents among fellow-Americans of the North—Yankees, to be sure, but Americans none the less.

To the North her qualities of Americanism were peculiar. She was known as an imperious character. She was the impersonation of traditions of a shattered empire—the living, liquid note of an ill-starred society that spread the wings of the most romantic ideals in the teeth of a deadly, rising sea of materialism. She was the personal expression of a dreamland created against the melancholy magnificence of swamp, song and slavery. She was a paradoxical embodiment of all the passionate sentiment of a land of paradoxical splendors—"Plantation aristocracy," "Southern hospitality," and "Old Black Joe."

Her social order was the nearest approach to imperialistic grandeur this Nation ever knew. She loved it with the fierce ardor of a high-spirited stock deeply rooted in the feudal traditions of Europe. The North heard her in the full cry of that ardor. It saw her in the high bloom of the passion flower widely dramatized as "the spirit of southern womanhood," commonly accepted as a thing unconquered and unconquerable.

The North felt the spell of her awesome personality at its highest tide, when she was bleeding from every pore the emotions of a sorely wounded heart, a heart mourning a Nation's misunderstanding. Not for herself did she mourn; it was for the tragic man she loved and the cause he led. She knew that man as no other person ever knew him. As utterly unlike in social and political philosophies as two people could be, she gave him and his principles a fierce devotion that almost merged their beings.

No matter how great was their difference in opinion, battle found them side by side as one. At his death she must have felt that something of her entity had been destroyed, as she records in personal memoirs that her very flesh hurt. Even then she could not bear to be loosed from him entirely. She made his first name part of hers, and thence forward styled herself V. Jefferson Davis.

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From that moment she dedicated herself to his memory. It is perhaps because of frenzied devotion to that purpose that she was so lacking in simplest elements of self-vindication. Thus it was she permitted her own character to be dimmed, her own motives to be misunderstood, her own people to doubt her. No soldier of the South made a greater sacrifice. No veteran of the battlefield carried more wounds of war. She considered herself a ransom for a dead man's honor, a human hostage for a Nation trampled by outraged conquerors.

Thus it was the North saw her in the honor and glory of an inspired cause. It saw more. It saw a master showman. No figure of that period knew more of the black magic of swaying public opinion. With other natural talents she was aided by a beauty that would not fade, personal charms that grew with age, a heritage of graciousness no defeat could remove.

A daughter of a Yankee was this spitfire queen of the Southland, known as the speaking voice of a race of haughty hotheads. It was through her Virginia-born mother that she inherited beauty and a strong will. But her Connecticut-born father, William B. Howell, transplanted Natchez planter, contributed other useful qualities, including a cold, resolute fixedness of purpose.

It was through both of them that she met a strange, moody man named Davis, who was to influence her life more than anyone else. To that man, a family friend, then in a mournful hermitage on a brier-patch farm a few miles up the Mississippi River, near Vicksburg, she took ready dislike. He was handsome. He carried an air of distinction. He had a peculiarly sweet voice and a winning manner. But, she resentfully confided to her mother, he had a "way of taking for granted that everybody agrees with him when he expresses an opinion which offends me."

This thirty-five-year-old farmer obviously was well born. He was well educated. Varina could not understand how he could be so plebeian in social philosophy. He even embraced the political heresy of the "po' white trash"—a Democrat! Herself a Whig, as were most of the aristocracy, she was shocked at such treason to birth and rearing. She hotly told this offensive person exactly what she thought of him—several times. That settled, she married him and settled down with Captain Jefferson Davis, U. S. A., retired, in the eighteenth year of her lovely, arrogant life.

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She had no idea the future had anything more for them than the simple obscurity of his farm, which they called Brierfield. There they spent much time planting rose bushes, devising methods to grow more cotton, visiting sick slaves and helping christen their babies, many of whom were named for them.

But a few years later found Varina and her farmer-soldier-statesman in Washington, where she became noted for wit, beauty, social graces and learning astonishing in one so young. There she helped him build the greatest military force the Nation had ever known. Taking over the American Army at a time when it was at low ebb, Secretary of War Davis was determined to bring it to high efficiency. To this end he appointed a man named Robert E. Lee to take charge of West Point and train better officers. Varina enthusiastically threw herself into his zeal for making the United States a mighty war power. If she had known what was to follow, she might have been greatly shocked. But it is likely she would have gone right ahead as she did! Such was the mighty strength of her spirit for doing things in the grand manner.

With deadly precision they labored, side by side, upon the great military machine that soon was to destroy them. In the evenings they read together. They discussed public men. But most of all they discussed the ambition to make America a strong international power. There was no happier family in Washington.

They were back at Brierfield, thinking public life was through with them, when the most eventful day in their lives arrived. They were planting a Glory of France rosebush in the front of the house. A messenger dashed up, saluted and gave Jefferson Davis a piece of paper. She saw his face blanch. He bowed his head as he passed her the message. It said that at Montgomery a body of men had met and elected him president of a new nation to be known as the Confederate States of America. He went into the house. She sat on the front porch a long time with a Bible in her hand and read a passage several times. "Holy, holy, holy, Lord, God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory."

In Montgomery the mistress of the Confederate White House suddenly became a figure of world-wide interest. A distinguished London war correspondent, W. H. Russell, impressed with unflattering comments of Northern critics, made it his express purpose to study her.

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She had thrown together some clothes, gathered her three children and fled from her brier-patch happiness. Russell was impressed with similarities between Varina and his own queen. He found her "queenly in bearing, poise and beauty." He traced her history to find her stock began in King Arthur's land, Carleon, Monmouth, England. "They are calling her Queen Varina now," he wrote, "and her friends think this sounds quite as well as Queen Victoria."

It must be confessed that Varina was not displeased with the title until she noted the disapproval of her democratic husband. She was thirty-five years old, still girlish, but her naturally large, pensive eyes, "wondrously beautiful," caused Russell to think of her as "a soldier of many sorrows." Like his Victoria, he found Varina was married to a man who loved the common touch. He was astonished to learn that blacks and the poorest whites were quite as fond of this man of simple tastes as were the aristocrats.

Varina's part in the struggle still is open to debate. Mrs. Chestnut's famous diary, certainly not unfriendly, has hinted at her sitting in counsels between Davis and Lee. Although Varina's memoirs indicated that she was an onlooker who was "merely overlooked," there is abundant evidence that her lively tongue contributed much to the thought of the hour. There was never a time when Jefferson Davis did not admire the finely cultivated mind of his beautiful wife, however much he might have been influenced by her ideas of war.

There is no doubt she was his constant bodyguard, an everready protector, always alert against criticism. "She seemed herself capable of commanding a regiment," comments Mrs. Chestnut, and that admiring friend adds: "Providence has seen fit that I should know three great women, and Mrs. Jefferson Davis is one of them."

Mrs. Chestnut was with Varina when Richmond's doom was sealed. The president of the Confederacy gave his wife a purse and a pistol. She left him reluctantly—"every breath of the way a prayer for his safety," according to Mrs. Eron Dunbar Rowland, whose biography of that lady is the only standard work on her life.

Fleeing with her children, one a babe in arms, Varina heard of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln when she was at Abbeville, South Carolina. She burst into tears "at the thought of what the dreadful tragedy meant to the stricken wife." She was ill. Her children were ill. But every suggestion that the South might surrender

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was met with outbursts of indignation: "I'd die a thousand deaths before I'd give up!"

She camped in the dark woods at night, sleeping on a hard army cot. Sometimes the ground was wet. She was worried, but not about herself and the children, but "about my precious old Ban (her pet name for the President of the Confederacy), whom I left behind me with so keen a heartache."

But one day at daybreak a party led by a thin, haggard man came upon them. The leader was Jefferson Davis, fleeing for his life. Some nights later someone came to their tent with news that a Federal detachment was approaching. Before they could act a Yankee guard was at the door. She reached out in the darkness, threw a raincoat around her husband, not knowing it was her own raincoat. But she did know her own shawl, and she never apologized for wrapping it around his neck as she bade him slip out and escape. To her last day Varina defended this act. No criticism of Jefferson Davis ever stung her more than the report he was disguised as a woman when captured. Hand over heart, she would stretch melodramatically in going over the incident, always adding: "What wife would not have done the same thing!"

She herself was a prisoner in Georgia for several weeks after they put him in irons at Fortress Monroe. She flew to him as soon as she could. Although bitter about his persecution, she found the Yankees quite civil, "both male and female." It was only through her entreaties that Andy Johnson finally gave him the liberty of the prison grounds. That was quite a concession, for the humble Tennessee tailor who once had made pants for Jefferson Davis was very bitter toward him—toward him and all his land of caste and social distinction, although Johnson himself was a native of that land. A complete pardon from the President was a miracle that nobody but Varina could have achieved. This victory was won only after her incessant pleas.

Montreal—London—Paris—Berlin—Havana. Finally a quiet home on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. The sea-sighing tranquillity of Beauvoir, near Biloxi, was a welcome relief after years of wandering. There she eagerly helped her husband prepare "The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy." But Beauvoir no longer was livable after that gloomy day when she parted with him forever. Their beloved brier-patch farm had been confiscated. It was in the hands of former

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slaves. Money was not plentiful. Varina's restless spirit suffered in the inactivity of her seaside home.

A new occupation grew upon her. Now and then she would flare up and answer a false report of her husband's official acts. Soon these reports came in pairs, in dozens. Eventually she was up to her elbows in a task requiring all her time—defending the name of Jefferson Davis. It was to this end that she began preparing her "Memoir." That work took her to New York, where publishers long had been interested in her pen. Too proud for anyone to know she absolutely was dependent upon this income for a livelihood, Varina let the Southern people misunderstand.

Thus it was that Varina found herself condemned in the South in her old age in exactly the same manner as she was criticized in the North during the war—as a proud, selfish, mercenary woman. One charge was well substantiated. She was unutterably proud. She was proud of the name she bore. On her last visit to Biloxi a dinner was given in her honor. She was told that because of possible offense to Northern investors on the gulf coast, it would be better not to mention the name of her husband. "If you must remain silent about Jefferson Davis," she flared, "you will not toast me!"

When Northern capitalists offered her \$90,000 for Beauvoir to turn it into a hotel resort, she promptly declined, later to sell the property for \$10,000 with the understanding it was to remain a memoir to her husband. Today it is a home for Confederate veterans.

Beautiful social graces made friends quickly for her in the North. Malicious acquaintances admitted she got along remarkably with the Yankees, but she "still was doing all the talking." As she prospered from literary work, she enjoyed an undertone reminder of Sherman's order to "forage liberally upon the land." But much of her money she gave away to charities, particularly to the education of poor whites in the South. She devoted her mornings to writing. She enjoyed cards and gossip in the afternoon when she was not riding in Central Park with distinguished people.

Among her noted friends was another stately old woman who had known much heartache, Mrs. U. S. Grant. At the tomb of General Grant one day the Union leader's widow sadly said to Varina: "I will soon be laid beside my husband in this solemn place. Please visit it sometimes and think of me."

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Varina was in a card game a short time thereafter when someone burst into her apartment at the Majestic Hotel to say: "Mrs. Grant is dead." The game ended. When the company was gone, she went to her bedroom, dropped on her knees and wept.

She made friends with everyone who recognized her husband's qualities. Others found no forgiveness in her heart. General James A. Wilson, a distinguished Union officer, was a frequent visitor in her drawing room. But General Nelson Miles, who was responsible for putting her husband in irons at Fortress Monroe, never won her friendship.

Although she dressed simply, in black trimmed with white, she was a commanding figure. People on the streets turned to point out the large, snowy haired old lady who walked with stately, melancholy grace. One of her severest critics saw Varina in old age as "a proud, self-contained old woman," but conceded she was "remarkably alert mentally and with much conversational charm."

Yes, she was proud. Her high-headed carriage showed that to the end. Her vanity was illustrated in mortification at a church mishap. At St. Timothy's Church one day she was returning from the altar after receiving Holy Communion when she tripped and fell, something that might occur to any old lady of eighty. But this proud aristocrat was inconsolable. She was all the more displeased with a report that her fall was caused when she was upset by finding a negro man at her side at the altar. This she emphatically denied. Northerners could not understand that she often had worshipped with negroes before the war, had taught the Bible to negro children, had visited slave women in childbirth.

In 1906 Varina was prevailed upon by friends to give up quarters at the Girard Hotel. Many celebrities had made their home there. But friends thought it was losing caste. Varina had grown indifferent to social stations. Maybe it was because of old age, many sorrows or her benevolent activities. Furthermore, she was lonely and sad. "I want to see my graves," sighed the tired old lady as she recalled the land where her loved ones were buried. But she never saw them again.

While moving to the Majestic Hotel she caught cold. On October 7 pneumonia developed. A daughter, Margaret, rushed to her from Colorado, found her conscious, quite aware the end was near.

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"My darling child," she said, "I'm going to die, but I'll try to be brave about it. Don't wear black. It's bad for your health and will depress your husband."

She passed away on October 16, 1906. Funeral services in her apartment were brief, simple. Relatives and a few friends attended. The Governor and the mayor joined in extending public honors. On October 20 the body arrived at Richmond. She was laid beside her husband at Hollywood Cemetery.

Thomas U. Walter and His Works

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM SENER RUSK, WELLS COLLEGE,
AURORA-ON-CAYUGA, NEW YORK

I

HE document which may well serve as Exhibit One in recounting the career of Thomas U. Walter is *Genealogical Sketches* (1), which he completed in 1871, and which in manuscript form has been deposited in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The sections having to do with the architect's grandparents and parents and with the architect himself have been abstracted and are given verbatim. As far as facts go, no discrepancies need be looked for. Interpretations, however, and supplementary details go far toward giving three-dimensions to the lay figure described in the text. But first let Mr. Walter tell his own story.

Frederick Jacob Walter was the first of the paternal ancestry of the family of whom we have any knowledge. He was born in Germany, and embarked for this country, with his parents, in the year 1749. His father and mother both died on the passage, leaving no information whatever respecting themselves, their family, or their ancestry.

It appears that the date of his birth was approximately known, as we find in the archives of the German Lutheran Church of St. Michael, in Fifth above Arch Street, Philadelphia, where he was accustomed to worship, a record stating that he was born in Germany in March, 1743, and that he died on the 15th of October, 1787. The allusion to his *birth*, in this connection, seems to have been incidental, as it does not give the day of the month, and it is found among the records of *deaths*—not of births. Its correctness, as far as it goes, cannot, however, be doubted.

All we know respecting his parents, and his early years, has been derived entirely from his own recollections transmitted to us by tradition.

He remembered that he embarked in Germany in a vessel bound for the United States, with his father and mother, when he was about *six* years old; but he was never able to recall the events of his earlier

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childhood. He had, however, a distinct recollection that his parents took with them, when they left Germany, their household effects, and other valuables, intending to make the United States their permanent home, and that they both died at sea of the plague, and were thrown overboard. He remembered that on the arrival of the vessel in Philadelphia, he was put ashore, an infant stranger, without father, or mother, or relative, or friend, to look after him; without means, and without any knowledge of the English language. He brought with him no record to tell anything of his antecedents, or what part of Germany he shipped from. The fact that the German language was his native tongue, corroborates his nationality. He continued to speak that language throughout his life, using it almost exclusively in his religious and domestic relations, notwithstanding he became a good English scholar, long before he reached manhood.

He distinctly remembered that, on landing from the vessel, he was told that everything belonging to his parents had been thrown overboard, to prevent the infection of the plague from spreading in the ship, and that he must be sold to pay his passage. This looks very much as though the master of the vessel had fraudulently, and heartlessly, appropriated to his own use, that which rightfully belonged to that helpless and desolate orphan boy. He was too young to know his rights, or to realize his situation; it is therefore probable that he became the passive victim of unscrupulous cruelty; he was put up at auction, and sold as a "German redeptioner." Who his purchaser was, is unknown. He is said to have often referred to the old "Carpenter mansion," on Chestnut, between Sixth and Seventh streets (afterwards the site of the "Philadelphia Arcade"), as the house in which he passed the years of his boyhood, in the capacity of a house-servant. As soon as he had accomplished the stipulated period of servitude, whatever that may have been, he was indentured as an apprentice to a bricklayer. After he had fulfilled his apprenticeship, he commenced the business of a master bricklayer, in partnership with Frederick Graff, the grandfather of the present chief engineer of the Philadelphia Water Works. He lived many years on Fifth below Arch Street, where his son, Joseph S. Walter, the father of the writer, was born. He afterwards purchased ground on the north side of Arch, below Sixth Street, where he built a house, and resided the remainder of his life. At his death he left his widow in comfortable circumstances.

He was twice married. His first wife was Jane McCluskey, a native of Ireland, who is said to have been a lady of great beauty and of stately proportions. They had three sons, Jacob F., Isaac, and Abraham, and a daughter named Margaret, who is reputed to have inherited her mother's personal appearance. His second wife was

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Martha Saunders, of Attleborough, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Their children were: Joseph S. and George; the latter died in childhood.

He took part in the Revolutionary War and was one of a detachment of 1,500 volunteers from Philadelphia who were detailed by Washington to guard the ferries and fording places of the Delaware, between the Falls of Trenton and Bristol. He was connected with the expedition that crossed that river, led by the commander-in-chief, on the fearful night of the 26th of December, 1776, and was conspicuous in the onslaught that took place, on the following morning at Trenton, which resulted in the defeat of the British forces, and the capture of 1,000 prisoners, with a vast amount of ammuniton, arms, and military stores. The victory thus obtained was second, in the importance of its results, to none that was achieved during the war. The coolness and bravery of our ancestor, on that occasion, won for him a reputation as a citizen soldier that went with him through life.

In the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania we find an Act passed on the 13th of June, 1777, requiring all the white male inhabitants of the State, of 18 years old, and upwards, excepting those residing in the three western counties, to take an oath of allegiance and fidelity, before one of the Justices of the Peace, whose duty it was, to furnish a certificate of the same, to each person so qualifying. The original certificate of Frederick J. Walter's submission to that law is still preserved, and is in the possession of Samuel L. Walter. The following is a copy of it:—

"No. 785 I do hereby certify, that Frederick J. Walter, of the City of Philadelphia, bricklayer, hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance and fidelity, as directed by an act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, passed on the 13th day of June A. D. 1777. Witness my hand and seal, this 30th day of June 1777."
(Signed) JAMES YOUNG. (Seal)

This document is not referred to as having any historical value, either in the relation it bears to the times in which it was executed, or to the individual to whom it refers. It is introduced in this connection simply because it identifies, in an official form, the existence of an ancestor. The fact that the most we know of him is derived from tradition, gives interest to whatever we find of a documentary character, in which his name occurs, even though the record may, in many respects, be unimportant.

We find some references to him in the archives of St. Michael's German Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, of which the following is a translation.

THOMAS U. WALTER AND HIS WORKS

Under the head of "baptisms":

"Parents; *Frederick Jacob Walter*, and his wife
Child, *Frederick Jacob*, born August 29, 1773
baptized September 29, 1773."
(Witnesses: The Parents)

"Parents: *Frederick J. Walter*, and his wife *Patty*.
Child, *Joseph S.* born May 15, 1782
baptized July 4, 1782"

Under the head of "deaths":

"Died; October 15, 1787, *Frederick J. Walter*,
born in Germany, March 1743."

It will be observed that this record includes but one of his children by his first wife. The remaining *three* were probably christened elsewhere. It is supposed that the mother attended some church where the services were in English, as that language was her native tongue, and that she took her remaining offspring to that altar, wherever it may have been. Her descendants say that she was a Methodist.

In the record of the christening of his son *Joseph S.* it will be observed that the mother does not appear as a witness. This may be accounted for by the fact that she was a Baptist, which would be very likely to prevent her from being present on the occasion. It is supposed that the rite was performed without her knowledge.

From what has been stated in the foregoing biographical sketch, it is evident that the lineage of *Frederick J. Walter* cannot now be traced back of himself. We shall probably never know who preceded him in the line of ancestry. His patronymic is a common name in Germany, and has become so throughout the United States. Many who bear that name in this country, outside of his own descendants have, no doubt, come from the same stock, and are of the same blood with us; but we can never know it.

He departed this life, as indicated by the foregoing record, on the 15th day of October, 1787, aged 44 years, and 7 months. His remains were interred in the burial ground attached to the aforesaid Saint Michael's German Lutheran Church, in Fifth north of Arch Street, in the city of Philadelphia. There is a tradition in the family, to the effect, that he lies between the west front of the church, and the yard wall on Fifth Street.

JOSEPH SAUNDERS WALTER

son of *Frederick Jacob Walter*, and his wife *Martha*, was born in Fifth below Arch Street, Philadelphia, May 15, 1782. At an early

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age he was indentured, as an apprentice, to Henry Reihle of Philadelphia, an extensive Tobacconist, with whom he served the full term of his apprenticeship. Not having a fancy for that occupation, he left it shortly after reaching his majority, and turned his attention to the arts of construction, for which he seemed to have been fitted by nature. He learned the art of Bricklaying, as well as that of Stonemasonry with his brother Isaac, and it was not long before he became extensively engaged in building,—an occupation he pursued successfully, for more than 40 years.

He was associated with Daniel Groves in building the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia (now the Custom House) under a special partnership limited to that particular structure. He also built the Philadelphia Exchange, and many other important public works.

He served several years in the Common Council of Philadelphia, and in the Board of Guardians of the Poor, and held many offices of Trust and Honor. He was an attractive speaker, and a ready debater,—a man of large views, and a general intelligence. He was a good German scholar, speaking the language with fluency and grammatical propriety. As a citizen, he was popular and highly esteemed; and as a Christian he was ardent and devoted. The annexed photograph is from a daguerreotype likeness taken in the year 1846.

He was baptized in the River Schuylkill, by the Rev. Thomas Ustick, April 6, 1802, and united with the Baptist Church in Second below Arch Street, in which he held the office of Deacon many years. He was an excellent singer, and was early called to lead the singing in the Church, and in the social meetings. He possessed the gift of prayer in an eminent degree, and in matters of faith was "steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." He was genial in his manners, entertaining in his conversation, and respected by all who knew him.

He was united in marriage with Deborah Wood, who will be the subject of the following memoir. They lived happily together more than 30 years, and after surviving her 14 years, he went peacefully to rest, November 1, 1855, aged 73 years, 5 months, and 16 days. His remains were interred in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

DEBORAH WOOD

the wife of Joseph S. Walter, was the daughter of Jeremiah and Achsah Wood (formerly Quicksall), she was born October 3, 1781, and was baptized in the River Schuylkill, by the Rev. Thomas Ustick, on the 6th day of July, 1801, uniting with the Baptist Church on Second below Arch Street, Philadelphia. She was a devoted and consistent Christian, fulfilling her duties to her Church, her family, and the

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world with ardor and fidelity. She possessed an intelligent faith, which was never known to waver, throughout her entire Christian life. Her knowledge of the Scriptures astonished all who knew her—she was “a walking concordance.” Her memory was prodigious, and her power of analysis indicated a well balanced mind.

She was a loving and painstaking wife, an indulgent and devoted mother, and an intelligent, active, and useful member of the Church of Christ. She departed this life in the assurance of a blessed immortality, July 10, 1841, aged 59 years, 9 months, and 7 days. Her remains were interred in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Her marriage with Joseph S. Walter was solemnized May 30, 1803, by the Rev. William Rogers, D. D. Their children were seven

Thomas U. Walter, son of Joseph S. and Deborah Walter, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 4, 1804. He was named after the Rev. Thomas Ustick, the former pastor of his parents. Early in life he exhibited a taste for Architecture, and a predilection for mathematical studies, which gave promise of future distinction in the arts of design and construction. In the year 1819, his scholastic studies were suspended, and he entered the office of Mr. William Strickland, as a student of Architecture, with whom he remained until he had acquired the art of linear drawing, and a general knowledge of the professional practice of Architecture, after which he resumed his general studies, and subsequently went through an elaborate course of mathematics. The next seven years of his life were devoted to the study of the physical sciences, to the cultivation of the arts of drawing and painting, and to the attainment of a practical knowledge of the several branches of mechanical construction connected with building. During this period he also studied landscape painting, in water colors, with Mason, a celebrated teacher of that art—an art he subsequently made good use of in illustrating his architectural prospectuses.

In the year 1828 he again became a pupil of Mr. Strickland, under whose instructions he remained for two years, devoting himself exclusively to the study of Architecture, the practice of which he commenced in 1830. The following year he designed the “Philadelphia County Prison”—his first important work. His plans were adopted, and the appointment as Architect of the work was conferred upon him October 14, 1831. The entire structure was erected in conformity with his drawings, and under his personal superintendence.

His designs for the “Girard College for Orphans” were adopted by the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia, in 1833, and the

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corner stone of the main building was laid on the 4th of July of the same year. The work was executed throughout, from his designs, and under his supervision, and was brought to a successful completion in the year 1847. As soon as his duties as Architect were accomplished, he was elected one of the Board of Directors of the College, in which capacity he served three years.

He has designed and executed numerous public buildings in his native city, and throughout the country, besides which, he has had an extensive private practice.

The annexed photograph is a likeness of him from a daguerreotype taken by Langenheim, in 1843. It is one of the first good pictures taken in this country by the process of Daguerre.

In the year 1838, he was sent to Europe by the Building Committee of the Girard College for the purpose of examining the practical workings of the various devices and appointments for health, convenience, and comfort, in the principal seats of learning in Great Britain, and on the continent, with a view to derive such information on those subjects as would be likely to prove useful in fitting up and furnishing the buildings of the College. He was likewise charged to investigate building improvements in general.

He left New York, July 7, 1838, in the Packet ship "Pennsylvania," arrived in Liverpool on the 28th of the same month, and proceeded at once to London, as a starting point in his investigations. After visiting and examining the leading institutions of learning in England, he crossed the Strait of Dover to France, where he pursued the objects of his mission. From Paris he went to Italy, stopping at Dijon and Geneva, and crossing the Alps at Mount Simplan. He spent some time in Milan, and also made considerable stay at Florence, after which he went to Rome. From there he crossed over, by post, to Civita Vecchia, where he embarked on a Mediterranean steamer for Marseilles, stopping on the way at Genoa and Leghorn. From Marseilles, he went by post to Paris (no railroad having, up to that time, been constructed on the soil of France!). After further researches in Paris he returned to London, by way of Boulogne-sur-Mer, and from thence to Liverpool. Crossing the Irish Sea, to Dublin, he pursued his journey through Ireland and Scotland, gaining what information he could on the subjects referred to him. He returned to Liverpool, by way of New Castle-upon-Tyne, Dunbar, York, Durham, Manchester and other places of note and interest. He sailed from Liverpool for New York in the Packet ship "Siddons," October 21, 1838, where he arrived on the 22d of November, after a boisterous passage of 32 days. Shortly after his return, he submitted an elaborate report, embracing a full account of the improvements and devices, that were then known, for promoting the cleanliness, comfort

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and convenience of institutions of learning. The College buildings were subsequently finished, and fitted up, in conformity with the suggestions contained in his report; thus securing to some 500 orphan boys, their teachers, and their attendants, the advantages of desirable appointments in their College home.

In the year 1843, he was invited by the Government of Venezuela to visit La Guayra and examine the port, with a view to the construction of a *Mole*, or Breakwater, to shelter the quay from the violence of the sea, so as to facilitate the discharge of cargoes. He sailed for this purpose in the month of July, 1843, and arrived at La Guayra after a voyage of 20 days. He proceeded at once to Caracas and conferred with the authorities, after which he returned to La Guayra, surveyed the harbor, took soundings of the roadstead, studied the currents, winds and tides, and the historic phenomena of the Port, after which he made designs, specifications, and estimates for the construction of a Breakwater, which were approved by the Government, and on the 12th of October, 1843, he entered into contract for the execution of the work. On the 24th of the same month he sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived after a stormy passage of 33 days.

After making the necessary preparations, he left Philadelphia, in the brig "Caracas," February 12, 1844, with some 50 competent workmen, and a cargo of materials, machinery, horses, and other appointments necessary for such an expedition, all of which were safely landed in La Guayra, after a voyage of 16 days. The work was commenced immediately after his arrival, prosecuted rapidly to completion. His eldest son accompanied him, as assistant engineer, but died of the fever of the country, shortly after his arrival. He had serious difficulties to encounter at every step of the enterprise; they were met and successfully overcome. The work was finished and officially accepted by the government on the 24th of October, 1845. He sailed for Philadelphia a few days afterward, and arrived November 20, 1845, having been absent from home nearly two years.

In the year 1851, his plans for the "Extension of the United States Capitol" were adopted, and the appointment of Architect of the work conferred upon him by the President of the United States. He held that appointment fourteen years, during which time, in addition to the works of the Capitol Extension, he planned and executed the Iron Dome of the Capitol, the East and West Wings of the Patent Office, and the extension of the General Post Office. He also designed the new Treasury Building, the Marine Barracks at Brooklyn and at Pensacola, and the Government Hospital for the Insane at Washington, District of Columbia.

Immediately after his appointment in 1851, he removed his family to Washington, where he continued to reside until 1865, when the

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works under his charge were completed. On the first of June of that year he tendered his resignation and returned with his family to Philadelphia.

He made a public profession of religion and was baptized in the River Schuylkill, at Spruce Street, Philadelphia, by the Rev. John C. Murphy, on the 12th of July, 1829, and on the same day was received into the membership of the Spruce Street Baptist Church, then worshipping temporarily in the Court House, at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets, the Meeting House in Spruce Street not having yet been completed. He was many years Clerk of the Church, and also Superintendent of the Sunday-School. When called to Washington in 1851, to take charge of the Extension of the Capitol, he removed his membership to the E Street Baptist Church of that city, where he instructed a Bible Class consisting of some 50 or more young men, which he kept up during the most of the time he resided in that city. On his return to Philadelphia he became one of the constituent members of the "Second Baptist Church of Germantown," the organization of which took place September 20, 1866.

He was twice married. His first wife was Mary Ann E. Hancocks, daughter of Robert Hancocks; and his second wife Amanda Gardiner, daughter of Dr. Richard Gardiner. A biographical sketch of each will follow this memoir.

He has retired from the active practice of his profession, and is devoting his time to scientific and literary pursuits, and to the advancement of art in his native city. He resides at present (1871) in Germantown, one of the rural wards of Philadelphia. In 1849, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts (A. M.), from Madison University, New York. In 1853, that of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.), from the University of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and in 1857, from Harvard University, that of Doctor of Laws (LL. D.) He held a Professorship of Architecture in the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania, and lectured on his art in that Institute for two successive seasons. In the year 1860, he delivered a course of lectures on Architecture before the students of Columbian College, District of Columbia. He had also delivered, from time to time, many popular lectures on the same subject in Philadelphia and its vicinity.

He has been a member of the "American Philosophical Society" more than thirty years, and of the "Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania" since 1829. He was one of the original members of the "American Institute of Architects," and is also connected with many other scientific and literary associations.

Further documentation regarding Walter's training includes his student notebooks, owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Carroll H.

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Wegemann, Baltimore, and titles in the Library of The Franklin Institute, where he was first a student and then a member.

As Walter in his retirement recalled his early career, it is easy to see how he felt that all his activities prior to the start of his career as architect were devoted toward that end, as, no doubt, they were in the mind of the ambitious young man. Remark has indeed been made at the mature wisdom involved in pursuing such a program. Mason (3) in his A. I. A. address makes the scholastic program most appealing, speaking of how Walter started at fifteen with the designer of Philadelphia's Custom House (also claimed for Latrobe), Mint, and Merchant's Exchange, with its Choragic Monument of Lysicrates apse, of how he stayed until he had mastered linear drawing and acquired a general knowledge of professional practice. He then resumed, we are told, his general studies, with intensive work in mathematics. For seven years he studied physical science also, drawing and painting, mechanical construction, and even landscape painting, returning at twenty-four for a final period of two years of intensive architectural work. This survey is but a little different from the architect's own recollections—accurate enough, let us repeat, in terms of objectives. The first indication that there might be another interpretation, no less creditable, but more credible, comes from Dunlap (4), who says he was apprenticed in bricklaying and stone masonry to his father, devoting his leisure hours to architecture, his father being master mason at the Bank of the United States, later the Custom House, which Strickland was building at the time. By 1825, Dunlap says, he was himself a master bricklayer, pursuing meanwhile varied studies to which his talents in drawing and mathematics led him. In 1830 he became an intensive pupil of Strickland's, giving his whole time to architecture and engineering, and then began practice as an architect. Corroborative of this less romantic interpretation are diary references made by Nicholas Biddle (5). Walter, he says, was the son of a bricklayer, the former assistant of his father, who later studied architecture with Strickland. And, lastly, we have the prosaic account of Jackson, the latest of the investigators (6), who says the year the lad was fifteen was marked, not by entering Strickland's office, but by beginning his apprenticeship to his father, aiding him as contractor in brick and stone for Strickland's Bank of the United States; that he remained with his father until he was twenty-one, when he set up inde-

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pently as a bricklayer, with an office and residence on Race Street, near Ninth; that he studied architecture at the Franklin Institute under Strickland, and pursued his general studies for the seven hitherto mentioned years in spare time, and (here biographer and autobiographer agree) that in 1830 he entered Strickland's office for eighteen months of intensive study in architecture and engineering. The facts, then, seem to honor Walter's energetic mastery of obstacles rather than his youthful educational theories.

Before turning to Walter's work as an architect, we must consider briefly his activities outside his profession, and also his personality. From his own account it is clear that as clerk, deacon, Sunday school superintendent, and Bible class leader he was consistent in his active support of the several churches to which he belonged. He is said to have written a number of hymns which attained at least local fame. Until professional activities took all his time, he was active also in furthering local efforts toward the development of popular taste, centered especially in the Franklin Institute, of which he was a member from 1829, later a member of the board of managers, and in 1846 chairman of the board (3). He was invited by the managers to give a course of lectures (voluntary) on architecture in 1836, as also in the following year. For a time he also contributed to the *Journal of the Institute*, being listed for some years on the editorial staff of collaborators, and styled Professor of Architecture.

Next, reference should be made to his activities in the organization of his professional associates. In 1836 there was an attempt to start an American Institute of Architecture, though there were scarcely a dozen properly trained architects in the country (3). A preliminary meeting was held in New York, December 7, 1836, to be followed by an organization meeting at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, May 2, 1837. The call for this second meeting, signed by Walter as secretary, now hangs in the A. I. A. offices in the *Octagon*, Washington. It was found, however, that there were too few architects to keep the organization active. In 1857 the still flourishing A. I. A. was established. Walter succeeded Richard Upjohn as the second president in 1876, and held the office until his death. His addresses at the various conventions are given in the annual proceedings as the years go by. An interesting sample can be found in his address in 1880. He alludes to the passing of the classic forms in an

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effort to express the spirit of the age, Queen Anne, Stuart, Jacobean, Renaissance, and Eastlake, being the current fashions—"having no trace whatever of paternity, ancient or modern." He finds the new designs lack fundamental æsthetic principles, without vigor in mass, an "aggregation of trivialities in the making up of details."

In 1860 it is recorded that he lectured on architecture at Columbian, now George Washington University in Washington, and also occasionally in Philadelphia. Finally a youthful effort at spreading culture is to be seen in the incorporation, by Walter and others, of the Athenian Institute of Philadelphia, designed to provide public lectures on moral, literary and scientific questions, April 28, 1838. In the Ridgeway Library is a letter from the chairman of the committee to Walter regarding the improvement of a lot on Chestnut Street by the Franklin Institute in association with the Athenian, the former owning the lot, the latter proposing to erect the building.

There are two published works, partly original and partly compilation, by Walter. One is entitled *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas*, by Walter and J. Jay Smith (7). The designs are strangely varied for a classicist, being Gothic, Classic, Rustic, and Fantastic. Walter signs one of the Gothic façades, with towers flanking the front porch, and piers projecting at oblique angles from the corners. The other book is by the same collaborators, *A Guide to Workers in Metals and Stone*, in four volumes (8). Here the former craftsman shows a delight in manufacture which perhaps reached its climax in the bronze balustrade he designed later for the Senate staircase in the Capitol.

Extant letters from Walter should come next. Mrs. Wegemann owns many of them, but they are not yet made public. She also possesses the MS. report Walter made after his European trip to the Girard trustees, the copy book of his letters while in Venezuela, and diaries and account books at different periods. She tells of a large number of letters, of interest to collectors, sold to a Philadelphia dealer by the Misses Olivia and Ida Walter. Letters of only casual interest are owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the New York Public Library.

Among the commentators on Walter's character, John H. B. Latrobe, in his 1881 address before the A. I. A. (9), spoke of the president as "brilliant, refined and accomplished." At the memorial

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deliberations during the 1888 convention, President Richard M. Hunt spoke of how Walter's experience, judgment and manner had aided the progress of the Institute during his term of office, and the official eulogist (3) said that his professional learning was "deep and well-digested," that his manner of architectural composition was "pure, artistic and dignified," and that in social life he was a "cultured gentleman." Glenn Brown writes (10):

Mr. Walter, in his architectural designs, followed classical models, and his work showed well-studied plans, a dignity in mass, and a refinement in detail which gives his buildings a quality that will be appreciated by the refined and cultured of the future. He was an indefatigable student and industrious worker until his death. He lent a willing hand and gave with zeal his time to any matter which tended to advance the profession of architecture, and endeared himself to all who came in contact with him by his genial social qualities.

As I remember him, his personal appearance was most striking—a large frame, with a strong and impressive face and head crowned with bushy white hair.

The principles upon which he acted during life are well expressed in the following extract with which he closed an address to the A. I. A.:

"We owe it to our country, to the age in which we live, to our families, to ourselves, to devote the rapidly fleeting hours of our lives to the accomplishment of the greatest possible good in our vocation, ever seeking to discharge our duties in all good conscience toward those whose interests are entrusted to our care, toward coworkers in the realm of art, and toward Him in whom we live and move and have our being."

A bit less formally, the grandchildren recall how Sunday night supper was the one meal in the week at which they were permitted to eat with their grandfather, often the minister of the day being present as guest, and how Mr. Walter would grow expansive with anecdote and theological discussion. It was different at other times. If any unnecessary noise or confusion arose, "Children, you make me bite my tongue." He permitted himself but two meals a day, one after several hours of work starting at five in the morning, the other in the evening, before another period of work. They recall his conversation as a major educational influence, the strict regimen of the household, keyed to quiet and work, and the universal deference paid whenever in latter years he appeared in public.

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II

Walter's first important commission as architect (1832-35) was for the Philadelphia County Prison, Philadelphia, usually called Moyamensing Prison, and styled by Dunlap "castellated architecture" (4). Walter's own description occurs in the "Franklin Institute Journal," II, pp. 189-91 (7). For the women's section (1837-38) in a separate building a brown sandstone entrance was provided in a "simple Egyptian style," with the entire western façade in similar material and style. The Debtors' Apartment, north of the main prison (1836), had a façade marked by a recessed portico reminiscent of the Temple of the Sun on the Island Elephantine, and the windows were crowned with the massy bead and cavetto of the Egyptian manner, a motive used again at the top of the building. Even the winged globe appeared in the cavetto of the main cornice and over the door. Jackson (6) points out that this was the earliest use of Egyptian motives in America. The Debtors' Jail was never used for more terrifying purposes than for housing State witnesses pending their appearance in court.

Leaving Girard College out of the picture for the present, let us comment on the other known works of Walter prior, for the most part, to his departure for Washington in 1851. First come private houses. As Kimball has observed, Walter, like Strickland and Mills, generally avoided temple forms in this type (13). The Matthew Newkirk house, 13th and Arch Street, Philadelphia, later known as St. George's Hall (14, Pl. XXXII) heads the list. "The front is of white marble. The beautiful portico is copied from the Erechtheum; the Ionic columns and richly-ornamented capitals of that celebrated temple have been universally admired as perfect models in Classic Architecture. Thomas U. Walter, architect." So writes Mrs. Tut-hill in 1847. Kimball thinks the house was the best of the Greek Revival in domestic work. It was torn down early in the present century.

Next, there was the Dundas house, Philadelphia (14, Pl. XXXI), with a hexastyle Ionic portico before a front door provided with rectangular sidelights and fan. In 1834 Nicholas Biddle enlarged his house on the Delaware, *Andalusia*, by copying the Theseum, Athens, the first enthusiast to use a peripteral colonnade for a private house. In the account books referred to above, we read of various charges

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made by Walter for services to Mr. Biddle in connection with his "cottage." There seems little reason to doubt that the architect, at the time engaged on Girard College, was the professional consultant of Mr. Biddle, though it may be surmised that the archæological knowledge displayed came from the owner rather than from the architect. Other private houses mentioned include the house for Joseph Cowperthwaite, also on the Delaware, and the house for the architect's own use in Germantown on his return to Philadelphia in 1865.

Banks recorded include the Philadelphia Savings Bank at Seventh and Walnut streets, and the Chester County Bank, West Chester, Pennsylvania (3). Churches would include the Fourth Universalist Church, once at the northeast corner of Juniper and Locust streets, Philadelphia, and the Spruce Street Baptist Church, Spruce Street near Fifth, Philadelphia, both built in the forties (6). Jackson suggests, on the basis of its Egyptian style, that the Crown Street Synagogue may have been a Walter design. There are also the First Presbyterian Church, West Chester, Pennsylvania (15); the First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia; and the Eutaw Place Baptist Church, Baltimore, the last with white marble façade, built as late as 1871.

Commissions for courthouses also came to Walter. At West Chester he designed the Chester County Courthouse (16), finished in 1847, with a colossal Corinthian portico in front, in prostyle form. Transverse wings with pilasters and pediments complete a neat composition, if it were not for the clumsy Wren tower perched aloft. One would be tempted to say it must be a later addition were it not for a similar scheme used at the Berks County Courthouse at Reading, Pennsylvania (17). In this second case an Ionic prostyle temple on a high base, with center and end entrances to the cellar, is provided not merely with a clumsy clock tower, but with a statue on top of it! That these two compilations cannot be charged merely to youth is evident when we read of the prize awarded Walter in 1835 for the Hibernian Hall, Charleston, South Carolina (18)—a distinguished Ionic hexastyle temple design. Only the door and windows above break the front cella wall. Windows down the sides are bound by pilasters reaching from the ground to the entablature, itself severely plain. The structure was finished in 1841.

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Mention having also been made of the County Prison at West Chester, and of Horticultural (later Memorial) Hall, at the same place (15), we are back in Philadelphia for comment on the Preston Retreat and Wills Hospital, both visible on the Parkway now reaching from the City Hall to the Art Museum. Dunlap is the authority for the Walter authorship of the Wills Hospital (4), Philadelphia's famous eye hospital, now in new and spacious quarters on Spring Garden Street. The building on Race Street near Eighteenth remained nearly as built until 1909, when limestone replaced marble for the façade, and other changes in design took place (6). At the moment it is being suggested for varied purposes, with its chances of continued existence remote. Preston Retreat is at Hamilton and Twentieth streets. In 1909 an additional story was added; otherwise Walter's design still remains (6). The building consists of a front unit, with projecting center, adorned with a tetrastyle Doric order, entablature and pediment, reached by a flight of steps, and of an extension to the rear, also marked with a colonnade. Rectangular window openings and a polygonal cupola complete the design, a balustrade hiding the roof. String-courses, rusticated basement walls, and ribbon-treatment of windows between pilaster-like forms help to refine and functionalize the design.

We need say no more of the engineering program in Venezuela than Walter tells in his biography—chiefly because little more is known. It is reported to be still in use, the pride of the country, according to Mrs. Wegemann. Also, it is convenient here to mention Walter's connection with the City Hall, Philadelphia, John MacArthur, architect, about which varied statements have been made. After Walter's return to Philadelphia, when he was living in virtual retirement, he advised MacArthur regarding the tower, thereby lessening its height and ensuring its stability, and he, when money stringency developed, accepted an invitation to assist with the decorative work on the building. One is glad to learn from Mrs. Wegemann of her distinct recollection that Mr. Walter was much annoyed if he were spoken of as in any way responsible for the architecture of the structure. He was invited to assist the architect, however, at the laying of the corner stone (6), and held his position in association with MacArthur until his death, October 30, 1887. We learn, also, that Walter had many young men in his office as architectural apprentices

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from time to time (3). One of them, Edward Clark, succeeded him as architect of the Capitol, when he retired in 1865. Following the custom of the time, Walter had his office in Philadelphia next to his residence, in this way being enabled to guide the young men's leisure as well as their work, and to insist on the latter.

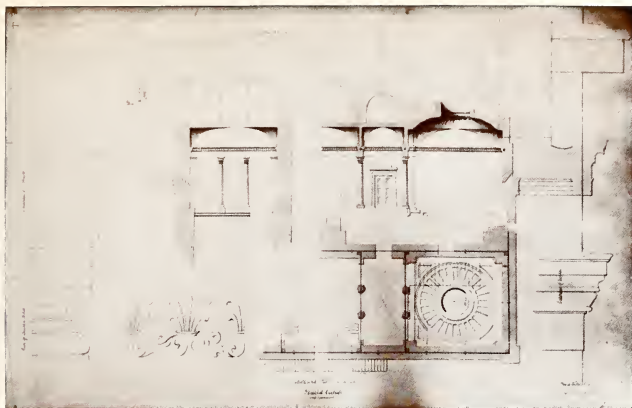
The first document to be considered in connection with Girard College is a diary of Nicholas Biddle, the protagonist of the Greek Revival in America, recounting from the point of view of the president of the trustees the story of the erection of the original buildings. This diary is given in two forms, slightly different, but each apparently authentic, in the "Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia" (14), and in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography" (5). The former document is spoken of as a memorandum penned presumably in 1843, the latter as from a diary under date January 9, 1839. The diary entry tells how Stephen Girard left two million dollars to found a college for orphan boys, with a reserve fund to be used, if necessary, of at least as much more. Biddle was chosen president of the trustees, and the erection of the college was the first order of business. The councils had already offered a premium for the best plan, and had granted it to Walter, who had subsequently been chosen the architect. "There then was an Architect appointed and his plan approved, and the danger was that this plan might be adopted. I say *danger*. Mr. Walter was the son of a bricklayer and had begun life by working with his father—at a later period he studied architecture with Mr. Strickland, and succeeded to the post of architect against his old Master, by a majority of (I believe) one vote. His plan was for a large, showy building, wanting simplicity and purity, but not ill adapted to please others as it had already pleased the Councils." Biddle manœuvred until he became chairman of the sub-committee of trustees and councils charged with the erection of the building. "The first difficulty was to wean Mr. Walter from his plan,—to which the natural self-love of a young artist, of course, attached him, and I endeavored, while doing justice to the merits of the plan, to excite his ambition to achieve something beyond his plan or the plan of anyone else; in short, to take advantage of this rare opportunity of immortalizing himself by a perfect, chaste specimen of Grecian architecture. He was inclined to listen from confidence in me as he had worked at the Bank of the

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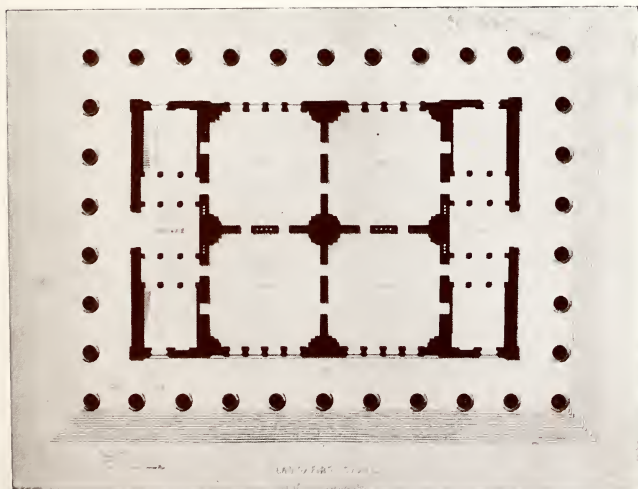
United States, where I was chairman of the Building Committee. He behaved perfectly well about it, no one could have done better. He renounced his own plan and came at once into my views, and prepared all the necessary drawings and seconded me with great cordiality." Biddle further succeeded by manipulation and persuasion in winning over the sub-committee, the committee, the trustees, and the councils, who hesitated at first when called on to erect a Greek temple for an almshouse. They even caught the spirit of the enterprise, and when the flank colonnades were tentatively omitted, voted unanimously for a peripteral plan. Walter's own description may be found in the "Journal of the Franklin Institute" for May, 1838; current reports are dated January 2, 1837, December 30, 1837, and January 21, 1839(?).

Our investigation takes us next to the pamphlets boxed as Girard College Reports in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They begin with the "Laying of the Cornerstone, July 4, 1833," on which occasion Nicholas Biddle spoke eloquently. The "Report of the Architect for 1833" gives a perspective drawing of the entire project. For 1834 the Building Committee conscientiously reports that the details of the Girard will are being modified only in the thickening of the walls, since the builders had to choose between the direction that after a certain height the walls were to be decreased to two feet in thickness, and the instruction that the building should be erected in the most permanent and durable manner. The walls were being chained and banded as directed, and the surrounding portico had been found necessary to strengthen the third story arches. The "Architect's Report for 1837" tells of interesting experiments conducted on the expansibility of the iron bands embedded in the walls to resist the lateral pressure of the arches. Finally, the "Architect's Report for 1848" tells the whole story once more.

Four subordinate buildings faced with marble had also been finished, arranged symmetrically, two to a side. Spaces between the buildings were inclosed by marble walls and divided into gardens and playgrounds. A wall surrounded the whole estate with spur piers on the inside and buttresses on the outside, built of rubble and capped with marble. At the south entrance two octagonal lodges were provided (since replaced) faced with white marble, with double gates between. At the north entrance were two rusticated marble piers



(Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania)
SECTION AND PLAN OF VESTIBULE, GIRARD COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA,
PENNSYLVANIA



(Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania)
PLAN OF FIRST STORY, GIRARD COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

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crowned with marble projecting cornice and blocking, with outer and inner gates. The total cost is given as \$1,933,821.78. The buildings were finished in 1847 and opened in 1848.

Criticisms made when the estimates were exceeded during the construction of the building and the income shrank, are answered in the Biddle memorandum (19). The architect in his 1840 report, also, compares the progress he is making to the time spent on the Madeleine, in Paris, and in his 1842 report he defends his original estimate as more than an opinion, and tells of how he had to prepare the estimate in five days.

Finally, there is the matter of how far the will cramped the style of the architect (19). Biddle defends the designer. He lists comparable structures, the Parthenon, Theseum, and the Temple of Jupiter Olympias at Athens, the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the Temple of Jupiter Olympias at Agrigentum, the Madeleine at Paris, the Town Hall at Birmingham, and the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, as regards proportions. He then argues both that the will necessitated the proportions used at the college, and that they are preferable anyway, in his mind, to that of the ancient buildings he has seen, where, at least according to rule, the flank had double the number of columns used in front plus one. He recalls how in comparing the Bank of the United States to the Parthenon he had mentioned with approval the omission of the inner row of columns in the portico in the former case. When at the Patent Office, Washington, a double colonnade in the portico was used, he was convinced that porticoes in single colonnades were preferable. And, therefore, he defends the omission of a second row at the ends of the college, favored merely to reach the proportions of ancient prototypes.

From the point of view of the users of the building, however (before Pennsylvania marble yielded to Vermont marble and then to limestone, and the student body rose from 300 to 1,500), the story is less academic. Walter C. Gold '90 (11) reports: "Mr. Walter predicted that when finished according to the plans of Mr. Girard, the building never would be satisfactory. That he was in no wise responsible for the poor acoustic conditions is indicated in a footnote of his report of January 8, 1848, above referred to. He said, 'The reverberation of sound in these rooms, in consequence of their magnitude and their arch-formed ceilings, renders them wholly unfit for use; and

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unless a level ceiling is thrown in at the top of the cornice, or some other means adopted to destroy the reverberation, they can never be used for the purposes of school or recitation rooms. They are, however, constructed in exact accordance with the Will, and these results were anticipated in the earliest stages of the work, but as Mr. Girard left no discretionary power in reference to this part of the design, we were compelled to take the letter of the Will as our guide, let the results be what they might.'” We may note, however, that for sixty-six years the college was used principally for school purposes, according to Mr. Gold.

Our last document is Walter’s report in 1884 (21) on the state of the structure. In all essentials he found it “is solid and as permanent as it was on the day of its completion.”

The trip to Europe in connection with the construction of the college mentioned in the autobiography led to an elaborate report to the trustees. Despite the numerous practical methods he saw in use, many of which he was able to adopt at Girard, the fact remains, as Tallmadge points out (22), that with bedroom windows seeking light from behind a colonnade, it was just such glaring examples of the inappropriate that led to the downfall of the Greek Revival style. Jackson (6), however, believes that in these buildings he even refined on the style he imitated.

The first important document which connects Walter with the program of Federal buildings in Washington is a *Report* dated as early as 1838 (23). He had been directed, he states, to examine the new Treasury Building, then in progress, as regarded its site, plan, stability, and effect; also the solidity of the Patent Office, likewise in progress. He speaks of the delicacy of his problem, being called to advance opinions on the work of your “venerable and accomplished architect” (Robert Mills, 1781-1855). He criticizes the site of the Treasury, pointing out that the space is too limited, and that it mars the city plan (it and the Library of Congress still make the complete restoration of the L’Enfant Plan impossible). The first objection was subsequently removed when the State Department moved to its present quarters on the other side of the White House (24). Walter finds the walls are too thin for so large a vaulted building, having just faced the same problem at Girard. He finds the top rooms are darkened by the colonnade (the East or Fifteenth Street

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façade of the present structure), and the cellar rooms damp and dark. He criticizes the use of forty-two columns in a continuous line on an inclined plane as monotonous, though they have been admired (at least thirty of them) for the same reason. In fine, he recommends the demolition of the building and its erection elsewhere. It should be said in Mills' defense that the site, when the discussion threatened to be interminable, was determined by the fiat of President Jackson. As for the Patent Office, Walter found the walls again too weak. Here he recommended alterations rather than demolition. He suggested Lafayette Square as a center for government offices, an idea which is once more coming to the front among the city planners of Washington, and urged the use of more durable and beautiful material in the government buildings than the prevailing Aquia Creek sandstone. The congressional committee who had called Walter in as consultant also criticized the materials as inferior, and recommended the use of what could be salvaged from the Treasury in a new Post Office, needed to take the place of the one just burned. The matter was tabled.

Next comes the competition for the Capitol Extension in 1850 (24a), (24b). Mills had been the Supervisor of Buildings since 1830. He designed the Treasury and Patent Office, as well as the Washington Monuments in Baltimore and in Washington. He was asked to submit drawings for the new wings by the Committee on Public Buildings, May 28, 1850 (10). They were prepared (10, Pls. 137-39). However, a competition was advertised in the "National Intelligencer," September 30, 1850. Four designs were chosen from those sent in and the premium of \$500 divided. Of these the design of one (anonymous) competitor (10, Pls. 141-44) and Walter's survive (10, Pls. 145-48). However, from descriptions handed down the features of each of the four are known.

A merely increased the length of the existing building north and south, B duplicated the existing structure to the east, C showed the wings with the east and west axes at right angles to the axis of the old building, the north and south axes coincident, and D showed the wings extending farther to the east than to the west of the old building.

Mills was then instructed to draw a new plan from various sources, including the four just mentioned. It was recommended that the

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wings should be attached to the north and south ends of the old building, that the east and west axes should be at right angles to the north and south axes, that the west front of the wings should be back of the west front of the old building, and the east front far beyond the old east front. In general, the features of the anonymous competitor were adopted.

On the date the competition was advertised Congress had voted, however, in the Civil and Diplomatic Act, "For the extension of the Capitol, according to such plans as may be approved by the President, \$100,000; to be expended under his direction by such architects as he may appoint to execute the same" (25). Accordingly, President Fillmore in his annual message, December, 1851, affirming his authority to approve the plan and appoint the architect, appointed Walter. On June 10, 1851, he had approved the general outline of Walter's plan. Jackson (6) speaks of Mills as retiring at the time on account of age, and Scarborough records that his death was hastened by his failure to secure priority (26).

Walter as architect for the Capitol Extension proceeded to draw various sets of plans, presumably using ideas from all sources. Brown gives in Pl. 147 a modification of his competitive plan, in Pl. 140 an elevation found among Walter's papers signed by the Corps of Topographical Engineers, the latter looking surprisingly like the wings as erected. The third of the post-competitive plans laid before the President received Fillmore's approval (10, Pls. 151-54, Senate; Pls. 155-58, House; Pl. 164, north and south front of wings; Pls. 160, 161, east and west fronts of wings; Pl. 162, front facing old building; Pl. 163, front behind porticoes). In his first report, December 23, 1851, Walter says, "The architecture of the exterior is designed to correspond in its principal features to that of the present building, and the disposition of the various parts is intended to present the appearance of one harmonious structure and to impart dignity to the present building rather than to interfere with its proportions or detract from its grandeur or beauty" (10).

Just how skillfully this correlation was done can be seen if one compares the wings with Latrobe's center and with Thornton's façades to either side of the center portico. Bulfinch's dome, of course, gave way later to Walter's, which still awaits the extension of the center to give it as adequate a base as it has silhouette.

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Before tracing further the course of Walter's work as architect of the Capitol Extension, it will be convenient to summarize the Anderson claims to authorship of the design of the wings. The pertinent documents are four pamphlets in the Library of Congress by Charles Frederick Anderson (27-30), letters in the files of the Art Curator of the Capitol, and an anonymous article in *Architecture* (31). In surveying the evidence, with Anderson's original drawings lost, we must conclude that he was not justified in his position. Whatever the preceding events may have been, once Walter was appointed, he was justified in using elements from any source he saw fit—the competitors having been premiated, and the President having clearly taken charge in place of the congressional committees. It may well be that Anderson through his tireless efforts was influential in causing the location of the chambers of Senate and House *within* each wing, and that some of his ideas of ventilation and acoustics were used in the construction.

There is only one possibility of a needed review of the matter. Could the drawing given by Brown, Pl. 140, possibly be one of the "lost" Anderson drawings? The anonymous writer in *Architecture* tells how Anderson's drawings were framed and hung in Anderson's office in Washington, rendered beautifully in lead pencil by a friend, McCoy, an engraver in the office of the Coast Survey. If this possibility is correct, Walter must surrender a considerable share of his credit for the exterior design of the wings. It should be pointed out, however, that even if the contingency mentioned finds future support, Walter cannot be held in any way culpable. Brown points out that even on the basis of the modified centers (after Meigs' revisions), Walter so developed the interiors as to make them his own. And in the event of the proposed transfer of credit, it would merely mean that Anderson and Walter are to be called the designers of the wings, as Hallet and Thornton are now known to have been of the original design of the building. To raise the suspicion that Walter destroyed Anderson's drawing, as the writer in *Architecture* does, is merely irresponsible use of the documents available. We might add in conclusion that the present head draughtsman in the office of the architect of the Capitol quotes his grandfather, August Schoenborn, head draughtsman under both Walter and Clark, as stating in his manuscript autobiography that Walter designed the wings. As inconvertible, on

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the other hand, is the change made when Meigs took charge (through Anderson's efforts or otherwise) as evidenced by the foundations still visible—made for the outside positions of the chambers, and subsequently discarded.

For Walter's career while architect of the Capitol Extension, Brown (10) and the *Documentary History of the Capitol* (32) are the chief sources. The corner stone was laid July 4, 1851, Daniel Webster being the orator. An anecdote preserved in the Walter family tells of how the statesman used Walter's MS. for his speech, and how Walter's handwriting is now being preserved in the corner stone, which contains the oration of the occasion. Walter says in his first *Report*, December 23, 1851, "The general design and outlines . . . were decided on by the President of the United States on the 10th of June last; and in accordance with his instructions, I proceeded, without delay, to prepare the necessary drawings" Almost immediately Congress began hearing and voicing complaints in regard to frauds, mismanagement, inferior materials, and so on. Brown believes these fomentings were engineered by the jealous Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds, William Easby, whose authority did not extend over the rising wings. The investigation which followed showed evils, frequently attributable to the political activities of the President and the members of Congress, with the result of the transfer of the project from the Interior to the War Department, and the appointment of Captain Meigs as superintendent. The investigating committee then approved Meigs' changes, chiefly the removal of the chambers of the Senate and House to the interior of the wings. Whether through approval, tact, or mere relief at the passage of the investigation, Walter is quoted as favoring the changes. Clark, Walter's successor, is quoted in the *Documentary History* as crediting to Meigs also, not only the more effective management, and the regulation of the ventilation and acoustics, but also much of the construction of the dome.

Walter's plans for the rebuilding of the Library of Congress, to embrace the entire western center of the old Capitol, are of interest. They were made following the fire of December 24, 1851. He projected a fireproof scheme, principally of iron. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, December 28, 1852, he says, "in the finish of this room I desire to keep to the idea of the whole being

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composed of metal, which could not be done if other than metallic colors were used." He is quoted as saying it was the "largest room made of iron in the world." In Pls. 169-70 Brown shows this early example of functionalism, while Pls. 251-53a show the Library as later built.

Congress continued to criticize, in time including Meigs along with Walter. The two were soon at logger-heads, each claiming authority. The controversy came to a climax under Secretary of War Floyd, in President Buchanan's administration. Meigs was replaced by Captain W. B. Franklin, November 1, 1859, and on April 16, 1862, the management of construction was once more placed in the hands of the Interior Department, and Walter was left in sole command. With the work on the building practically complete, the Secretary of the Interior, May 25, 1865, advised Walter that contracts for the Library were to be abrogated, and that the Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds would hereafter be in charge. Walter, rather than face another period of divided authority, resigned May 26, 1865, confident his former pupil, Edward Clark, and his head draughtsman, August Schoenborn, were well able to finish the work as designed. The House, we may note, had been occupied December 13, 1857, and the Senate, January 4, 1859.

The story of the dome and the development of the grounds will be traced first in the *Documentary History* (32). On February 22, 1855, \$100,000 was appropriated in the House to construct the new dome, designed by Walter. When Meigs claimed equal credit with Walter, the latter reports to Secretary Davis, March 4, 1856, that no "essential" change had been made over the original drawings. Walter's Reports 1862-64 tell of the later steps in the construction, and are followed by one for 1865 by his successor, Clark. F. L. Olmsted, October 1, 1881, writes to Clark of Walter's approval of his plans for terraces to the west of the building, and in an interview with Senator Morrill spoke of his purpose to design the setting of the building in such a way as to permit the future development of Walter's eastern extension. Walter in his 1864 Report gave the reason for his proposed eastern extension, "Now that the new dome and the wings of the Capitol are approaching completion, it must be apparent to every one that the extension of the center building, on the east, to the line of the new wings, becomes an architectural necessity. I

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have therefore prepared plans for thus completing the work, in harmony with what has already been done, and will place them in the Capitol for future reference." And Mr. Clark in his 1865 Report speaks of the imperative need of the extension of the center, which now had the aspect of inferiority to the wings. He also calls attention to the apparent insecurity of the dome. Walter's plans were modified by Carrère and Hastings in their Report, December 21, 1904. (It may be remarked, parenthetically, that during the 1933 inauguration, the benefit to close views of the dome of the temporary pavilion built for that occasion before the eastern portico was marked.) And in 1937 the matter was still being debated by the authorities (38).

Brown (10) gives the drawings of the Walter dome (Pls. 184-186). The octagonal base rests on the walls of the old dome. Next comes a peristyle of columns crowned by an entablature. An attic comes next, then the semi-ellipsoidal dome, the tholus or lantern, and Crawford's bronze statue, *Liberty*. For the inner dome, the rotunda was left unchanged below the cornice—though Walter often spoke of replacing the pilasters with columns to increase the apparent support of the weight (33). The wall was continued above the cornice, with a recessed band for a frieze of sculpture. A corridor encircled the rotunda, above the frieze, of piers and engaged columns, and from its cornice sprang the inner dome, with an opening of sixty-five feet diameter, showing a colonnade ending at the base of the lantern.

Of Walter's other works in Washington, we may remark more briefly. He designed the north, south, and west fronts of the Treasury, completing the granite structure of Mills. Starting in 1855, the south wing was occupied in 1861, the west wing in 1864, and after the State Department had vacated its quarters, the north wing in 1869 (24, 35).

Walter also continued Mills' work at the Old Patent Office, H and Ninth streets, N. W., adding two wings, complete buildings in themselves, to the east and west of Mills' structure. The building was started in 1837, and Walter finished his additions in 1867. Of the Doric order and in marble, the pediments and colonnades are proportioned on the Parthenon. Indeed, the simplicity of this copy of an illustrious model approaches grandeur.

Opposite one-half of the Patent Office at H and Ninth Street, N. W., is the marble building called the old Post Office, or the Old

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Land Office, and now occupied in part by the Tariff Commission. Designed by Mills in 1830 (35), it was erected by Walter.

When the State, War, and Navy Building was authorized in 1871, it was provided that the dimensions and ground plan of the Treasury should be followed. Walter drew the plans (35), but A. B. Mullett, the supervising architect of the Treasury, "improved" the exterior until some nine hundred too many colonettes marred its surface. Only Walter's interior plan remained. At present plans are projected for its remodeling by Waddy Wood, with the exterior once more brought into harmony with the Treasury, and the interior adapted to needs of the State Department, now the sole occupant of the structure.

Naval Barracks at Brooklyn, New York, and at Pensacola, Florida, reported to be the finest in existence at the time of their erection, also came from Walter's office while he was in Washington. Likewise, the buildings for the government hospital for the insane, St. Elizabeth's, Washington. When Walter's account books now in the possession of Mrs. Wegemann are examined, many of his private commissions will no doubt be revealed—churches and private houses, in particular. That any new attribution will materially change our judgment of his work, or add outstanding examples to his output, is unlikely.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

In addition to the illustrations in Glenn Brown, the Documentary History, and the 1902 Report, already sufficiently referenced, the following list of pertinent illustrations is appended:

Portraits (oil) by John Neagle, owned by Mrs. C. H. Wegemann, Baltimore (11, frontispiece); (oil) by Francisco Pausas, Office of the Architect of the Capitol (25, p. 242).

Moyamensing Prison, Philadelphia (6, p. 197).

Girard College, Philadelphia (6 p. 201; 34 p. 133; 19 p. 203 from original watercolor made by Walter for Nicholas Biddle; 14 frontispiece). Steel engraving, J. W. Steel (37, p. 499).

Preston Retreat, Philadelphia (6, p. 203).

Andalusia, Biddle House, Philadelphia (36, p. 101).

Dundas House, Philadelphia (14, Pl. XXXI).

Newkirk House (St. George's Hall), Philadelphia (14, Pl. XXXII).

Old Post Office, Washington (34, p. 120; 35, p. 282).

Old Patent Office, Washington (34, p. 134; 35, p. 283).

Treasury Department, Washington (24, pp. 82, 84; 35, pp. 379, 382).

State Department (remodelled), Washington (35, p. 376).

Berks County Courthouse, Reading, Pennsylvania (17, p. 167).

Chester County Courthouse, West Chester, Pennsylvania (16, p. 118).

Hibernian Hall, Charleston, South Carolina (18, following p. 4).

DRAWINGS

In locating Walter drawings it should be borne in mind that before the days of blue prints it was customary to make duplicate drawings, both signed by the head of the

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office issuing them. Many of the drawings referred to below, therefore, may involve duplication.

Miscellanea—Crated, and in the possession of Mrs. C. H. Wegemann, Baltimore.

Sketch Book, "U. S. Capitol Extension," *ibid.*

Dome, U. S. Capitol, *ibid.*

Capitol, Bulfinch dome, *ibid.*

Capitol, Walter dome, *ibid.*

Girard College—preliminary conception, *ibid.*

Girard College—as built, *ibid.*

Girard College—second preliminary conception, Glenn Cook, Baltimore.

Capitol, Center Extension Project, Walter Cook, Baltimore.

Capitol, Dome, working drawings, College of Architecture, Cornell University.

Dome, U. S. Capitol, elevation, Library of Congress (gift of Misses Walter).

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Tholus of Dome, U. S. Capitol, elevation, *ibid.*

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Treasury Department, southwest view, Treasury Department, Office of the Supervising Architect.

Treasury Department, South Front, *ibid.*

Patent Office, numerous drawings, Office of Public Buildings and Parks, Navy Building.

Capitol, numerous drawings, Office of the Architect (partly on deposit and partly by purchase from the Misses Walter).

Drawings of Girard College, the Philadelphia County Prison, etc. (22), Pennsylvania Historical Society.

George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer

BY RICHARD BEALE DAVIS, MARY WASHINGTON COLLEGE,
FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA



IN the parish register of an old Kentish church is a curiously extravagant entry:

*Georgius Sandys, poetarum Anglorum sui saeculi
facile princeps, sepultus fuit Martii 7 stylo Anglic Anno
dom. 1643.*

Yet few critics before the nineteenth century would have found fault with this casually asserted claim to supremacy. John Dryden repeated almost the same words. Even Alexander Pope and Joseph Warton agreed with few limitations.

Contemporaries less literary than the author of the recorded entry remembered Sandys for other reasons. He was an entertaining raconteur of travels in the East, a favorite courtier of Charles I, and a pious author of paraphrases of the scriptures. But much of this has been forgotten. When he is occasionally recalled today it is for his part in American Colonial history, as a resident official of the Virginia settlement during its most crucial years, and as the first Englishman to find in the New World the time and the ability to write poetry.

These things alone present him as one of the most versatile and accomplished figures of his age. And Sandys is an individual in character as he is versatile in accomplishment. Few Elizabethan or Stuart gentlemen combined more paradoxes than this hot-tempered, whimsical, shrewd, worldly, and pious adventurer. Here was a man who took equal interest in exterminating Indian communities, worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre, and polishing the English couplet.

Historians during the last three-quarters of a century have given Sandys some little recognition. No one of them, however, seems to have emphasized the most significant and fascinating things about him. For Sandys is the sole Elizabethan poet-adventurer of the Sidney-Raleigh tradition to take an active personal part in the earliest



GEORGE SANDYS

(From the copy in the Bayley-Tiffany Art Museum of the University of Virginia. Original by Cornelis Janssen)

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development of the British colonial empire, and the only one to prove the practical virility of this peculiarly Renaissance upbringing amid the severities of a pioneer community.

I

Hereditary at the very start supplied at least two of George Sandys' most characteristic qualities. His father, Edwin Sandys (1516?-1588), was one of the soundest scholars and most persistent squabblers of the first half of Elizabeth's reign. As a bishop, Edwin is said to have "delighted the queen early": certainly she must have had the fullest sympathy for both of these obvious elements of his character. Edwin also had the doubtful honor of having suggested, as a political expedient, the murder of Mary Queen of Scots. Consequentially or not, when the clergyman's seventh and youngest son George was born in 1578, the child's father was Archbishop of York. And a short time later, when the child was christened, its godparents were among the great nobles of the realm: George Earl of Cumberland, William Lord Ewer, and Catherine, Countess of Huntingdon.

The Archbishop's personal influence on this last son was probably, however, but little. He died when George was under eleven. There is interesting evidence that even in death the prelate wished to guide this son's life, for the will urges strongly that George shall, at the proper time, take unto himself a specifically named and financially well-endowed wife. Be this as it may, the advice, or command, seems never to have been heeded.

A living older brother could have more influence than a dead father—and did. The archbishop's second son and namesake, sixteen years George's senior, was already one of the eminent men of the kingdom when George reached his majority. Scholar and statesman, close friend of Richard Hooker and George Cranmer, the second Edwin had from the beginning supported James' claim to the throne. As one of the band accompanying the new King from Scotland to England, he received a knighthood. Like his father before him, he thus early made a secure place for himself and his family in the good graces of the sovereign. Although active in the affairs of trade with the East Indies and Japan, he devoted most of his energies to the Virginia Company. He served as a member of the council for Virginia in 1607, and as its treasurer from 1619 to 1621. He

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was primarily responsible for the establishment of the first institution of higher learning in English America, the missionary college at Henrico. Through him also the Leyden exiles were permitted to settle within the territories of the Virginia Company. Edwin and George Sandys did not always agree, especially in problems of Colonial administration, but the younger George always showed admiration and respect for his brother's opinions and abilities. Above all, the two shared an intense interest in colonization and travel.

But most of this was still in the future when the youngest Sandys was growing up. Even in his teens, it would seem, the boy had an eye on both a public and a scholarly career. Entering St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, at the precocious age of twelve, he probably remained in the university for seven years, a much longer time than was usually necessary for a degree. Evidently someone, Edwin or perhaps George himself, believed in strenuous preparation. In 1596 George turned from the academic to the legal and entered the Middle Temple. This is the last official record of his whereabouts before 1610, but from the learning later displayed, it is probable that he spent many of the intervening years as Milton spent the period at Horton, in further study and seclusion. At this time also he became acquainted at court, and for the rest of his life was the admirer and personal friend of Prince Charles, who later as King made him one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

By 1610 the thirty-two-year-old Sandys, a scholarly sophisticate, was ready to begin the travels which many of his contemporaries had undertaken at an earlier age. Although the European tour was a customary adjunct of formal education, George Sandys' itinerary and his purpose in journeying were both unusual. He resolved to see and experience and record things with which even the educated among his fellow-countrymen were unfamiliar.

In resolving to write of his experiences he seems to have been somewhat influenced by what his brother Edwin had done before him. From 1593 to 1599 Edwin had travelled in Europe, sojourning for some time in Venice. There Fra Paoli Sarpi aided him in the composition of the volume which was the *raison d'être* of his travels, a treatise on the religious state of Europe known as the *Europa Speculum*.

When George set forth, he wandered through France and the Rhine country in the customary way, with Venice as his first destina-

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tion. Here where most travellers turned back he felt that he would begin, and here he began to jot down the notes for what was to become one of the most popular travel books of the century, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615). Dedicated like all his later works to Charles, then Prince of Wales, the *Relation* was unconcerned with religious problems such as those discussed in Edwin's book. The observant George was interested in giving his English reader an authoritative yet popular picture of regions less familiar than Southern and Western Europe: "*France* I forbear to speak of, and the lesse remote parts of *Italy*: daily survaide and exactly related. At *Venice* I will begin my Iournal. From whence we on the 20 of August, 1610, in the Little Defence of *London*."

Through a twelvemonth he wandered on, travelling through the Turkish Empire, Egypt, and the Holy Land, observing with the eye of the scientist and the scholar. Sometimes his meditations remind the reader that he lived in a deeply religious age. Occasionally he was guilty of a little padding from ancient travel books, but on the whole he was portraying what he saw. His account of the pyramids and his vivid description of the Holy Sepulchre prove the accuracy of his observation and the poetic simplicity of his piety. And problems of transportation and news transmission were of equal power to attract his attention—for example, the pigeon-carrier service between Aleppo and Babylon which Izaak Walton learned from him and used in the *Compleat Angler*.

But Sandys was not merely an intelligent sightseer and curiosity-seeker. Before returning to England, he stopped at Rome and spent a considerable period studying its antiquities under Nicholas Fitzherbert. There also he became proficient in several languages and imbued with a mass of classical lore much more comprehensive than he had received in his English university training and independent studies at home. Over a century later Gibbon went out of his way to praise the fidelity and value of Sandys' picture of the East, particularly of Jerusalem, in his time, and of the Italian antiquities.

There were at least five editions of the *Relation* during the seventeenth century, and there was an extract in Purchas' *Pilgrimes* (1625, Part 2). This book alone gave Sandys a respected position among the scholarly travellers of his day. Anthony Wood says that Sandys returned from his journeyings a fluent linguist, a delightful conver-

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sationalist, and "he also had [then] a poetical fancy and a zealous inclination to all human learning, which made his company acceptable to most virtuous men and scholars." Bishop King (in the Introduction to one of Sandys' later writings) was able to compare him with his brother Edwin and his father Edwin:

. . . And scarcely have two brothers farther borne
A father's name, or with more value worn
Their own, than two of you; whose pens and feet
Have made the distant points of heaven to meet:
He by exact discoveries of the West [Edwin's *Europæ Speculum*]
Yourself by painful travels to the East . . .

Thus George Sandys completed training for the great work of his life. For he himself said he spent his best years and efforts in the Colony of Virginia.

II

In 1621 the Virginia Company of London proceeded to the election of a new resident Governor for its fourteen-year-old Colony. It chose Sir Francis Wyatt, a nephew-in-law of one of its veteran officials, Sir Edwin Sandys, and of the traveller George Sandys. Wyatt was in personal ability and experience well fitted for his post. The Colony was growing, however, and the company felt the need of an additional responsible official at Jamestown who might share the administrative burden. It decided to create the office of resident treasurer, the duties of which would include accounting for all exports and imports of the Colony, control over staple commodities, promotion of industry, and executive and judicial authority as a member of the Colonial Council. To this new position it elected George Sandys.

There were many good reasons for the choice. In the first place, the new treasurer came of an influential family. And his brother Sir Edwin, as mentioned above, had been for years a principal promoter and governor of the London Company. Then George Sandys himself had shown a marked interest in colonization, for he had owned (prior to 1621) shares in the Bermuda Company and in the Virginia Company, and had made, in 1619, an attempt to obtain the Governorship of the Bermudas. He and his relative, Sir Francis Wyatt, not too far apart in age, had always been on good terms.

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They might be expected to work well together. Sandys was a world-renowned traveller who would find strange conditions of life and behaviour nothing new. He had already impressed those who knew him with his sound good sense. Above all, he had always been a friend of Prince Charles, as shown in the dedication of the *Relation*, and of the Earl of Southampton, greatest power in the Virginia Company.

Which among these reasons had most weight it is impossible to say. At any rate the minutes of the company leave no doubt that its members were more than content with their selection:

. . . . It pleased my Lo: of Southampton to propose a gentleman well knowne unto them all as a man very fitt to take that charge upon him namely Mr. George Sandys who was indeed so well reputed of, for his approved fidelity sufficiency and integrity: as they conceaued a fitter man could not be chosen for that place and therupon agreed to his eleccion. . . .

A month or two later, in the company of Wyatt and other officials, the forty-four-year-old Sandys embarked for the New World. Besides his instructions and certificate of authority, he carried with him a portion of his most ambitious literary effort, the first five books of the translation into English verse of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. His friend Michael Drayton, admiring the fragment, then gave the famous encouragement:

And worthy George, by industry and use,
Let's see, what lines Virginia will produce
Go on with Ovid, as you have begun
Glib as the former so shall it live long,
And do much honor to the English tongue

The voyage was long, and rather stormy. But the new treasurer was never idle. Mapping his plans for the new office, perusing carefully the earlier records of the Colony, he began to realize the magnitude and responsibilities of his task. His mind teemed with ideas he hoped would become practical realities. But for the time the bulwarks of the ship confined him, and he returned to poetry for his recreation. "Yet amongst the roeing of the seas, the rustling of the shrowdes, and clamour of Saylers I translated two books," he wrote a friend at home. Therefore the new official, known usually

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in the records as "Mr. Thresurer," rowed ashore in America, in early spring, with seven books of the *Metamorphoses* already in English. " I will perhaps, when the sweltering heat of the day confines me to my Chamber, give a further essayee, for which if I be taxed—I have noe other excuse but that it was the recreacon of my idle howers "

Thus the first consciously artistic literary production of America came into being in the spare time of the hardest working official of a busy Colony. The Treasurer found the idle hours few and far between, even if his accomplishments were only those recorded by the company itself. As he stated later in his dedication of the complete Ovid (1626) to his master Charles:

Your gracious acceptance of the first fruits of my travels, when you were our hope, as now our happiness, hath actuated both will and power to the finishing of this piece, being limned by that imperfect light which was snatcht from the hours of night and repose. For the day was not mine, but dedicated to the service of your great father and yourself

The first year of Wyatt's governorship was the most promising and prosperous, up to that time, in the Colony's history. Twenty-one ships arrived, bringing thirteen hundred settlers and a demand for land and supplies. New problems of both settlement and government arose.

Setting out to organize the pecuniary affairs of the dominion, the Treasurer found himself quickly adopting the point of view of the Colony as opposed to that of the governing body back in London. By this time even the company officials in England had begun to realize that the prosperity, even salvation, of this new settlement lay in making it a successful and self-supporting, perhaps self-sustaining community. Sandys had come over with this in mind, but he soon began criticizing the long distance administrative policies of his brother Sir Edwin and other London officials. He felt, and others with him, that the company's material support had been niggardly. The magazine of clothing, hardware, farming implements, and English foodstuffs was always meager, and frequently in danger of running out entirely. He urged the agents of the company at home, his friend Samuel Wrote and the company deputy Nicholas Ferrar, to

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establish a policy of continuous and ample support in basic materials. Only thus, he argued, might the Colony succeed and the company realize on its initial investments.

A fifteen hundred acre estate and a retinue of servants were accompaniments of the Treasurer's office. When Sandys arrived the land had not been set aside. The servants, however, were already on hand, for many of them had accompanied him from England. Realizing at once that they should be kept busy, the Treasurer purchased a two hundred acre plot in his own name and put his retainers to work there. While the red tape necessary in securing the larger tract was slowly unwound, Sandys and his servants had begun to build, to clear land, and to cultivate.

Sandys was determined to carry out the company's major policies, especially the idea of diversifying agriculture and industry as much as possible. Tobacco was beginning to be lucrative, but the London officials insisted that vineyards and mulberry trees for silk culture should be planted, and that, as soon as raw materials, mineral and otherwise, might be found, that manufactures should be set up. These manufactures would facilitate trade with the Indians, employ indentured labor, and furnish some product for shipment home. Also certain members of the corporation, particularly Edwin Sandys, for pious and perhaps diplomatic and economic reasons, had resolved on the establishment of a missionary college for the Indians at Henrico.

It was the company's custom to assign to each member of the resident council direct responsibility for some particular activity of the Colony. For example, one gentleman would assume the superintendency of the brick-making industry, which was to benefit all the settlers. It is indicative of the London officials' confidence in George Sandys that, besides his official duties as Treasurer, he was from the start made superintendent or alternate in the development of more than a half dozen of these projects. Thus within six months after his arrival he was cultivating two plantations, overseeing two new agricultural pursuits, encouraging *in persona* industry of several kinds, handling the financial affairs of an expanding Colony, and in the hours snatched from night and repose, rendering his Roman poet into melodious English verse.

It is hardly amazing that the minutes of the company's court were within this same period beginning to record the Treasurer's dif-

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scilities with his neighbors. Sandys came of a disputatious family; he was an aristocrat in race and mind, surrounded by the ignorant and the vulgar; and he was an overworked official on whom blame rather than praise was liable to be cast. The disputes over ownership of land, payment of fees for a servant's transportation, and validity of certain debts were frequent, as were the easily understandable complaints about the overbearing disposition of "Mr. Treasurer." Yet there is little record, then or later, of personal quarrel with his social and intellectual equals in America or in England.

But for Sandys and the entire settlement these little disturbances were but the calm before the storm. The whites, growing bolder through familiarity with the land and the natives and the increasing number of colonists, had begun to strike into the wilderness. In small groups or in single families they established themselves and their tobacco-bought brides many miles from Jamestown—even several furlongs from their nearest neighbors.

The blow fell suddenly, and but for one Indian servant who had been kindly treated by a white master, the history of colonization on this continent might be very different. By any accounting, the massacre of 1622 was a severe blow to a young and struggling community. The outpost communities were wiped out, and the few survivors in the outlying districts hurried to Jamestown, and for some time refused to leave the stockade.

Conditions outside the little capital were utterly disheartening. The blackened log houses and charred human bones were horrible evidence of the sufferings of the families and friends of the survivors. The college at Henrico was destroyed, and what might have been Virginia's Harvard was gone forever. Crops had been uprooted or burnt. The infant industries were abandoned. "Silk-worm seed" and mulberry trees were also lost, and their French and Italian cultivators huddled in terrified silence behind the walls of the fort.

Something had to be done. The first move was good strategy—a series of swift and merciless raids against the Indian villages. Losing no time, waiting for no help from England, little bands of hardy settlers marched out to give the red man a return lesson.

Although there were in the Colony many men with military experience, veterans of the wars of Elizabeth and James, it is significant that the first of the expeditions was led by a civilian, the company

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treasurer. Before Sir George Yeardley, Captain William Powell, or Captain John West set out against the tribes, Sandys had conducted several raids on the "Tappahatonaks," the tribes opposite Jamestown. Although comparatively few Indians were killed, their villages were destroyed and their fields burnt. Most important, their morale was broken.

Ever after Sandys was known among his English contemporaries as "brave Master Sandys." Part of this reputation for courage came no doubt from the unknown "ballet-writer" who sent *Good Newes from Virginia* to London in 1623. Two of the stanzas of this neglected masterpiece give the Treasurer much credit:

Stout Master George Sandys upon a night did bravely venture forth
And mong'st the Savage murderers did forme a deed of worth
For finding many by a fire to death their lives they pay
Set fire of a town of theirs and bravely came away
From Iames his Towne well shipt and stord with men and victualle
store
Up Nan-Somond river they saile long ere they came to shore
Who landing slew those enemies that massacred our men
Tooke prisoners corne & burnt their townes and came aboard agen

These punitive expeditions having accomplished their purpose and the Indians quiet, Council and Colony paused to take breath. The pause was but momentary, for the hardy and hard-headed adventurers hurried into the work of rehabilitation. Anxious to forget the horrors through which they had so recently lived, they plunged perhaps too hastily, for they lacked materials and manpower more than ever.

It was in this situation that George Sandys again, and more than ever, proved himself the most level-headed and far-sighted of the Colonial officials of his day. If he had not written a paragraph of his travels or a line of his verse, he deserves remembrance for his constructive contributions to empire building in Virginia from 1623 to 1628.

In the same letters in which he informed the home officials of the details of the catastrophe and gave a summary of the financial condition of the Colony, he outlined his plans. He demanded new supplies and more supplies, and he urged the reestablishment of old industries and the introduction of certain new ones. It was primarily

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a development of the company's earlier policy, but the new industries Sandys proposed were very different from most of the old. Also he assured the company that its policy of diversified agriculture was worth continuing. Strangely enough, for the London group were usually reluctant to follow suggestions from the Colony, his advice was heeded, and he found himself increasingly busy. With him rested much of the burden of proof of the sound practicality of his recommendations.

First he gave his attention to his own lands, for he felt he must set an example by a return to agriculture. With his seventeen hired and indentured servants he set determinedly to work. The grape, the mulberry, tobacco, and Indian corn were assiduously cultivated. Such a model farmer was he that in a year or two "Mr. George Sandys, the Treasurer," reported one hundred barrels of corn as his seasonal harvest, a good thirty barrels more than the yield of Abraham Peirse, his nearest rival in the entire Colony.

Then he undertook to arouse new interest in an earlier project, silk production. The year before he had begged his friend Wrote, the company agent, to send "two Frenchmen skillful in silke wormes and planting of vines." He assured the agent that they would be well paid. They were, but they earned it. Without a permanent residence of his own, Sandys established himself in a large room in the Elizabeth City home of Captain William Pierce, or Persey. There he himself experimented with silk worms for months on end, and there he kept the two protesting Frenchmen hard at work, compelling their attention to the problem.

Believing that Virginia was ideally suited for grape culture, and backed by a law of the Assembly passed at his insistence, Sandys encouraged the planting of vineyards. In this also he kept his Frenchmen at work, and in his letters home urged more and more shipments of seeds and slips.

In mechanical innovation which might aid agriculture he had an eager interest. "The good example . . . of M^r Thresurer" in "the Erectinge of a water mill," the first in Virginia, was much commended by the company at home. They hoped it might persuade others to do likewise.

The London officials also gave Sandys credit for originating another interesting manufacture—shipbuilding. In a letter to the

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Governor and Council warmly approving the undertaking they ask: "And as of all in general so in pticular, we verie earnestlie request Mr George Sandys from whom at first this project in part moued to have an especial regard unto the proceedinge thereof"

Glassmaking under Captain William Norton and his Italian helpers was considered one of the vital industries of the Colony. Beads were their chief manufacture, for beads were necessary in trading with the Indians. As in other activities, if anything happened to the superintendent, Sandys was to be in charge. Whether the captain was slain in the massacre or not, Sandys was directing the industry by 1623; for in that year he sent a shallop and crew as far up the James as the Falls in search of sand suitable for the furnaces, finally procuring it in the opposite direction at Cape Henry. The workmen were always troublesome, sometimes demanding return to Europe and sometimes quarreling among themselves. The exasperated Sandys wrote Ferrar that "a more damned crew Hell never vomited."

Sandys and a companion explored all the waterways, rivers, and bays in search of a suitable site for an iron furnace, rightly deemed an industry essential for the self-protection as well as the prosperity of the Colony. "Mr. John Berkley and Mr. George Sandys state that the falling creek was so fitting for the Iron works, as if Nature had applied herself to the wish and direction of the workman."

Since these and others like them were extra-official or semi-official duties, Sandys' labors were hardly begun when he had dealt with them. The urgent and continuous necessity for food and arms from abroad; the need for skilled French, Italian, and Dutch laborers; and the tobacco accounts were in themselves sufficient to keep the Treasurer at the order or accounting sheets day and night. In addition, he had to warn the English agent against "Dupper" and other profiteers who had sent the Colonists inferior commodities such as "the stinking beer" which "hath been the death of two hundred"; take under his own wing any young scapegrace of influence who had come to see the new land (as Mr. Calthorpe, who persisted in associating with the rowdies of Jamestown, who hung about him until the last of the good liquor the fine cavalier had brought with him had been consumed); and above all, convince the deputies that a small tobacco export in a given year was not the malice aforethought of the Colonial planters.

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All these things Sandys found it necessary or interesting to discuss with John and Nicholas Ferrar, Samuel Wrote, and his brothers Samuel and Myles Sandys. In official or personal correspondence he was always tactful and courteous, and humorous more in the modern than in the Elizabethan sense. Perhaps this sense of humor is the key to his American accomplishments. Because of it pioneer stupidity and crudity, even though irritating, never became intolerable.

In the midst of all these tumults and alarums the two great and appealing factors of life for Sandys—adventure and poetry—were neither neglected nor forgotten. His interest in the first is evident in his letters. Diplomatic missions to the Indian tribes, the busy activities of his office, the land itself were all in a sense adventure. But romantic adventure, the appeal of far off things, was also as much a part of him now as in his youth. Every one of these first Colonists had somewhere in the back or the front of his mind the North-West passage, the path to a land of gold and glory. Sandys' expedition to the red man had not been all military or diplomatic. In his epistle to John Ferrar of April 8, 1623, he glowed with enthusiasm. "Great are the likelihoods of the vicinity of the South Sea by a general report of the Indians. The mountains they say not being past four days' journey above the falls." He concluded by offering, willingly, if he might be furnished with the means, to venture his life in the discovery. That the means were never forthcoming must certainly have been a disappointment.

His second mistress, poetry, was less elusive, for he made it within his own power to woo her directly. In the very room at Captain Pierce's in which he supervised his silk worm workers, he continued his translation of Ovid. Through the first months of 1621 and 1622, through the massacre period of 1622, on to 1626, he labored unremittingly. When the completed work appeared in England, the author felt the circumstances of its production were so unusual that they might form an excuse for any crudities of form. In the dedication to King Charles he alludes to the environment from whence his work had come:

It [the Ovid] needeth more than a single denization, being a double stranger: sprung from the stock of the ancient Romans, but bred in the New-World, of the rudeness of which it cannot participate: especially having wars and tumults to bring it to light, instead of the Muses

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Sandys had been reappointed when the Crown took over control of the Colony in 1624, and again in 1626, and appears to have remained in Virginia until 1628. In 1626, perhaps in connection with his reappointment, he made a trip home to England. In that year appeared the first complete edition of the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*, including the interesting and significant dedication to the King, a translation of one book of the *Aeneid*, and a series of laudatory introductory poems by famous contemporaries.

The accomplishment is astonishing even today. Within four and a half years, the painfully busy Colonist had been able to translate at least eight books (not counting the two done aboard ship on the way over) and polish and prepare the whole fifteen for publication. And what is more important, the poet was producing some of the best work of his generation. Dryden called him "the best versifier of the former age"; Fuller said the poems were "spriteful, vigorous, and masculine," which he might also have said of Sandys himself. Warton and Pope, as well as his most talented contemporaries, acknowledged the fine quality of his translation.

Although it is not the purpose of this sketch to criticize Sandys' Ovid, one should observe that the work was so popular that it had reached its eighth edition by 1690, and that the couplet employed is given an important part in the development of English verse. Incidentally, Dryden is said to have stated that, had Sandys continued the translation of the *Aeneid* beyond the one book included with the Ovid, he would never have attempted his own Vergil. Thus, with Sandys, Drayton's prophetic stanza in the *Ode to the Virginian Voyage* had become reality:

And as there plenty grows
Of laurel everywhere
 Apollo's sacred tree,
 You, it may see,
A poet's brows
To crown, that may sing there

III

Two years after the publication of the Ovid, Sandys was back in England to stay. A new Governor had come to Virginia who failed to understand or appreciate the irascible Treasurer. Each official

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complained of the other, and in the end Sandys came home. There is no question of governmental disgrace or disapproval of any sort, for almost immediately Sandys became a gentleman of the privy chamber to his patron Charles I.

Though the poet's physical adventures were almost over, in mind and spirit he remained active and vigorous for another fifteen years. The Colony always interested him. When a special commission for "the better plantation of Virginia" was appointed in 1631, Sandys petitioned for the post of Secretary, on the ground that he had "spent his ripest years in the public employment" in the Colony. Although his application failed, his efforts did not go unappreciated. In 1640, the Virginia Assembly, seeking restoration of its ancient charter rights, appointed him its representative in England. Sandys, knowing the King's temper, presented the Assembly's petition to Parliament instead of to his friend Charles, and the charter was renewed. The King, much disturbed, supplanted Governor Wyatt (then in office a second time) with the royalist Sir Francis Berkeley. The new Governor, wishing to please His Majesty, convened a new Assembly at Jamestown. Under his insistence this body protested the renewal of the charter, assuring Charles that Sandys in presenting the earlier petition "had mistook his instructions." Close as Sandys was to the King, it is a tribute to the sincerity of his interest in the Colony's welfare that he should have acted in opposition to his master's policy.

But the Colony was certainly not going to occupy all his time in England when it had not done so in America. Social and literary life, his friends and his writings, became his consuming interests. At Charles' court he had fallen in with Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland, who held a position similar to his own. Soon Sandys joined the circle of Falkland and the latter's friends at Great Tew, in Oxfordshire, and enjoyed the companionship of the greatest poets and scholars of his generation. There he met Dudley Digges, Thomas Carew, Edmund Waller, Henry King, and others as witty and as talented. Since Sandys' niece Anne, who had married Sir Francis Wenman, lived at Carswell, no great distance from Tew, the aging man was able to divide much of his time most pleasantly between his relatives and his friends.

Stimulated by his literary conversations, Sandys once again took up his pen. "Scratch the Cavalier and find the Puritan beneath" is

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borne out in his last writings. The curious traveller, the Renaissance scholar, the worldly adventurer now tuned his lyre to sing the songs of Zion. Between 1635 and his death he wrote and published a beautiful *Paraphrase of David's Psalms* and *Paraphrase of the Song of Solomon*, and he rendered into English from the Latin of Grotius the remarkable *Christ's Passion*. The great Dutch scholar is said to have been much pleased with Sandys' adaptation, and the *Paraphrases* were as popular as the *Relation* and the Ovid had been. As an introduction to the *Paraphrases* there are a series of commendatory poems from the Falkland circle, including Waller, Carew, King, and Wyatt. Henry Lawes set many of them to music, and the little volume of the *Psalms* was one of Charles' favorite books in his last hours, hours which fortunately the King's devoted admirer did not live to see.

For the busy life was drawing to a close, and even the songs of praise to his Creator had been sung. Sandys was in Savoy in 1641—an old dog basking in the sun. There Fuller saw him, and was impressed by the "youthful soul in a decayed body." The very last years were spent in England, at Boxley Abbey, the home of another niece, Lady Wyatt, and of his old companion-in-arms, Sir Francis. There in future time the curious were pleased "to see upon the old stone wall in the garden a summer house with this inscription in great golden letters, that in that place Mr. G. Sandys after his travels over the world retired himself for his poetry and contemplations, and none are fitter to retire to God than such as are tired with seeing all the vanities on earth."

The adventure was over, and at Boxley was he buried. Scholar, traveller, colonist, courtier, statesman, the first man of letters in America, at the end he humbly thanked his God that

Thou brought'st me home in safety; that this earth
Might bury me, which fed me from my birth
Blest with a healthful age; a quiet mind,
Content with little

Asphalt--Origin, History, Development--Its Relation to Petroleum

BY JOSEPH ROCK DRANEY,* NEW YORK

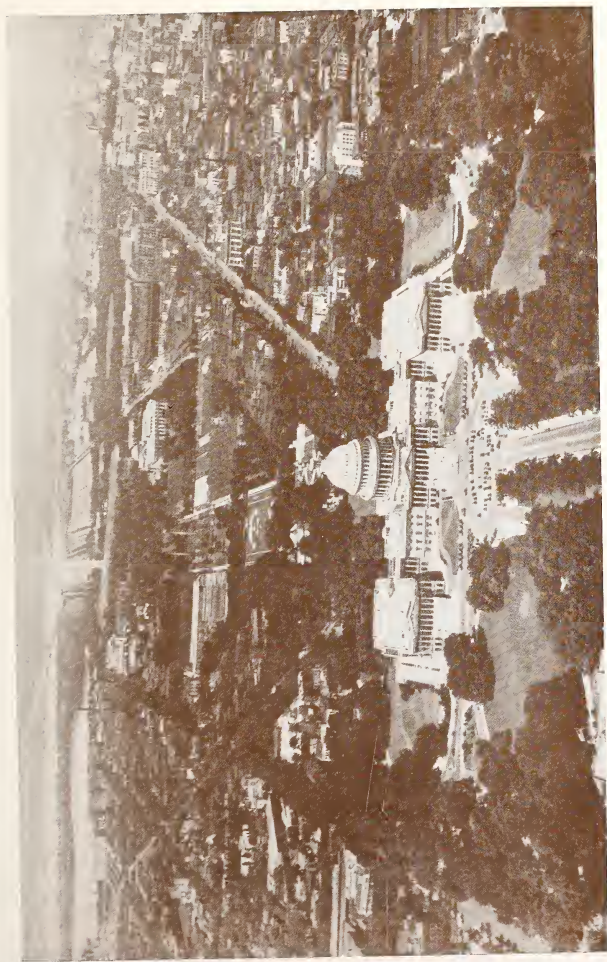


EW, if any, materials have had a more colorful history than asphalt. There is nothing of the drab or prosaic about its rise. Interspersed with this history there have been international complications involving plots and counter plots. During the 'eighties and 'nineties and for a while past the turn of the century, court fights, injunction suits by taxpayers, together with keen bitter rivalry among asphalt paving concerns, filled newspaper columns upon many occasions. To the layman asphalt conveys an impression of dense hurrying traffic and that it all comes from Trinidad in the colorful Spanish Main. Nothing could be more constricted in conception, both as to the origin and greatly diversified utilization of this remarkably versatile product. "A mighty contributor to general welfare" may be correctly stated about it.

What is asphalt? Whence came it? Those queries have been enunciated myriad times. The Greeks had a word for it, meaning firm, secure, stable. It is the purpose of this narrative to define those queries in as clarified a manner as may be possible, eliminating highly technical phraseology. The chemical engineer will say that asphalt is composed of a series of cyclic hydro-carbons. But suffice it for the layman to know that asphalt is a black, sticky, viscous substance in liquid, solid or semi-solid form. Asphalt is called a bitumen, though it is not related to other materials which are classified under the generic term bituminous. Basically, asphalt—in no matter what form it may be—is derived from petroleum. Whether as rock asphalt, lake asphalt, hard native asphalt or as a residual from distillation, it nevertheless is primarily a derivative of petroleum.

As a non-volatile hydro-carbon held in solution by volatile oils, convulsions of nature evaporated the lighter oils, forcing the hydro-

*President, The Asphalt Association, 1919-25; Vice-President, The American Road Builders Association, 1930.



EAST FRONT OF CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
In Background Pennsylvania Avenue, Where First Major Operation of Asphalt Paving in America Occurred

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

carbon (asphalt) up through rock, earth (seepages) and in one case, importantly, through an extinct volcano. The foregoing refers to rock asphalt, lake asphalt, hard native asphalt and in general where asphalt occurs in nature. By far the preponderant production of asphalt comes through the hand of man in the distillation of asphaltic petroleum by modern refining processes. During a period some years ago there were those who stigmatized the production of asphalt directly from petroleum as "artificial asphalt," "man-made asphalt," "synthetic asphalt," a "residual," and so on. The March of Time generally answers the questions of yesteryear, so the critics of oil asphalt of that era shortly preceding the World War have, like the Arabs of the poem, folded their tents and stolen away in the night. Why? Because oil asphalts to the metre of millions of tons annually, produced under the scientific supervision of technologists, occupy predominantly the space of the asphalt industry.

Reverting to the Genesis of asphalt, it may be pointed out, that in the evaporation of volatile oils, whether by natural or artificial processes, such residual hydro-carbon (asphalt) is there, despite the heat, natural or artificial which, drove away the lighter oils. Therefore this residue (asphalt) proved its immunity to forces of nature first, which accounts for its virtue as a preservative and protectant. There is a legend that some two hundred thousand years ago a Mastodon was stuck in a pool of asphalt. His preserved bones are part of an exhibit in the Museum of Natural History, Los Angeles. The museum report ascribes this preservation to asphalt, saying "the bones were saturated with the best known of all preservatives." Down through the ages it is recorded that the ancients employed this substance for many and varied purposes, to either bind, or preserve, or both. The ancients waterproofed embankments and substructures, preserved mummies, made asphaltic bricks, mortar and in various ways are said to have employed asphalt, making objects of art and figures of unusual form and design. The Sumerians, Persians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks and Romans had a hand in the early devices wrought from this most unusual and extraordinary material.

Skipping over centuries of time, nothing seems to have happened or was recorded until the fore part of the eighteenth century. Europe then comes into the picture with the development of rock asphalt.

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The Val de Travers, Switzerland; the Limmer, Germany; Seyssel, France, and Sicilian, Italy are chiefly mentioned. Some of the European capitals used it, commencing about 1850, and to a moderate extent America employed it. However, this work consisted mostly in paving cellar floors, station platforms, etc. In the final analysis, European Rock Asphalt has been a negligible quantity, comparatively. In America, rock asphalts are indigenous to Alabama, California, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and Utah. The product from Alabama, Kentucky and Texas has shown continual activity in reaching the market for highway materials.

TRINIDAD PITCH LAKE—Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595 discovered an island which became known as Trinidad, British West Indies. It lay slightly east by north from the coast of South America, the nearest country being Venezuela. On this island there was found a deposit of pitch (asphalt) and the deposit became known as one of the wonders of the world. History was made by this famous asphalt lake. Philip W. Henry, an eminent consulting engineer, now an executive of the American Institute of Consulting Engineers, was years ago general manager of the lake operations in his capacity as an executive of the Barber Asphalt Paving Company. Herewith is quoted excerpts from a report made on the pitch lake by Mr. Henry in 1893:

The deposit of pitch lake occupies a bowl-like depression, probably the center of an extinct mud volcano, some of which are found in other parts of the island. The center of the deposit is about three-quarters of a mile from the Gulf of Paria and about 135 feet above the level of the sea, making it easy of access and simplifying the question of shipment. The surface is hard enough, except in irregular patches in the center, to bear the weights of carts and mules. It is necessary, however, for one to keep moving, otherwise he sinks in the material which, under the hot rays of the sun becomes quite mobile, although not sticky, owing to the large amount of water which it contains. The surface of the deposit is divided into irregular areas, from 60 to 150 feet in diameter, separated by crevices several feet across and from six inches to six feet or more in depth, in which rain water collects and in which fishes disport themselves.

Each of the areas has a motion of its own from the center to the edge, due to the gas which is being evolved. If a stake is placed in the center of one of these areas it will gradually work to the edge

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and disappear. . . . This deposit has been called a lake, and it possesses the qualifications which such a name would imply. It occupies limits well defined by shores. From borings made it appears that the deposit occupies a bowl-shaped basin, the bottom of which 100 feet from the shore is 90 feet from the surface. The depth in the center is unknown as it was impossible with the implements employed to bore to a depth greater than 135 feet, through all of which the material was similar to that of the surface. When asphalt is dug from any portion of the deposit, in the course of a few days the hole is filled by new material coming from below, but the entire area of the lake (114 acres) is lowered in consequence, showing that the mass acts as a liquid, of less mobility, however, than water. The composition of the asphalt is of remarkable uniformity, no matter from which portion of the lake it is taken. . . . This motion is due to gas which is constantly being given off and in some places in such quantities that it can be ignited by a match. . . . The lake is fed by springs bringing in new material. . . . From the borings, however, it is evident that for several generations to come there will be no shortage. . . . The asphalt is dug by picks and mattocks just before dawn, when the asphalt is comparatively brittle.

According to Charles N. Forrest, Consulting Chemical Engineer, the Barber Asphalt Corporation, borings were made at the center of Trinidad Lake about twenty-five years subsequent to Mr. Henry's report and this probe revealed a depth of 285 feet with bottom indicated. . . .

(ED. NOTE—Mr. Henry's report was made forty-six years ago and it is now significant to state that the lake is practically as prolific as ever, despite the fact that it is estimated that more than twelve million tons have been extracted therefrom since operations began in the 'seventies. With the bottom thus ascertained it may be fair to presume that the great influx of bitumen which continues to replenish the Pitch Lake may come from a subterranean pool which enters the bottom of the Pitch Lake transversely. It is significant to note that the enormous oil production of Venezuela is not a very great distance from Trinidad and it may be indicated by this proximity that the oil which basically supplies Trinidad Lake has a relation to the Venezuelan source.)

In 1870, Professor E. J. De Smedt, a Belgian chemist, laid the first asphalt pavement in the United States, employing Trinidad Lake asphalt. This historic occurrence was in front of the old City Hall in Newark, New Jersey, a short experimental stretch of pavement.

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Crude Trinidad asphalt contains 40 per cent. bitumen (asphalt), 27 per cent. mineral matter and about 33 per cent. gas and water. In the refining process the water and gas are evaporated. The refined material is 56 per cent. pure asphalt and the balance of the composition 44 per cent. in organic or mineral matter. The latter is as much a fixed constituent of Trinidad asphalt as the asphalt itself is. It is not accidental or adventitious. The impurity of Trinidad asphalt in its refined state causes it to be too stiff for most purposes, therefore a softening agent was introduced to render it workable. This was in the form of paraffine residuum, the residue of refining paraffine base petroleum. Subsequently an asphaltic base oil was used for this purpose, and these were termed as fluxes.

In 1876, a Board of Engineers from the U. S. Army was appointed by President Grant to investigate and report on the best type of pavement for reclaiming Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's Capital from dust and mud. The "Avenue," as Washingtonians are wont to call this famous boulevard, has a place in the history of America. The Capitol Building on an eminence stands majestically in clear view. The White House is located on the "Avenue" and so are most of the important public buildings of that beautiful city which has no prototype anywhere. The Army Board of Engineers recommended sheet asphalt to be constructed with Trinidad Lake asphalt. Sheet asphalt is composed of finely graded sand and mineral filler with asphalt coating each grain of sand and bit of filler. The asphalt binds or glues the particles together. Asphalt is only ten per cent. of the mass. In asphaltic concrete pavement, where stone is used in conjunction with sand, the amount of asphalt employed in the mixture is less than in sheet asphalt.

AMZI L. BARBER—To Washington from Ohio had come a young man, one Amzi Lorenzo Barber, who had started his career as a school teacher. In Washington, Barber, while engaged in real estate development, bobbed up with a franchise to take asphalt from the Pitch Lake of Trinidad. He secured an award to pave a portion of Pennsylvania Avenue while Major Henry L. Cranford was awarded a contract to pave another sector of that street. Seven years later The Barber Asphalt Paving Company was organized. Aside from the Pacific Coast the cities of the country became Trinidad Lake



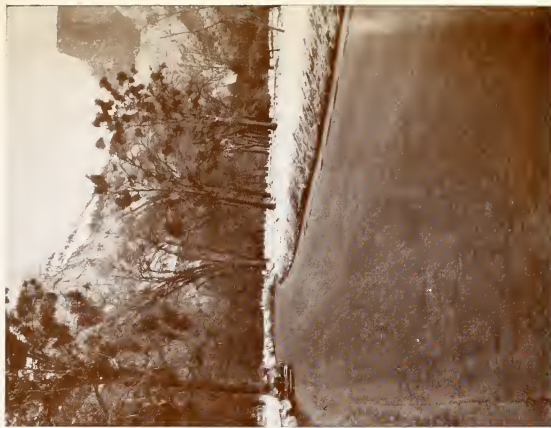
PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK
(Sheet, Asphalt)

Looking North from New York Central Building



HERALDIC DEVICE OF LAGASH (2850 B. C.)
CAST IN ASPHALT

(From *"The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria," J. B. Lippincott Co.*)



CALIFORNIA—YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK
ASPHALT HIGHWAY

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conscious. The demand for those pavements spread to the Rocky Mountains, to the Gulf, and to Canada on the north with Washington as the key point. As business grew rapidly Barber moved headquarters to New York City, taking with him Captain Francis Vinton Greene, who resigned from the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, and who had been detailed as Assistant Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia in charge of street paving. Ultimately Greene became president of the Barber Company. He was colonel of the 71st New York State National Guard Regiment, and in the Spanish-American War, as brigadier-general of volunteers, he served with distinction in the land battle which precipitated the fall of Manila. After retiring from the asphalt industry General Greene was appointed police commissioner of New York by Mayor Seth Low. To New York with Barber and Greene came Joseph C. Rock from Washington, whose promotional achievements contributed to the Barber Company's expansion.

After Washington the Barber-Trinidad advance included New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester, Utica, Montreal, Toronto, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Denver, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Louisville, New Orleans, and scores of other places fell into line, adopting Trinidad Lake asphalt as a means of street improvement. Barber was a pioneer in the improvement of American cities, not only creating and augmenting values but imparted to those municipalities an æsthetic feature that had a worth. He gave a concession to the Warren Scharf Asphalt Paving Company to lay Trinidad Lake in cities where the Barber Company generally did not compete. Here and there local concessionaires paved with Trinidad Lake, notably the Cranford family, one branch in Washington and the other in Brooklyn. Doctor Ludwig S. Filbert, a very prominent Philadelphian of that era, operated there with Trinidad Lake under the name of the Vulcanite Paving Company. Competition began to manifest itself. Reports had it that Barber was earning millions, evidenced by the ownership of a large steam yacht and the maintenance of a palatial mansion in Washington with several villas elsewhere. Adjacent to Trinidad Lake there were deposits of asphalt known as Land Asphalt, supposedly an overflow from the Pitch Lake which had lain there and weathered for ages. It was

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more impure than lake asphalt and experts thought less of it. Contractors rivalling Barber and his concessionaires sought to, and did, use land in competition with lake asphalt. Many were the court battles through injunction suits, recriminatory and bitter hearings before public bodies and widespread publicity increased with the march of Barber and Trinidad Lake.

BERMUDEZ LAKE ASPHALT—About 1891-92, Barber struck a real snag in his course by the introduction of this new asphalt from Venezuela, located up the Orinoco River about one hundred miles by air line from Trinidad. Bermudez, though termed a lake, was not really so like Trinidad. It was actually a pitchy swamp with exudations at irregular places. In Clifford Richardson's "The Modern Asphalt Pavement" (1905-08) there is stated:

It is readily seen that this deposit is a very different one from that in the pitch lake of Trinidad. It seems to be in fact merely an overflow of soft pitch from several springs over this large expanse of savanna and one which has not the depth nor uniformity of that at Trinidad. . . . The percentage of bitumen in the refined material . . . will usually average 95 per cent.

Barber overcame this opposition by the most certain way of disposing of a competitor. He acquired the Bermudez interests in the name of the New York and Bermudez Company, with many operating subsidiaries. They were then directed by Barber policies, so that Trinidad and Bermudez were all of one family.

THE "ASPHALT TRUST"—As prosperity grew apace further competition began to spring up that made inroads on the profits of the Barber Company and affiliated concerns. This arose from the Alcatraz Asphalt Company of California sponsored by a wealthy banker of San Francisco, William H. Crocker. Alcatraz asphalt was a hard native asphalt, mined in Santa Barbara County. Subsidiaries or licensees of Alcatraz permeated the East and Middle West to plague the Barber group. This competition became so serious that it was deemed advisable to merge all asphalt contenders. That is, all but one. This one factor not in the first merger was a group of paving companies, plus a prospective asphalt deposit in Mexico, gotten together by John M. Mack, of Philadelphia. Mr. Mack had made a fortune in contracting and at this time (1900) was very active politi-

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cally in the City of Brotherly Love. The first merger was impressively named The Asphalt Company of America. Mr. Mack's was The National Asphalt Company. The two then joined and used the name of the National Asphalt Company. The press sought to label this as a trust but it developed that a monopoly in asphalt was out of the question. The capital stock represented by these mergers was soon proven to be excessive and unwieldy, so that a reorganization was effected under the name of the General Asphalt Company, with the Barber Asphalt Paving Company as the chief operating subsidiary.

WARNER QUINLAN-LA FELICIDAD—Warner Quinlan Company originating in Syracuse, operated in numerous cities of the Middle Atlantic States, using Trinidad land asphalt. For a new supply of asphalt they were attracted to Venezuela in the neighborhood of the so-called Bermudez Lake. Adjacent to Bermudez the Warner Quinlan people secured a claim named La Felicidad. The New York and Bermudez Company protested that the Warner Quinlan operatives were encroaching on Bermudez in taking out asphalt. Trouble ensued for a time and what portended a serious difficulty proved to be a "tempest in a teapot." Subsequent to the La Felicidad squabble, one General Matos led an insurrection against General Cipriano Castro, then President-Dictator of Venezuela. Castro was a spectacular firebrand who in a lesser domain was as much a totalitarian dictator as those now current in some of the great European countries. He put down Matos and his insurrectos.

BERMUDEZ—AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE—Following the Matos revolt, Castro was imbued with the idea that the New York and Bermudez Company (General Asphalt) had aided Matos by financing him in the futile effort to overthrow the Castro régime. As a reprisal, Castro confiscated the Bermudez Lake and placed a receiver in charge to operate the property. The receiver, Carner by name, had formerly been manager of the New York and Bermudez Company. Meanwhile Barber, who had retired from the asphalt merger after the reorganization, centered his view on Mexico in quest of new asphalt deposits, organizing the Pan-American Development Company for that purpose. But now Carner effected an arrangement with Barber whereby the latter was to assume control of importing, refining and marketing Bermudez in this country and Canada. The A. L. Barber

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Asphalt Company was then formed to carry out that program. 1904 was the time and for five succeeding years there was precipitated an international imbroglio which at intervals threatened to rupture diplomatic relations between this country and Venezuela. The Bermudez owners did not acquiesce without putting forth an intense struggle to regain their property. They made protests to the State Department under the administrations of Secretaries John Hay and Elihu Root. Appeal was also made to the high court of Venezuela. The press afforded this affair widespread publicity; charges and counter-charges were hurled to and fro by the participants to this dispute that was memorable. Castro, meanwhile, "stood pat," permitting the A. L. Barber Company to take Bermudez asphalt and sell it. The other crowd were unremitting in their fight to recover what they considered was rightfully theirs. General Avery D. Andrews, one time colleague of Theodore Roosevelt on the New York Police Board, when New York consisted only of Manhattan Island, and later on the staff of General Pershing in France, was during the Venezuelan rift an important executive of the General Asphalt Company. Mr. Daniel T. Pierce, now assistant to the chairman of the Consolidated Oil Company, was then an executive assistant of the General Asphalt Company. Both of these gentlemen took a leading part in the endeavor to restore Bermudez to their company, which was effected after Gomez succeeded Castro as President of Venezuela.

The restoral of Bermudez transpired in 1909. Mr. Barber passed away the same year, leaving a heritage in a name that will be long coupled with asphalt. The Barber Asphalt Corporation is the title under which the older company now carry on their enterprise. They market Trinidad Lake, Gilsonite (a pure bitumen mined in Utah), and asphaltic petroleum from their Venezuelan concessions not far from Bermudez Lake. Oil was discovered in Trinidad and from there they also have shipments. Bermudez went on to make a fine record in the road building program which was germinating concurrent with the Bermudez restoration. But eventually its high cost of production, with the difficulty of getting it out, rendered this history-making asphalt inert as a factor in the market.

THE ASCENDANCY OF OIL ASPHALT—Prior to the advent of the twentieth century there was little known regarding oil asphalt. Early oil production emanating from Pennsylvania was in the nature of

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paraffine base petroleum. That is, the lighter oils of that region carried a substantial content of paraffine and upon distillation were evaporated and recovered through the refining process, leaving a residue of paraffine and wax. As oil fields developed in the West and to the Southward it was evidenced in newly found production that the residue of such oils was asphaltic. These were termed asphaltic base oils. Other fields showed a combination of asphalt and paraffine, such oils were termed semi-asphaltic crudes. California, with a previous record of hard or native asphalt that was marketed under such brand names as Alcatraz, Obispo, Ventura, etc., emerged as a producer of oil asphalt. Note has been previously made of the mastodon stuck in a pool of asphalt, which occurred at La Brea, almost in the heart of the city of Los Angeles. The exudation of asphaltic oil at this spot is still visible and the city has enclosed the area about this spot and made it a park. Nothing else could be done with this surface, as the pool of heavy asphaltic oil thereunder rendered the place unsuitable for erecting any kind of a building in that immediate section.

In 1901, George Copp Warren,* formerly of the Warren Scharf Asphalt Paving Company and later to become head of the Warren Brothers Company of Boston (the world's largest paving concern), introduced California oil asphalt to the East. Mr. Warren laid a pavement with this in Utica, New York, under the brand name of Acme. Other companies had started to pave with oil asphalt in California and producers now sought to find a market for this asphalt in the East and Middle West.

Texas soon manifested a bid for recognition of oil asphalt, the Lone Star serving as a symbol for a large producer from that historic State. Oklahoma, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana and Wyoming joined the procession. Much of the asphaltic oil from these states is used for spraying the surface of roads, but in some cases scientific advancement in modern refining has yielded from these crude oils asphalt that is successfully employed to construct the higher types of pavements. At the outset asphalt directly derived from oil had an up-hill battle to gain the confidence of the engineering fraternity. There was some merit to this opposition, because early production was not uniform; it caused a feeling of undependability. But along about

*"The Part of the Warrens in the Development of Coal Tar, Petroleum and Asphalt."

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1908 stupendous production of very heavy asphaltic oil developed in the famous Midway field of Kern County, not so far from Bakersfield. This heavy oil is often referred to as Maltha. The word is defined by Webster as "viscid and tenacious, like pitch." With this new heavy oil and further advancement in refining processes, California asphalt made progress. In that era, nearing the end of the first decade of the century, sensational development of asphaltic petroleum fields was the order. After California and Texas came the great incursion of Mexican oil. This maltha in crude form was so much like real asphalt that some claimants averred that it was the only genuine natural asphalt, because asphalt predominated in the mass, while the light oils quickly volatilized when the crude was exposed to open air.

With the great Mexican discoveries it is apropos to cite another incident relating to the intrepid Amzi L. Barber, who more than any individual looms up in asphalt history. Barber abandoned Mexican prospects for the lure of a ready marketable material in Bermudez asphalt. Departing from Mexican operations, he disposed of his holdings to Edwin L. Doheny for \$175,000. On this property there was developed by Doheny the famous Juan Casiano well, which ranks with the most ebullient gushers of all time. An intimate associate of Barber estimated that he passed up approximately ten million dollars in foregoing Mexico. Ironical in Barber's fate is that a group of his former adherents promoted and developed a company that was among the first to market asphalt from Mexican oil; the brand name was Aztec. This group, by unusual sagacity, earned a huge fortune in operating tank steamers. Further ironically, it transpired that through many unfortunate investments Barber's fortune was so badly depleted that his estate showed little or nothing. One of his enterprises was the Locomobile automobile, which he financed and developed, only to lose the investment in the end.

The enormous production of Mexican oil commenced shortly after the launching of America's vast road building program. It was then that oil asphalt finally came into its own. California, with its excellent product, was dominant on the Pacific Coast and had spread through the East and Middle West, but it remained for the product from the land of the Aztecs to give oil asphalt the impetus that brought it highly merited recognition. Oil has been the undercurrent of most of the contention arising between this country and Mexico

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for twenty-five years. From Mexico poured forth hundreds of millions of barrels of Black Gold. (Oil in bulk is arbitrarily figured at forty-two gallons to the barrel.) The high quality of the asphalt derived from Mexican oil was epochal in the industry. Following Mexico in production came a new colossus in petroleum—Venezuela, the country which produced Bermudez asphalt. Venezuelan production far outstripped the volume of Mexico's most prolific era in oil. Asphalt experts concede that asphalt from Venezuelan crude parallels that from the Mexican source. Currently the greatest imports of asphaltic oil are from Venezuela. Colombia is now sending up asphaltic oil to further the supply of asphalt. Important developments in augmenting the supply have been in Arkansas and a new field in Texas which has occurred in recent years.

Oil is so bound up with nearly all civilized processes and progress that it is inconceivable to ponder what might happen if we were deprived of it. Once it comes from the ground there is no refertilization, such as crops have. Asphalt, to a very great extent, is interwoven with oil. For example, it is estimated that seventy per cent. of the world's petroleum supply has an asphaltic base. From the derivatives of asphaltic base oil one can build and maintain highways, roof buildings, even build a certain type of structure, waterproof, propel an automobile, a railroad train, boat (whether a launch, the "Queen Mary," or a battleship); operate factories, foundries, mills and mines; heat buildings; insulate; lubricate; stabilize soil; protect rivers and harbors; stimulate agriculture cultivation in some cases; preserve metal; compound rubber; and perform sundry other functions. With a recital of those qualities just enumerated, it is evident that science has evolved extraordinary results from this effluence of nature.

Statistics on the consumption of oil asphalt record twenty thousand tons for 1902. In 1938 the total exceeds five million five hundred thousand tons that were used in multiform applications—figures that are distinctly impressive. While America took the initiative and continues far in the lead, foreign countries, too, are large consumers of asphalt. Europe, Asia, Africa, Mexico, Cuba and various countries of the West Indies, Central America, South America, Australia, Hawaii, the Philippines and Canada contribute their quotas in demanding this product of many services. Cuba produces a hard

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asphalt and asphalt is found in many countries, but such asphalts are seldom exploited.

Much of interest that has followed the ramifications of asphalt developments of modern trend may be expatiated upon, such as the records of 1934-35-36-37, which reveal that 83 per cent. of all state highways constructed in those years were asphaltic in type. Sidewalks to accommodate and make safe the way for pedestrians in rural sections are now being built with asphalt parallel to the highways. In landing a plane on an airport which is surfaced with asphalt there is a concord of resiliency when tires of the plane's wheels meet the asphalt. Asphalt, primarily a ductile material, imparts flexibility; therefore it naturally follows that most airports are surfaced with asphalt in one form or another.

FARM TO MARKET ROAD—"Lifting the Farmer Out of the Mud," is the caption of an article published in 1932 under the authorship of the Honorable Gifford Pinchot when he was Governor of Pennsylvania. Quotation is here made therefrom:

Road building in America has passed into a new stage. Arterial highways, which heretofore have been our chief concern, are to yield their position of first importance, and secondary roads, farm-to-market roads, are to replace them as a major engineering undertaking of the Nation.

Here in America in a decade and a half we ran our road bill to a billion and a half dollars a year. We thought we had settled into our stride. We thought we knew what we wanted in roads and how to get it. We concluded we must have an unbroken slab of pavement that would endure to the end of time. Such was our standard and we would live up to it.

But there was a certain exasperating ant in the molasses. These roads were back-breakingly expensive. In Pennsylvania they cost us \$50,000 to \$70,000 a mile. We spent as much as \$85,000,000 a year to build them. Even where resources shamed Croesus there was a physical limit to the mileage that could be built on this basis. And while we got certain arterial highways people in the country stayed in the mud.

Several states decided the time was ripe to get roads to areas where traffic did not call for a boulevard that cost \$60,000 a mile. Foremost were Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. Pennsylvania decided to develop the possibilities of so modest a sum as \$6,000 a mile, or even less.



LACKAWANNA TRAIL, PENNSYLVANIA

Asphalt Road on Former Railway Right of Way. Tunkhannock Viaduct of D. L. & W.
R. R. in Background



FARM-TO-MARKET ROAD—ASPHALTIC TYPE

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Sam H. Thompson, formerly president of the American Farm Federation, is here quoted on the subject, "The Economics of Farm to Market Roads":

The American Farm Bureau Federation, devoting its energies to improving and facilitating the conditions for the economic and efficient production, conservation, marketing, transportation and distribution of farm products, must take cognizance of the fact that out of the 6,250,000 farms in the United States, 2,747,732 are located on unimproved dirt roads, roads that are impassable certain seasons of the year, roads that act as barriers between the farm and the marketplace for the produce of that farm. Another group, 1,988,704, are on dirt roads that have some improvements, grading and draining, roads that are more useful but still are unusable certain seasons of the year. Less than 500,000 farms in the United States are located on assured all-year roads.

This lack of adequate year-around farm-to-market roads is costing agriculture heavily. The mud tax in wear and tear on farm transportation equipment is enormous. Seasonal market gluts are, in part, due to the fact that the farmer is forced to move his produce to market during the period of a few weeks' time when his dirt roads are dry and hard. Lack of adequate roads prevents proper rural fire protection, adds cost to rural medical service, bars proper development of the rural school systems. The lack of year-around roads prevents the proper motorization of the farm transport, keeps the business of local merchants in rural America stagnant during the months of mud.

For these reasons, the American Farm Bureau Federation is engaged in an earnest effort to secure the development of an adequate rural farm-to-market road system in every state in the Union.

"FUTURE ROADS AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION" is the title of an article recently published from the pen of the Honorable Wilburn Cartwright, Chairman, Committee on Roads, United States House of Representatives. Quotation therefrom:

The Hayden Cartwright Act of 1936 made \$125,000,000 authorization for primary roads for each of the fiscal years 1938 and 1939 and provided \$25,000,000 for each year to be spent on secondary, farm to market, rural free delivery and school bus roads.

E. F. Kelley, Chief, Division of Tests, U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, presented a paper before the eleventh National Asphalt Conference at Memphis, Tennessee, December 7, 1937. Quotation therefrom:

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"Every variety of liquid asphalt has been used in soil stabilization and, by careful control of moisture content and preliminary pulverization, it appears that under favorable conditions all varieties may achieve good results.

"Stabilization of road bases is without doubt the most important development of recent years in the field of low-cost road construction. This development makes it possible for us to visualize the improvement, at reasonable expense, of thousands of miles of secondary roads that otherwise could not be reached with the construction funds that are available. For this we are indebted to the research workers whose painstaking observations in the field and the laboratory have given us our present knowledge of the fundamental principles."

Past history has occupied much of the foregoing of this narrative, but this important theme, "Farm-to-Market Road," concerns itself with history in the making. Regarding asphalt in this connection, it is playing a stellar rôle. Asphalt has been a tremendous factor in the rapid development of more than 100,000 miles of the farm-to-market scheme of highway development, providing the farmer with an all-weather, dustless, mudless road at low cost.

Charles M. Upham, who for many years has served as Engineer-Director of the American Road Builders Association, was a pioneer in research anent low cost roads. A quarter of a century since, Mr. Upham was chief engineer of the du Pont Testing Laboratory, Wilmington, Delaware. This undertaking was sponsored by the late United States Senator, Coleman du Pont. General du Pont was keen to develop a low cost road that would enable the farmer to reach his market with a modicum of travel effort. The research of the du Pont Testing Laboratory under Mr. Upham's direction has ultimately borne fruit.

"The Farm-to-Market Road" has been the subject of intensive research and study by the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, under Thomas H. MacDonald, chief of the bureau.

PATENTED PAVEMENTS—The asphalt industry has been prolific of patents. Not only pavements and surface treatment methods have intrigued the interest of inventors, but machinery and various devices pertaining to asphalt in every form have been patented. In the wake of these patents there has been much litigation pertaining

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thereto. One of the first cases was when General W. W. Averill brought suit against A. L. Barber over early asphalt pavements. Professor De Smedt, the Belgian chemist who supervised the laying of a small stretch of the first sheet asphalt pavement in the United States, invented "binder," which is the intermediate course of a sheet asphalt pavement. Prior to the use of binder the intermediate course consisted of a "cushion coat," which was similar to the top course excepting that the sand was not so carefully graded as in the top or surface layer.

The outstanding example in patented pavements was furnished by the Warren Brothers. Through their Bitulithic and Warrenite pavements, both made with asphalt, they developed a far-flung paving organization which more or less encircled the globe. The greatest accomplishment embodying one single contract for pavements in all history was the paving of the Cuban National Highway with Warrenite. This job was approximately 700 miles in length, extending from Havana to the city of Santiago (the latter a shrine to Americans—the most important battles of the Spanish-American War, both military and naval, having occurred there.) The cost of this enormous undertaking was in the neighborhood of one hundred million dollars. The Warren family has occupied a very high and important position in the development of the asphalt industry, and the progenitors of the present brothers Warren were pioneers in the field of bituminous materials in applications to service. During the affluent days of Barber and his asphalt company many members of the Warren family were associated with the Barber interests directly, and indirectly through the Warren Scharf Asphalt Paving Company. No chronicle of asphalt development would be complete without this distinguished family of old New England stock.

"Amiesite," patented by the late Doctor Joseph Hays Amies, of Philadelphia, was epochal in asphalt paving construction in that it was a *cold mixed pavement*. Hitherto all asphalt paving, and asphalt usage in general, had been done through the application of heat. Cold mixed pavements and cold methods of applying liquid asphalt have made giant strides since Amies led the way thirty years ago.

"Macasphalt," named for William P. McDonald, one of the largest operators now active in paving work, has an unusual distinction beyond being extensively laid on streets and roads. This was

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in the construction of the Madison Square Bowl in Long Island City, a very unique form of asphalt construction, where many champions of the prize ring have been dethroned. McDonald has paved the thoroughfares of the New York World's Fair grounds with asphalt, involving more than one million square yards; in length exceeding twenty miles. John E. Consalus, a veteran in asphalt construction, had the work of placing asphalt in the flooring of the various buildings comprising this gargantuan exhibition. The engineering of this extensive paving work was under supervision of Colonel Henry Welles Durham, who has been associated with important engineering projects in this country and abroad for over a quarter of a century.

"Colprovia," an imported idea from England, has made fine progress in this country. Colprovia indicates *cold processed way*.

EMULSIFIED ASPHALT—In line with patents and the theme of cold asphaltic application, emulsification of asphalt for varying degrees of use, not only for road and street construction and maintenance, but for various forms of commercial employment, has been another important development in the industry. This method permits the handling of material cold, eliminating the necessity of heating, thereby saving much trouble and effecting a consequent reduction of cost. Emulsified is in general use over a widespread area of this country. It is shipped, stored and applied at normal temperatures. A special treatment in the production of this class of material is employed when contemplated for winter use. Van Westrum, a Hollander, had much to do with the early development of emulsified asphalt and secured patents. Another form came *via* England and this has been vigorously developed by an international petroleum corporation. W. T. Headley, of Philadelphia, was long a prominent figure in this particular field before his demise. Lester Kirschbraun, formerly of Chicago, has been a factor in the art.

ASPHALT BLOCKS—This type of pavement has a long record in pavement history. Not long after Barber started the promotion of sheet asphalt in the late 'seventies, asphalt blocks came into being. Typical uses are—streets (especially those on hillsides), roads, bridges and viaducts; driveways, plazas and courtyards; airport aprons and hangars; piers, industrial floorings, platforms and roof



SUBURBAN RESIDENCE

Asphalt Blocks on Drive and Asphalt Shingles on Roof of Dwelling



CHICAGO AIRPORT—ASPHALT RUNWAYS

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

decks. Asphalt tile (hexagonal in design) for walks, corridors, school and playgrounds; swimming pools and terraces.

The original development of asphalt block and tile was due to Walter S. Wilkinson, a courtly Virginia gentleman of rare charm and gracious wit. Mr. Wilkinson was identified with the early exploitation of Trinidad Lake and played a very active part in launching Mexican asphalt in this country after the great effulgence of oil production in Mexico had manifested itself in the years 1910-11. His contributions to patented features of asphaltic science were worthy. George Baxter Upham and Edwin J. Morrison were vital figures in the subsequent development of asphalt block history.

ASPHALT PLANKS—Are a comparatively recent development, being used for the flooring of bridges, factories, culverts, etc. This type of construction has gained much favor and is produced by manufacturers of asphalt roofing and allied products.

HUNT PROCESS—This is an impervious membrane produced from asphalt for the "setting" of concrete highways after the construction of such highways has been completed. By the "Hunt Process" this asphalt membrane is spread over the concrete by mechanical appliances. This process and others of like character are a marked advance over old methods when burlap, hay, straw and/or water were employed to cover the concrete.

MUNICIPAL ASPHALT PAVING PLANTS—By 1903 cities had acquired a tremendous yardage of asphalt, more than one hundred million square yards, tremendous for those days, but relatively insignificant now. After more than two decades of service, heavy travelled streets showed the necessity of replacement or resurfacing. The lesser travelled ones could be maintained for a much longer period with a repair here and there. A "stitch in time" is an advisable practice with sheet asphalt; it will often save "nine." And this is no exception to the general rule. In resurfacing the old foundation may be continued in service provided that it was originally adequate—this accentuates one of the economical advantages of this type of paving. Agitation for municipally-operated asphalt paving plants had taken root. Detroit, always to the fore as a progressive city, established the initial plant in 1903. This was concurrent with

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

another epoch, for at that time Henry Ford started his automobile factory in Detroit (Highland Park). Detroit imported an asphalt expert from Washington, District of Columbia, Clarence A. Proctor, to inaugurate and supervise plant operations. Proctor had been trained by Allan W. Dow, then inspector of asphalts and cements for the District of Columbia, now the dean of the world's asphalt technologists and after fifty years of service continuing very actively. At first the Detroit plant was a modest affair, but now they have two giant plants widely separated as to location, effectively catering to the needs of a city that has for growth and industrial development been one of the wonders of the age. After thirty-six years of intensive service, Mr. Proctor, like his mentor, Mr. Dow, carries on.

The example of Detroit's municipal plant was soon patterned by other cities, with few important exceptions. The ensuing decade saw the establishment of such plants not only here but in Canada—Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg being the leaders there. It may be mentioned incidentally that Canada went in quite extensively for asphalt paving improvements and that the Provincial authorities followed the lead of the cities by using asphalt on rural highways. In Montreal there is a large refinery which produces asphalt from petroleum and there are several or more plants in the Dominion which manufacture roofing with asphalt.

ROOFING-WATERPROOFING-INSULATION, ET CETERA—In the manufacture of roofing, asphalt is widely used as a saturant and as a binding or cementing agent, with many diversifications in the art. The Asphalt Shingle and Roofing Institute, under the direction of Jack S. Bryant, has disseminated widespread knowledge on this very important essential of man's existence, "putting a roof over his head." It may be asserted that two-thirds of America's roofing requirements consist of asphalt fabricated materials. Foreign countries as well are large consumers of this product. The production of asphalt roofing has increased by leaps and bounds since the Spanish-American War. Bituminous roofings have a long record and again the Warren family enters the picture because this illustrious group had some of their forebears identified with the primal movement of this phase of housing nearly a century ago. Now many great concerns are nationally known for their manufacture of asphalt roofing and allied products.

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

An old and widely used form is termed "built-up" roofing, consisting of a plurality of layers of asphalt impregnated felt. Prepared roofings of woven fabrics and asphalt are made in variations of design.

Asphalt shingles have enjoyed a phenomenal rise in popularity for more than twenty years. Variations of this type are many, both as to design and application. They are attractively colored and present a very pleasing appearance. Asphalt sidings are used to supplant clapboards in wooden buildings. Floor coverings of asphaltic composition are substituted for linoleum and are diversified in design of prints. Asphalt fabricated boards are used for sheathings, partitions and ceilings. In fact, it is feasible to construct a certain type of dwelling entirely with asphalt fabricated material and then complete the job by insulating it with asphalt impregnated paper. Insulation of wires, fiber conduits, blasting fuses, refrigerators, automobile brake linings, clutch facings and tops is effected. Asphalt is used in plastics, the paint and varnish trade, cords and ropes, acoustical blocks, and even has gone to the aid of agriculture. In Hawaii the pineapple crop has been aided by using asphalt saturated paper around the plants. It is said that this method increases the yield by from twenty-five to fifty per cent. For the protection of valuable merchandise against dampness, wrapping paper as well as cartons and boxes of paper are treated with an impregnation of asphalt.

The coating and preservation of pipe was a very difficult problem to solve and in the solution of this problem asphalt once again rendered a distinct service. Oil companies with long pipe lines have used asphalt effectively, especially where the pipe is laid in a salt marsh sector. In Iraq, where the pipe line is about one thousand miles in length, asphalt was used to protect this lengthy conveyor of oil. Vats where chemicals are held in solution and tanks where metals are in a process of refinement have their sides and floors coated with asphalt as a protectant. Asphalt is used by the rubber industry for several purposes in the compounding of rubber goods, especially in producing tires. Pre-moulded expansion joints composed of asphalt and fabric are manufactured by some roofing manufacturers. These expansion joints are widely used in concrete road construction.

Moderns have followed the precept of the ancients in using asphalt for waterproofing. This ancient form of repelling nature's most powerful element has been scientifically improved by engineers in practice

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

with the result that buildings of many descriptions, bridges, subways, tunnels and viaducts, employ this means to keep water out. Conversely, pools, reservoirs and tanks are serviced with asphalt to keep water within.

REVTMENT PROTECTION—"Ole Man River," a song emanating from light opera, bids fair to be an everlasting American folk song. Its lyrics tell of the strength and ravages of a river that we all know to be the Mississippi. Another popular song, "River, Stay Away from My Door," conveys sentiment and serious import, too. The Federal Government has for many years expended huge sums endeavoring to repel the waters of the Mississippi and thereby prevent encroachment on contiguous lands, as well as to maintain more than a semblance of regularity in the course of this historic stream. During the incumbency of General Lytle Brown as chief engineer, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, it was decided to employ asphalt in the solution of revtment protection. Soil erosion transpires when the waters burrow through embankments and ultimately change the river's course, consequently acting as an accelerator of floods that are devastating. In reference to the undertaking inaugurated under General Brown and accomplishments as a result thereof, quotations are herewith made from a paper presented by W. C. Carey, senior engineer, Second New Orleans District, U. S. Engineer Department, at the meeting of the Mid-South Section of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Little Rock, Arkansas, May 24, 1935:

As might therefore be expected, the asphalt mattress is the natural evolutionary outcome of this constant effort toward betterment, accelerated perhaps by the results of recent surveys and by developments incident to attempts to improve other types of mattresses. It must be emphasized that the problem of successful bank protection under the extreme conditions prevailing on the lower Mississippi River is not to be solved by any merely ingenious design of a mattress. Plant and equipment for fabricating and placing the mattress, as well as methods to be employed are all inseparable from the question of design of the mattress. . . . It is interesting to turn to the records of ancient civilization in localities where bitumen was available. Thus it is found that, in ancient Babylon and Assyria, bitumen was extensively used as a mortar base in masonry and building work and its use as a waterproofing medium to make durable other less durable construction materials (in their case poorly burned bricks) was well understood and



MISSISSIPPI RIVER REVETMENT

Shows End of First Launch: the Barge Ready for Operations in the Casting of Second Launch when Mattress will be Pulled into Place on the Bank



MISSISSIPPI RIVER REVETMENT

The Start in Launching Asphalt Mattress Showing Cables and Tackle-Used in Pulling Initial Launch from the Deck of Casting Barge

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

practised by these peoples. Similarly in Assyria in 1300 B. C., is found the first instance of the use of bitumen in connection with river bank protection work: At that time King Sanherib, to prevent the meandering of the Tigris River, revetted its bed with rush mattresses and constructed a massive sloping training wall, of layer upon layer of burned bricks, each layer being laid in, and cemented together with bituminous mastic. . . . With the field work of the raw material survey completed, the next step was to go back into the laboratory and determine whether a suitable asphaltic mixture could be made from the natural low cost materials occurring along the Mississippi River in unlimited quantities. Work in the laboratory was now resumed and energetically pushed over a period of several months. In this work, the services of F. C. Field of the Asphalt Institute were most valuable. . . . The final step in the history of the asphalt mattress, which translated it into the realm of accomplished fact, was the conclusion of Lieutenant-Colonel John N. Hodges, District Engineer, Second New Orleans District, in July, 1932, that an asphalt mattress was economically and otherwise advantageous, and his decision to inaugurate working scale experiments. So much for history.

Conclusions from Mr. Carey's paper:

(1) Initially, the asphalt mattress is perhaps actually, certainly comparatively, stronger than the concrete mattress and better able to resist the destructive forces to which it is subjected while performing its work of protecting the river bed.

(2) Permanently; that is after the exposed unprotected launching cables of the concrete mattress have rusted away, the asphalt mattress is definitely much stronger both actually and comparatively.

Quoting an editorial from the "Engineering News-Record," of August 20, 1936:

Successful mending of the Galveston jetties with hot asphaltic concrete deposited in water, and the planned use of that material in greater mass and depth of penetration for the Columbia River jetties, is a notable development in the use of asphalt. As described in this issue, few accomplishments in asphalt construction have come with greater surprise. In roofing and paving, the use of hot oils and asphalt mixtures in the presence of water has for years called for a forbidding clause in engineering specifications. No incompatibility of engineering materials and water has been more nearly an accepted creed. Even when a few years ago the engineers on the lower Mississippi proved the possibility of molding asphalt sheets and placing them hot for underwater bank revetment the experience was not considered conclu-

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sive; the molding of the hot material was still a dry operation although immersion followed before cooling had set up the bitumen. At Galveston the full step has been taken of depositing the hot material under water in bulk to settle, take form and bond up under its own weight aided by vibration. This the mixture used has done with pronounced success and a new construction method has been added to those available for underwater work.

THE ASPHALT INSTITUTE—This organization was effected twenty years ago. Originally named the Asphalt Association, change in title was made ten years later. It is a non-profit organization, and its aims and objectives are to further the dissemination of information in the way of bettering and improving the cause of asphalt by correlating knowledge through the printed word, lectures, film and radio. Through the services of technologists and by holding individual and mass conferences that make for advancement and expansion of the asphaltic field, this cause was furthered. Annually the Institute sponsors a National Asphalt Conference to which delegates come from all parts of the United States and Canada. Foreign countries are represented at these conferences, where papers are presented and discussed covering a wide range of activity in asphalt. The Institute maintains headquarters in New York City with field offices at Washington, D. C., Cincinnati, Dallas, and Kansas City. On the Pacific Coast, with headquarters at San Francisco, there is a cooperating organization. From its inception the Institute has been under the direction of James Edmund Pennybacker, managing director. Mr. Pennybacker formerly was chief economist, United States Bureau of Public Roads, and in that capacity drew the original bill for Federal aid to road building, which Congress enacted into law in 1916. Mr. Pennybacker's fund of knowledge was invaluable to the committees of Congress when this epochal piece of legislation was pending. The late Logan Waller Page, of distinguished kin, was then Chief of the United States Bureau of Public Roads. Mr. Page was the foremost advocate of Federal Aid and this great continuing governmental activity is a figurative monument to his memory.

Prevost Hubbard, noted authority on asphalt, is chemical engineer of the Institute. Mr. Hubbard was formerly chief chemist of the Bureau of Public Roads and also served with the Institute of Industrial Research at Washington. Bernard E. Gray, formerly an engineer with the Bureau of Public Roads, as well with the Massachu-



MISSISSIPPI RIVER REVETMENT

Showing Completion of Launching Operation from Deck of Casting Barge. Asphalt Mixing Plant on Barge in Background. For these Launchings Shore Anchorage Has Been Made: as Barge Recedes from Shore the Mat is Lowered Into Place.



LA BREA PIT PARK, LOS ANGELES

Exudation of Asphalt Where Bones of Pre-historic Animals Were Found

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

setts and West Virginia State Highway Departments, is chief engineer. Walter R. MacAtee is in charge of the Institute's office at Washington, D. C. Albert H. Hinkle, D. D. Williamson, and Frank S. Gilmore are field engineers, being located at Cincinnati, Kansas City and Dallas, respectively. Daniel B. Miller has charge of San Francisco headquarters. Ernest M. Bristol is director of public relations at New York headquarters. The Institute has published and circulated numerous brochures, papers and specifications pertaining to asphalt. It has coöperated with the Bureau of Public Roads, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, State highway departments, county road departments, municipal officials, colleges and private commercial interests. A laboratory and library feature the headquarters.

ASPHALT TECHNOLOGISTS—To industry, technologists are indispensable, and industry owes much to the men of technique who by their research, study and ceaseless endeavors are entitled to laurel wreaths for their great part in human progress. Allen W. Dow is the senior of all asphalt technologists. Herbert Abraham, Julius Adler, Gene Abson, Oscar H. Berger, W. J. Emmons, F. C. Field, Walter H. Flood, Charles N. Forrest, Henry G. Gundlach, Prevost Hubbard, W. J. Hempleman, H. M. Hancock, Felix Kleeberg, Lester Kirschbraun, Le Roy M. Law, Claude L. McKesson, Kenneth McKenzie, J. Strother Miller, Victor Nicholson, Harold W. Pullar, C. A. Rafael, C. F. Ramey, T. H. Rogers, Hugh H. Skidmore, Herschel C. Smith, Herbert Spencer and Isaac Van Trump are among those who have been long active in the profession. The late Clifford Richardson, Harvard classmate of Theodore Roosevelt, was widely known and played an important part as asphalt developed in use. His treatise, "The Modern Asphalt Pavement," was the first work ever published devoted exclusively to the art. Antedating Richardson in asphalt technology were Professors Bowen and Peckham.

Colonel James W. Howard, who recently passed away, was a unique and very interesting personality. He was a son of General O. O. Howard, during the Civil War a member of General Grant's staff and later (about 1890) the highest ranking officer of the U. S. Army. General Howard, subsequent to Appomattox, was in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau in Washington, when ex-slaves rushed to the National Capital from the South. He created the first seat of learning for colored youth in the establishment of Howard University

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

at Washington, which was named in his honor. The son, Colonel Howard, was first associated with A. L. Barber in Washington. Later he operated an independent consulting laboratory in New York and made this his life work. Colonel Howard frequently was summoned to give testimony in litigation and in hearings before public bodies. His laboratory files were probably the most encompassing of all in matters relating to paving, particularly with reference to asphalt. The late Francis P. Smith was for many years in association with Mr. Dow under the firm name of Dow and Smith as paving consultants. He was a pioneer in the technology of refining asphalt derived directly from petroleum. After service with California petroleum producers in this regard, he went to Mexico at the instance of Lord Cowdray, the noted British oil magnate. At a refinery on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, he instructed Cowdray's men in the art of refining asphalt from heavy Mexican oil. Truly "Frank" Smith had a part in making asphalt history. In court as a qualified technical witness he scarcely had an equal. So much so that an attorney on the opposing side, during a case in Indiana, said in referring to Smith, "This expert, and indeed *he is an expert.*"

The Association of Asphalt Paving Technologists is composed of those representing the United States Bureau of Public Roads, State highway departments, county road departments, municipal paving laboratories, independent testing laboratories, and the technical representatives of various commercial enterprises which have a hand in the production and application of asphalt. The Asphalt Paving Technologists meet annually at the National Asphalt Conference and take a leading hand in the proceedings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the foregoing pages there was no attempt to treat of asphalt in a technical sense. For students and those who may desire to delve into a study of this subject, also for construction men who may desire to more fully acquaint themselves in the art, reference may be made to the following works:

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 - "Asphalts" (1908), T. Hugh Boorman.
 - "Dust Preventives and Binders" (1910), Prevost Hubbard.
 - "Laboratory Manual of Bituminous Materials" (1916), Prevost Hubbard.
 - "Highway Inspectors' Hand Book" (1919), Prevost Hubbard.
 - "American Highway Engineers' Hand Book" (1919), Prevost Hubbard. (Specifically referring to Section No. 12.)
 - "Asphalt Pocket Reference for Highway Engineers" (1937), Prevost Hubbard and Bernard E. Gray.
 - "Asphalt and Allied Substances" (1918-20-29-38), Herbert Abraham.
- (NOTE—Mr. Abraham's work is more comprehensive on the subject than any other.)
The Asphalt Institute during its existence has issued many papers, brochures, and specifications embodying this subject.

ASPHALT—ORIGIN, HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT

Acknowledgment is made to the above sources and to Philip W. Henry, Consulting Engineer.

ASPHALT PRODUCERS

Allied Materials Corporation	The Pioneer Asphalt Company
American Mexican Petroleum Corporation	Richfield Oil Company
Anderson-Prichard Oil Corporation	River Dome Oil Company
Arro Oil and Refining Company	Riverside Oil Co.
Ashland Oil and Refining Company	Russell Oil Co.
Atlantic Refining Company	San Fernando Refining Company
Barber Asphalt Corporation	Seaside Oil Co.
Berry Asphalt Company	Skelly Oil Co.
Big Horn Oil and Refining Company	Shell Oil Company
Cities Service Oil Company	Shell Union Corporation
Casmite Corporation	Shell Petroleum Corporation
Colonial Beacon Oil Company	Sinclair Refining Company
Colorado Midland Refining Company	Sun Oil Company
Cosco Oil Company	Sunray Refining Company
Cosden Petroleum Corporation	Standard Oil Co. of California
Exeter Refining Company	Standard Oil Co. of Indiana
Gilmore Oil Company	Standard Oil Co. of Louisiana
Gulf Oil Corporation	Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey
Hart Refineries	Standard Oil Co. of New York (Division of Socony Vacuum)
Home Oil Refining Company	Standard Oil Company (An Ohio Corporation)
Independent Refining Company	The Texas Company
Indian Refining Company	Texas Pacific Coal and Oil Co.
Imperial Oil Limited	Tidewater Associated Oil Co.
Lion Oil Refining Company	Tri State Refining Co.
Magnolia Petroleum Company	The Shallow Water Refining Co.
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MacMillan Petroleum Corporation	Talco Asphalt and Refining Co.
Mexican Petroleum Corporation	Utah Oil Refining Corporation
Mid-Continent Petroleum Corporation	Union Oil Company of California
Paluxy Asphalt Co.	White Eagle Div., Socony Vacuum Oil Co.
Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company	Wirt Franklin Petroleum Corp.
Perry Petroleum Company	Wyoming Oil and Refining Company
Phillips Petroleum Company	Yale Oil Company

NOTE—A number of the above companies refine asphalt for all purposes while others confine their operations to liquid asphalt for spraying on roads.

ASPHALT SHINGLE AND ROOFING PRODUCERS

American Asphalt Roof Corp.	Johns-Manville Sales Corp.
American Tar & Chemical Corp.	Keystone Roofing Manufacturing Co.
Artic Roofings, Inc.	Koppers Co., Tar & Chemical Division
Barber Asphalt Corp.	Lehon Company
Barrett Company	Logan-Long Company
Becker Roofing Co.	National Manufacturing Corp.
J. E. Berkheimer Mfg. Co.	B. F. Nelson Mfg. Co.
Bird & Son, Inc.	Palmer Asbestos & Rubber Co.
Samuel Cabot, Inc.	Paraffine Cos., Inc.
Philip Carey Company	Reilly Tar & Chemical Corp.
Celotex Company	Roofing Products Co.
Certain-teed Products Corp.	Ruberoid Company
Cooper Company	Texas Company
El Rey Products Co.	Tilo Roofing Co.
Flintkote Company	United States Gypsum Co.
Ford Roofing Products Co.	Weaver-Wall Co.
Lloyd A. Fry Roofing Co.	Western Elaterite Roofing Co.
Globe Roofing Products Co.	Williams Roofing Co.
Gold Seal Roofing Co.	

Ancestor-Hunting in Germany

BY FIRST LIEUTENANT KARL FREDERICK STEINHAUER,¹
SIGNAL CORPS RESERVE, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA



NUMEROUS articles have been written on the subject of ancestor-hunting in England. This preference to research in the British Isles has been very natural and proper, for the fact that these United States are English-speaking is proof that a plurality, if not a majority, of our citizenry are of British descent. The articles have sought to assist other interested families to find their own genealogical backgrounds, guided by hints and examples drawn from the writers' experiences on their recent trips to Great Britain.

Another substantial group in our population is the folk of German descent. The writer has recently returned from a three-month stay in Germany and adjoining countries, during which his time was divided between sightseeing and genealogical snooping. In the latter such marked success was encountered that he feels duty-bound to inform his genealogy-minded friends of German descent of a golden opportunity which exists at the present moment for ancestral research in the *Vaterland*. Without venturing upon so controversial a question as the expediency of *Nationalsozialismus* in general, it must be agreed that genealogy has attained far greater heights, has touched each individual citizen more personally, and has received greater national attention in the *Reich* than anywhere else in the world at any time. The cause, of course, is the Hitler anti-Semitic movement. An important step in the racial purification of the country is a law requiring each person on the federal pay-roll to prove that not one of his ancestors has practiced any Hebrew rite since the year 1800. The customary proof is for each government employé to submit to his immediate superior a complete ancestral chart back to 1800, with a *Beglaubigung* or certificate from the respective parish rector or pastor (or archivist, in the case of older records) written beside each

1. Bachelor of Science in Electrical Engineering, Washington University (Saint Louis); member, Sons of the Revolution (Missouri).

Stammbaum

des

Name:

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Konfession (auch)

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b) Geburtsname d

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Konfession jetzt: früher:

lebte, verheiratet, geschieden?

weitere Angaben über Ehegatten und Kinder Seite 4.

Mitglied des NSDAP, oder einer ihrer Nebenzugangsstellen:

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Der Antrag wird gestellt, weil (Angabe des Zweckes und der gewünschten künft. anderen Bestimmungen, auf Grund deren der Nachweis zu erbringen ist):

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Alle verfügbaren Personenstandsurkunden über den Angefragten und seine Vorfahren sowie 2 Väter des Angefragten füge ich bei.

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THREE TYPES OF GENEALOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRES CURRENT IN PRESENT-DAY GERMANY

ANCESTOR-HUNTING IN GERMANY

alleged birth and marriage date (often, but not necessarily, beside each death date too), that rites of baptism and marriage (and burial) were had in his church (Catholic, Lutheran, Evangelical, etc.) as evidenced by original entries in the registers of the church. After scrutiny by the employé's superiors, this ancestry-identification or *Ahnenpass* is returned to the employé, and becomes at once, like his passport, a valuable personal document, and also, in view of the time spent in research, a treasured family heirloom.

Racial purity is a requirement for getting onto or staying on the German federal pay-roll. Even in these United States the federal employés constitute an appreciable proportion of the population, but in Germany it is even larger—it is said that one German in eight is dependent upon a federal salary—for not only are there scarcely fewer "alphabet-soup" bureaus and agencies in the *Nazi* administration, but also certain functions which we regard as local in the U. S., such as fire and police, and those two great industries, telephony and the railroads, which in the U. S. are quasi-private enterprises, in Germany are functions of the federal government.

So we see that genealogical research has become a problem of genuine seriousness to a substantial part of Germany's population . . . it is not enough for one to know he is of Aryan descent; he must submit documentary *proof* of it. Undoubtedly a few have regarded this as just so much red-tape—a time-wasting "rule" with which to comply if one wishes to hold his job (human nature is like that sometimes). Be that as it may, the fact is that upon fulfillment of the obligation depends their livelihood, and the Germans are busy complying. Most of them, upon finishing the task, are imbued with that satisfaction and sense of family pride which many of my readers have enjoyed from like work . . . it was something they had always had in the backs of their heads to do "some day" (but without a little governmental prodding they never would have gotten around to it). Some few become greatly interested and have the personal interest to carry their genealogies as far back as they can—much beyond the required 1800 A. D.

Family-science or *Sippenkunde* is a subject in which every German is interested. There is no bookstore in Germany which does not sell some sort of genealogical forms . . . it may be a mere folded sheet or *Ahnen tafel* costing but a few *Pfennige*, but the corner bookstore

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or magazine or news stand will have something of the sort for sale. Even beautifully-bound *Ahnenpässe* are inexpensive, so great is the market for their sale. Without abolishing the usual individual certificates of vital statistics, *Reich* law provides that, upon request, churches and city halls must write baptism or birth certificates, etc., in any approved blank book or *Ahnenpass* which one may have bought as his ancestral record. *Ahnentafeln* are available for 6 ancestors, and bound *Ahnenpässe* can be bought with a complete set of systematically-arranged blank spaces ruled and labeled for the birth, marriage and death certificates of perhaps 14 or 30 or 62 or even 126 ancestors. They are wonderfully well organized genealogies, a counterpart of which one might hope some day to be able to buy printed in English.

There are two ways to go about filling up one's *Ahnenpass*. Many of the entries probably can be proven at one's local city hall or church. Then one can take his *Ahnenpass* with him, do his own research, and, after finding the records of his family, he himself can write the facts and data into the appropriate certificate spaces, and lay before the clerk or pastor the *Ahnenpass* and the several original record books, opened at the right places, whereupon the clerk or pastor must execute the certification that each *Ahnenpass*-entry "*mit dem Hauptregister gleichlautend ist*" (agrees with the original record) . . . in which case the statutory fee is but *Rpf.* 10 or 4c per certification. Or, one can ask the clerk or pastor to write the whole body of the certificate into the *Ahnenpass* (a good idea for us Americans not too familiar with decryptographing the German script in older records) in which case the statutory fee is *Rpf.* 60 or 24c per entry (tourists traveling with *Registermark* currency can figure this as more nearly only 15c per entry). But suppose one has a heavy well-bound *Ahnenpass*, upon which he does not care to pay postage to the city hall in every remote town whence some one female ancestor may have come? Then he may obtain the ordinary birth, marriage, or death certificate on whatever odd size of paper that city hall may use—the demand for this service is so great that many city halls, even in small towns (for example, Rockenhausen, only 2,000 population), have found it profitable to install photostat machines to save the time of copying—and the fee for a certificate, or for a certified photostat, is *Rpf.* 60. Then one may submit this little certificate, and his *Ahnenpass* with



THE PROTESTANT ARCHIVES BUILDING AT SPEYER AM RHEIN, GERMANY

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the essential facts transcribed therein, to his local city hall, which will execute officially the certification in the *Ahnenpass* "*auf Grund vorgelegter Urkunde*" (on the grounds of a certificate laid before us). The fee for this is only *Rpf.* 10. *Erwerbslose* or indigents can obtain a certificate of their plight, which exempts them from the payment of any of the fees.

Nachweise der arischen Abstammung or proofs of Aryan descent occupy so much of the time of German city hall clerks that one finds them very sympathetic, helpful, well-qualified, and willing to aid the amateur genealogist. The great volume of genealogical business since 1933 has made it possible for the *Standesämter* or vital statistics offices to be very well equipped . . . as has been said, a large number have photostat machines. This is truly a rare opportunity, of which persons of German descent should take full advantage while the present *Nazi* régime makes it possible.

The records available are of two sorts, civil and church. Civil records of vital statistics seem to have been commenced under the French rule when Moreau invaded Germany, and are excellent. They go into considerable detail . . . an amusing feature is that the French law required the father of a new-born child to bring to the city hall witnesses who had examined the baby, for they had to swear "*le sexe de l'enfant a été reconnu être masculin*" (or "*feminin*")—the sex of the child has been recognized to be male (or female, as the case might be). To a birth record we usually find the father's autographic signature (or *X* mark?!), and on a marriage record we usually find the autographic signatures of the two parties, and if one has such records photostated, one has a priceless collection of the handwritings of his ancestors! Prior to the Napoléonic invasion, it seems that the only records were the baptism, marriage, and burial records of the churches, and the entries in these are usually very brief (rarely giving the ages of the parties to a marriage, for example), making it difficult, sometimes, to *prove* descent and lineage.

A peculiarity of the records during the occupation by Napoléon is that the dates are usually given in terms of the French Revolutionary or Republican calendar, under which time dates from September 22, 1792—*le 1 vendémiaire l'an I*, the day the French Republic was founded, that is, the day following the abolition of the monarchy.²

². Page 286 in *The French Revolution and Napoléon* by Leo Gershoy, New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1933.

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In typical revolutionary-atheistic³ fashion, the French sought to blot out Sunday and the names of the Roman deities memorialized in the Gregorian calendar, and a 10-day week and new month-names descriptive rather than religious, were adopted . . . for example, January became *nivôse* or "the month of snow." This calendar was in effect in France from October 5, 1793, through December 31, 1805, and in western Germany⁴ from September 22, 1798, through December 31, 1805. Many home encyclopedias attempt to give a single definition of the span of each French month in terms of dates in the Gregorian calendar, but this is incorrect, as the equation differs from year to year, because the French leap-year-day occurred in September, 1795, 1799, and 1803, instead of on February 29, 1796, 1800, and 1804, as in the Gregorian calendar. Several excellent conversion tables are obtainable in France⁵ and in Germany⁶. If one is so fortunate as to trace his ancestry into the fifteenth, sixteenth, or early seventeenth century, one may possibly encounter another change of month-names; for example, July becomes *Heumonat* or the "hay-month." But there are several good books on *Zeitrechnung*⁷ or time-reckoning to straighten one out.

The records may be found in any one of three places: the city hall *Standesamt*, a church *Pfarramt*, or centralized denominational archives. The Steinhauer (Steinhawer) ancestors of this record, for example, lived in a little village, spelled in olden times Lohweyler, now Lohnweiler, in the parish of Lauterecken in the *Pfalz* or Palatinate. The Lutheran church of Lauterecken began its records in the year 1569, and all of the early record books, through the middle of the nineteenth century, have been transferred to *Protestantisches Landeskirchenarchiv der Pfalz* or the Archives of the Protestant Churches of the Palatine Circuit, at Speyer am Rhein. A card admitting one to the reading room of this library costs *Rm.* 2 per day or *Rm.*

3. Page 197 in *The French Revolution and Religious Reform* by William Milligan Sloane, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

4. Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797.

5. Example: *Tables de concordance des dates des calendriers . . .* by Émile Lacombe, Paris, Librairie Polytechnique, 1891. (This requires some confusing calculations, however.)

6. Undoubtedly the best of these is: *Die Zeitangaben des französisch-republikanischen Kalenders im Vergleich mit dem Gregorianischen Kalender* by A. Weimar; First Edition, Mainz, 1929; Second Edition, Kaiserslautern, 1937.

7. Examples: *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung* by H. Grotefend. *Taschenbuch für Familiengeschichtsforschung* by Friedrich Wecken. Both of these books have been reprinted in several editions.

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5 for a whole week. *Historisches Museum der Pfalz* across the street has a photostat machine and serves the searchers in the *Archiv*. Baptism, marriage, and burial records from the middle of the nineteenth century, to date, are kept by the *Pfarrer* or pastor in Lauterecken. The city hall in Lauterecken has all the civil records, which were commenced about 1798.⁸ Access to the records in the church and in the city hall is gratis. My Grossart (Groszarth) ancestors lived in the town of Odernheim am Glan, also in the *Pfalz*. Civil records were begun in Odernheim during the reign of Napoléon, but the city hall has also all the Odernheim-parish registers of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, back to the year 1710.

Probably the best-indexed genealogical collection in Germany is the *Zentralstelle für deutsche Personen- und Familiengeschichte* or Central Depository for German Personal and Family History, in the *Deutsche Bücherei* or German Library in the city of Leipzig. The admission fee to the *Zentralstelle* is *Rm.* 1 per day (only about 25c for the American using *Registermark* tourist currency). For this small sum one will be waited on hand and foot and will have brought to him every book or magazine or pamphlet in which any mention of the family surname (or surnames) can be found in print. Much of the material proves to be irrelevant, of course, but one finds here an opportunity to exhaust nearly every possible printed source on any surname. Here, for example, I learned for the first time of a Steinhauer coat-of-arms,⁹ which, while coming from east of Germany (*Latvija*), rather than the west (*Pfalz*) whence my family comes, and therefore probably of no provable connection, was nevertheless of interest. The photostat department in the *Deutsche Bücherei* serves searchers in the *Zentralstelle*.

My German ancestors all lived in the valley formed by the Lauter, Glan, and Nahe rivers, as they flow from Kaiserslautern past Kreuznach, to empty into the Rhein at Bingen. I had the great satisfaction to trace the Steinhauer line as far back as I think it is possible to trace it. The Lutheran records of Lauterecken parish were begun in 1569, and I was able to trace my lineage to the baptism of Sigfried Steinhawer, son of Johannes Steinhawer, on *Jubilate*¹⁰ Sunday, April

8. *L'an sept de la République Française.*

9. In *Beitrag zur Baltischen Wappenkunde . . .*, by Max Müller, Riga (Latvija), Verlag Ernst Plates, 1931. (Volume 1.) Available also in the Library of Congress, Washington.

10. The third Sunday after Easter.

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24, 1586.¹¹ In the older form *Steinhawer*, the name is more clearly cognate with "stone-hewer," its English translation. The name continued to be spelled *Steinhawer* until sometime between 1652-80, when the *w* was changed to *u* in conformity with general orthographic transitions in the German language at that period. The descent of the American branch of the family from Johannes, father of Sigfried, is through the following lineage:

1. JOHANNES STEINHAWER (buried January 17, 1621) married CATHARINA (died 28. Heumonat 1616—July 28, 1616).

2. SIGFRIED STEINHAWER (baptized April 24, 1586) married, February 5, 1611 (?) CLARA MARTIN (?).

3. JOHANNES STEINHAWER (baptized December 1, 1611 (?); buried January 24, 1682); married, June 23, 1646, JOHANNATHA POTI (or BOTI?) (buried January 24, 1682.)

4. JOHANNES STEINHAWER/STEINHAUER (baptized April 18, 1652; died September 10, 1724); married, January 13, 1680, Johanna Dorothea, *née* STEINHAUER.

5. Johann CASPAR STEINHAUER (baptized January 5/15, 1687, OS/NS; died February 5, 1770); married, September 19, 1719, Maria Elisabetha BLÄSIUS (or PLÄSIUS) (baptized April 2, 1702; died January 13, 1758).

6. TOBIAS Heinrich STEINHAUER (born August 17, 1729; died January 6, 1815); married, November 26, 1754, Anna Margaretha GROSS (born January 12, 1738; died December 20, 1789).

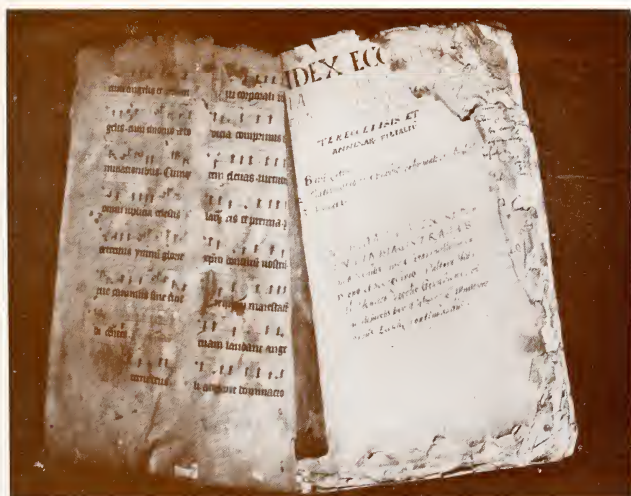
7. Philipp PETER STEINHAUER (born February 8, 1771); married (1st) January 31, 1797, Maria CATHARINA WEICHEL (born June 8, 1773; died November 15, 1815).

8. PHILIPP Peter STEINHAUER (born 30 vendémiaire VIII¹²—October 22, 1799; died at Frankenthal April 17, 1858); married Christina ELISABETHA GROSSART (born at Odernheim 16/17 germinal X—April 6/7, 1802; died at Odernheim May 30, 1887.)

Johannes Steinhawer (d. 1621) seems to have resided at Lauterecken, but his son Sigfried (b. 1586) appears to have settled about 1611 in the next village (just a 15 or 20-minute walk from Lauterecken), called Lohweyler at that time, now called Lohnweiler, where my ancestors lived until perhaps 1797, when Peter Steinhauer

11. Julian calendar, or "Old Style."

12. The birth of Philipp Steinhauer (1799-1858) is recorded on the last page of the Heizenhausen birth register for the year VII, for, *vendémiaire* being the first month of the French calendar, the mayor apparently had not received his official blank book for the year VIII yet. This has caused some confusion. He was born in 1799, however.



(Photographed in Protestantisches Landeskirchenarchiv, Speyer)

TITLE-PAGE OF THE OLDEST EXISTING REGISTRY-BOOK OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF LAUTERECKEN PARISH (FOR THE YEARS 1569-95)

This 370-year-old Book Contains the Earliest Record (1586) of the Steinhauer (Steinhauer) family. Note the date, "Anno . . . sesquiesimilimum Nono et Sexagesimo" (1569), it Was Begun. Through the Torn Corner Can be Seen Part of the Subtitle Page Following, "Catalogus Baptizatorum Ecclesia Lutereccesi." The book is now in the Protestant Archives at Speyer am Rhein, Germany.

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(b. 1771) moved to Heinzenhausen, 15 minutes away. Peter Steinhauer (b. 1771) is said ¹³ to have died in the United States, but there is no reliable proof of this.

Philipp Steinhauer (1799-1858) and his wife Elisabetha Grossart (Groszarth) (1802-87) had two sons, Philipp (1831-72) and Friedrich (1835-1903), who emigrated to the United States when Friedrich was 15 years old, or about 1850-51. Presumably they landed at Philadelphia.

Philipp Steinhauer was born at Odernheim am Glan on May 29, 1831, served the Confederacy¹⁴ in the War Between the States, is listed in the New Orléans city directories for 1867-68-69-72, died in New Orléans May 29, 1872 (his 41st birthday!), and is buried in Cypress Grove Cemetery (known also as "Firemen's Cemetery") in New Orléans, Louisiana. He is believed to have died unmarried and childless.

Friedrich Steinhauer was born at Rockenhausen (Pfalz) on May 22, 1835. His cousin Joseph Landschütz¹⁵ (1817-76) had come to the United States shortly before and owned a pharmacy at 124 Cal-lowhill Street, Philadelphia. Friedrich worked for him for a while, and on January 18, 1859, Friedrich was elected¹⁶ apothecary of the Philadelphia Dispensary, a charity hospital. Meanwhile Friedrich had Anglicized his name gradually through Frédéric to Frederick. In the 1860 census¹⁷ and in the city directories for 1861-63-64 he is shown as boarding at the home of Mrs. Francis Hart, a widow, at 115 Craven Street, Philadelphia. Older members of the family seem to recall hearing that he was married in Philadelphia about 1855 to German-born Margaret A . . . , said to have died in Philadelphia about 1864, but this has not been proven yet, and his listing in the 1860 census implies that he was single at that time. About 1864 he moved to Denver, Colorado, where he was prominent in civic affairs.¹⁸

13. This statement is made in the death record of his daughter Margaretha Steinhauer, who died at Heinzenhausen January 5, 1871.

14. Louisiana Commissioner of Military Records: *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers* . . . , by Andrew B. Booth, New Orléans, 1920. Volume 3, book 2, page 690.

15. Mentioned in "Letters of Friedrich Steinhauer." See footnote 19, below.

16. Philadelphia Dispensary: *Rules . . . for the medical relief of the poor, with the annual report for 1858, and a list of contributors, managers and officers for 1859*. Philadelphia, printed by Joseph Rakestraw, 1859. In the Rare Book Department ("Toner Collection") of the Library of Congress, Washington.

17. Pennsylvania Volume 52, Philadelphia Ward 6, page 745.

18. See his long obituary on the front page of *The Denver Post* for August 31, 1903.

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He was a member of the Colorado Territorial Legislature for two years 1867-68. He was a member of the Denver School Board¹⁹ 1873-92 and again 1899-1903, serving as secretary in 1873 and as president 1891-92. He was president of the board of trustees of Colorado School of Mines²⁰ 1878-99. Amongst Frederick Steinhauer's friends in Denver was the Schinner family. Mme Schinner (*née* Vinot) was from the village of Villafans (Haute-Saône), France, where she had gone to a school taught by Rev. Joseph Bardenet, great-uncle of Mlle Blanche Chobard. Blanche Chobard was born at Gex²¹ (Ain), France, February 9, 1849, attended *L'Institution de Mlle Hirsch* at Vesoul (Haute-Saône) whence she was graduated in 1865 as the honor student, emigrated to the United States about 1867, and settled in Saint Louis, Missouri. Blanche Chobard had an aunt, Mrs. Jan Ermerins²², in Denver. While on a visit to this aunt, Blanche Chobard was invited to the Schinner home, and met Frederick Steinhauer at dinner. This acquaintance culminated eventually in the marriage of Frederick Steinhauer and Blanche Chobard at Saint Louis on November 27, 1871. They had seven children, all born in Denver:²³

1. Bertha Steinhauer (1873-1920).
2. Frédéric Chobard Steinhauer (living). (Had four sons).
3. Emil Steinhauer (1877-79).
4. Jessie Louise Steinhauer (living). (Now Mrs. Frank Addison Young).
5. Karl Edmund Steinhauer (living) (married, divorced).
6. Ernest Philip Steinhauer (1884-1936). (Had one son, who is the author of this article).
7. Claire Elizabeth Steinhauer (living).

19. His work in founding Denver's schools is the subject of "Letters of Friedrich Steinhauer," in *The Colorado Magazine* published by the State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, The State Museum, July, 1933. (Volume X, number 4, pages, 156-58.)

20. A branch, at Golden, Colorado, of the state university at Boulder.

21. Ten miles from Genève, Switzerland, reached in about an hour by interurban street-car from Genève to Ferney and by bus from Ferney to Gex. The street-car rides from Genève (Switzerland) to Ferney (France) and return were an interesting incident in my European trip, as I was not asked to show my passport in crossing the international border. Customs inspectors of both countries searched the street-car, however.

22. *Genealogie der familie Ermerins 1590-1908*, by P. C. Bloys van Treslong Prins, 'S-Gravenhage, De Nederl. Boek- en Steendrukkerij, 1909. (Page 16.)

23. The Steinhauer genealogy has been published in *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch (genealogisches Handbuch bürgerlicher Familien)*, Görlitz, C. A. Starke, 1935. (Volume 86, pages 403-11, etc.) (There are numerous errors, both editorial and typographical, in this, however.)

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Frederick Steinhauer continued pharmacy as his profession in Denver, being for a time in the partnership of Steinhauer & Walbrach, and later by himself. Frederick Steinhauer died at Denver, Colorado, August 30, 1903, and is buried at Riverside Cemetery. Blanche Chobard Steinhauer died at Denver, Colorado, February 3, 1925.

The writer did a little research in France also (on the Chobard and related families: Chaudey,²⁴ Bardenet,²⁵ etc.), but found the work more difficult there, because a pure amateur genealogist, who has no pecuniary motive such as establishing a claim to an estate, is regarded in France (as indeed in these United States!) as a little "queer."

I cannot close without mentioning European library systems. On our visits to Washington, you and I walk boldly into the Library of Congress, brief-case and all, without formality. But the French *Bibliothèque Nationale*, or National Library, at Paris, is not open to the common herd . . . on entering its doors one is requested to prove that he is a college graduate. After satisfying them on that point, one is given (without charge) a one-day permit to enter the reading rooms. Photostats can be obtained after several days' delay.

The *Preussische Staatsbibliothek*, or Prussian State Library, Germany's national library on famous Unter den Linden in Berlin, is a luxurious building open to anyone who will pay *Rm.* 1 for a one-week library card. But . . . if you turn in a call slip²⁶ today, your book will be ready for you to call for at the desk *tomorrow*. This refers, of course, only to books to be drawn from the stacks . . . ready-reference books in daily demand, such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, etc., are on open shelves in the reading room.

Some German city public libraries are open to the public without charge, and some have a small admission fee. An annoyance to late-summer tourists like myself is that most German public libraries close

24. *Armorial général; précédé d'un dictionnaire des termes du blason*, 2. édition, by J. B. Rietstap, Gouda, G. B. van Goor zonen (1884)-1887. (Volume 1, page 411.)

25. *Armorial du premier empire; titres, majorats et armoiries concédés par Napoléon I^{er}*, by Vicomte Albert Révérend, Paris, au bureau de "L'Annuaire de la noblesse," 1894. (Tome 1, page 48.)

26. The call slips must be *bought*. The catalog is not a loose-leaf printed or type-written card catalog like in American libraries, but a set of bound books, in which accessions are interlined in pen and ink in *quasi*-alphabetic order!

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for the whole month of August, ²⁷ for cleaning, renovating, vacations,²⁸ etc.

In the German churches and city halls, however, there are, today, excellent facilities and organization for the finding of the original records of one's ancestors, and I hope that my readers of German descent will not fail to take advantage of them.

27. This month is chosen probably because German schools are closed during the same month. Germany is north of the United States and cooler in summer, so that the school year is September through July. Incidentally, German school children have no classes after 1 p. m.—but they have to go to school on Saturdays.

28. The customary German vacation is one month, instead of two weeks as in the U. S.



M a s o n

Mason and Allied Families

BY HEROLD R. FINLEY, CRANSTON, RHODE ISLAND



URNAME authorities disagree on the origin of the name "Mason." Mr. Lower, in his "Patronymica Britannica," states that it originated either from an occupation, such as a stonemason or woodmason, or from a town in Northumberland. Mr. Bardsley, in his "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," agrees that it might possibly have originated from an occupation, but also says it might be a baptismal name, meaning "the son of Matthew," which in the old French was spelled "Mayhew," shortened to Maye, then May, and finally became Mayson.

(M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Or, a lion rampant azure.

Crest—A mermaid with comb and glass proper.

Motto—*Dum spiro spero.*

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Three men bearing the surname Mason came to America and established families. John Mason, who arrived in 1630, was the first of the name in Massachusetts and in Connecticut. Sampson Mason, the second emigrant of the name, and the progenitor of our line, came from England about 1649-50, and was of Rehoboth and Swansea, Massachusetts. Colonel George Mason, a member of the English Parliament, was the third emigrant, and reached Virginia about 1651-1652. The family tradition that these men were brothers is incorrect.

(Dr. Philip Mason: "A Legacy to My Children," pp. 7, 9, 12.)

I. Sampson Mason, the progenitor of our line in America, was born in England and died, probably, in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, as his death is recorded there, and was buried there September 15, 1676. Dr. Philip Mason in his book, "A Legacy to My Children," says, "by the concurrent authority of tradition Sampson Mason was a soldier, or as Baylies has it in his 'Historical Memoir of Plymouth,' a dragoon in the Republican army of Oliver Cromwell." In England his occupation was that of a shoemaker. The first appearance of Sampson Mason's name in this country is in the Suffolk records of the settle-

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ment of the estate of Edward Bullock, a Dorchester man, in whose will, dated 25-5-1649 (July 25, 1649), a debt is noted as "due to Sampson Mason for wife's shoes."

In the Suffolk Registry of Deeds is an entry showing that in 1651 Sampson Mason purchased a house and land in Dorchester from William Betts, which he later sold to Jacob Hewins. He then went to Rehoboth, Massachusetts. According to "An Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth," he was one of the founders of Swansea, Massachusetts, where he was admitted an inhabitant before 1669, and where he was in the second rank of those who received land. He is mentioned in a list of those named in the division of lands in the "North Purchase," which became Attleboro, Massachusetts, and was a proprietor of Swansea, Massachusetts, where his descendants for many generations were prominent. He was evidently a man of means as he was a large property owner, and during the King Philip's War his widow gave £13.5.10, one of the larger contributions made.

In spite of the statement in "An Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth" that Sampson Mason was a founder of Swansea, that he was admitted an inhabitant before 1669, and that he was in the second rank of those who received land there, it is believed that he never actually moved from Rehoboth, as most of his estate was there, ten of his children were born there, and both his death and the death of his wife are recorded there. In his will, dated October 22, 1672, he calls himself a "cordwainer," and names his "deare wife Mary sole executrix." Her will was dated at Rehoboth, January 28, 1712-13, and was probated December 6, 1714.

Sampson Mason married Mary Butterworth, who died in August, 1714, and was probably a daughter of John Butterworth, of Weymouth, Massachusetts. Children, first three born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, last ten at Rehoboth. 1. Noah, of whom further. 2. Sampson, born probably in 1654; was one of the founders of the Second Baptist Church in Swansea, Massachusetts. 3. John, born probably between March 18 and May 12, 1656, died March 19, 1683; married, October 15, 1679, Content Wales. 4. Samuel, born February 12, 1656-57, died January 21 or 25, 1743-44; married (first), March 2, 1682, Elizabeth Miller, died March 3, 1718; (second), November 4, 1718, Mrs. Lydia Tillinghast, who died in 1720. 5. Sarah, born February 15, 1657-58. 6. Mary, born February 7, 1659-60, died

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November 15, 1727; married, January 7, 1684, Rev. Ephraim Wheaton. 7. James, born October 30, 1661. 8. Joseph, born March 6, 1662-63, died May 19, 1748; married (first), March 12, 1683, Anne Daggett; (second), September 4, 1686, Lydia Bowen. 9. Bethia, born October 15, 1665, died before 1712; married, May 23, 1688, John Wood, who married (second), January 31, 1711-12, Mrs. Charity Miller. 10. Isaac, born July 15, 1667, died at Swansea, Massachusetts, January 25, 1741-42; married Hannah. 11. Pelatiah, born April 1, 1669, died March 29, 1763; married, May 22, 1694, Hepsi-beth or Hepzibah Brooks, who died at Swansea, August 24, 1727. 12. Benjamin, born October 20, 1670, died August or September 1740; married Ruth Rounds. 13. Thankful, born October 27, 1672, was living in 1743; married, June 17, 1689, Thomas Bowen.

(J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 675, 850. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VI, p. 356; Vol. XVIII, pp. 245-46, 247-53. Francis Baylies: "An Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth," Vol. I, Part II, pp. 207, 217, 344. Dr. Philip Mason: "A Legacy To My Children," pp. 10-13. Alverdo H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," Part I, pp. 6-11, 15-16, 19-20, 22, 25-26, 29-30, 32. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1049. G. H. Tilton: "History of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 43. D. Benedict: "History of the Baptist Denominations in America and Other Parts of the World," Vol. I, p. 427.)

II. Noah Mason, son of Sampson and Mary (Butterworth) Mason, was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, between October 25, 1651, and February 8, 1651-52, was baptized in the First Church of Dorchester, February 22, 1651-52, and died at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, March 2, 1699-1700. He was a freeman, a resident of Rehoboth, where his trade was that of a shoemaker. During King Philip's War, he served under Major Bradford in the expedition against the Narragansetts, and made a contribution of fifteen shillings to the war fund.

Noah Mason married (first) Martha, who was buried February 6, 1675, married (second), December 6, 1677, Sarah Fitch, who died March 16, 1718-19, daughter of John and Mary Fitch. Children of the second marriage, all born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts:

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1. Noah (2), of whom further. 2. John, born November 28, 1680, died August 29, 1716, unmarried. 3. Mary, born December 12, 1682; married (first), November 26, 1723, John House, of Providence, Rhode Island; (second), intentions recorded at Rehoboth, August 17, 1728, John Dexter. 4. Daniel, born July 8, 1685, died in 1750; married, intentions recorded at Rehoboth, January 13, 1727-1728, Susannah Carpenter. 5. Timothy, born March 17, 1686-87, was drowned December 9, 1742; married, November 16, 1721, Sibbel Hunt. 6. Sarah, born February 1, 1688-89, died June 9, 1744; married, December 27, 1711, Daniel Brown. 7. Hannah, born December 2, 1690, died in 1716, unmarried. 8. Martha, born June 16, 1693, died November 22, 1747; married, September 29, 1715, George Bristow, Jr., or George Barstow, Jr.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," pp. 16-17, 35-37, 42. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 138, 675, 850. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1049. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XVIII, p. 248. G. M. Bodge: "Soldiers in King Philip's War," p. 463.)

III. Noah (2) Mason, son of Noah and Sarah (Fitch) Mason, was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, December 17, 1678, and died August 29, 1744. He was a shoemaker by trade. About 1709 he purchased his uncle's homestead, which was located in what is now probably East Providence, Rhode Island. He also bought a half-interest in the Providence ferry. It appears that Noah (2) Mason and his wife were in England in 1710, visiting members of his wife's family, among them her grandmother Atkins, possibly her maternal grandmother. He later sold his homestead and ferry rights to his brother, John Mason. In the deed he is designated as "ferry keeper."

Noah (2) Mason married, intentions published in Rehoboth, October 16, 1708, Mary Sweeting, who was probably born near Over Stowey, Somersetshire, England, and died August 18, 1738, daughter of Henry and Joanna Sweeting. Children, all born in Rehoboth: 1. Mary, born March 28, 1710; married, March 29, 1733, Samuel Barstow. 2. Noah, born February 10, 1712, died September 2, 1738, unmarried. 3. Joanna, born April 25, 1714, died July 27, 1738, unmarried. 4. Martha, born January 29, 1716, died in infancy. 5. Hannah, born January 6, 1716-17, was unmarried April 9, 1750. 6.



VIEW OF GARDEN AT THE MASON RESIDENCE—ATTLEBORO, MASSACHUSETTS



SOUTHEAST VIEW OF THE MASON GARDEN—TEN MILE RIVER IN THE BACKGROUND

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John, of whom further. 7. Sarah, born February 25, 1720, probably died before August, 1744; married, November 24, 1743, William Brown. 8. Lydia, born November 8, 1723, died September 17, 1744; married, July 31, 1744, Thomas Kendrick.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," pp. 17, 33. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 675-76, 850. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1049.)

IV. John Mason, the youngest son of Noah (2) and Mary (Sweeting) Mason, was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, September 9, 1718. He was a resident of Rehoboth, and was a tanner by trade. In 1754 John Mason was adjudged *non compos mentis* and placed under the guardianship of Thomas Allen and Isaiah Hunt. The court terminated the guardianship in 1758, but it was resumed in 1763, and continued with various guardians until August 3, 1783, when his guardians, William Windsor and Samuel Whitman, reported the sale of his real estate.

John Mason married, intentions recorded at Rehoboth, August 20, 1748, Elizabeth Grafton, of Providence, Rhode Island, who died August 20, 1779. Children, all born at Rehoboth: 1. Noah, born June 29, 1749, died November 29, 1764. 2. William, born December 8, 1751. 3. John (2), of whom further.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," p. 82. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 676-77. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1049.)

V. John (2) Mason, son of John and Elizabeth (Grafton) Mason, was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, June 20, 1762, and died at Attleboro, Massachusetts, November 28, 1834. He was one of the pioneers of Attleboro.

John (2) Mason married, May 7, 1795, Mrs. Hannah (Richardson) Campbell, died April 1, 1839, daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah Richardson, and widow of John Campbell. She was probably the Hannah Richardson, of Rehoboth, who married, intentions published November 30, 1784, John Cammel (Campbell), of Rehoboth. Children, all except the first born at Attleboro, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth, born at Rehoboth, February 27, 1796, died August 22, 1834, unmarried.

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2. Mary, born January 14, 1798, died December 27, 1867. 3. James, born February 26, 1800, died February 12, 1867; married, in 1826, Abigail Freeman. 4. Moses, born May 29, 1802, died September 4, 1885; married (first), December 24, 1829, Caroline Wellman, who died in 1838; (second), August 29, 1844, Eliza Sophia Dunster, who died in 1866; (third), September 20, 1868, Catherine Gilbert. 5. Noah (3), of whom further.

(A. H. Mason: "Genealogy of the Sampson Mason Family," pp. 82, 149, 272-73. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 677-78. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1049. A. Borden: "Our County and Its People—Bristol County, Massachusetts," Personal References, p. 149. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 176, 355, 492.)

VI. Noah (3) Mason, son of John (2) and Hannah (Richardson-Campbell) Mason, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, March 8, 1805, and died September 14, 1882. He was a dealer in groceries and general merchandise at Mansfield, Massachusetts, and later at Attleboro.

Noah (3) Mason married, May 20, 1830, Harriet Wood Fisher, of Attleboro, Massachusetts, born there December 20, 1808, died August 7, 1880. Children, all born at Attleboro: 1. Herbert N. or Noah Herbert, born March 13, 1831; married (first) Mary L. W. Titus, who died at Attleboro, Massachusetts, February 17, 1862; (second) Mary M. Packard, who died February 28, 1904. 2. George Allen, of whom further. 3. Harriet Eliza, born July 30, 1835; married Benjamin A. Cummings. 4. Fisher Nelson, born August 28, 1837. 5. Calvin Henry, born March 12, 1839. 6. Warren Sanford, born April 1, 1840. 7. Emily Amanda, born September 30, 1841; married Albert J. Richardson, of North Attleboro, Massachusetts. 8. Caroline Frances, born September 23, 1843. 9. Marzette or Narzett Fletcher, born October 2, 1844; married, May 20, 1880, Frank B. Robbins.

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 1049-50. A. Borden: "Our County and Its People—Bristol County, Massachusetts," Personal References, p. 149. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 175, 176, 492.)



MASON GARDEN WITH PERGOLA AND STATUARY



PERGOLA—NORTH VIEW



Fredrick G. Mason.

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VII. George Allen Mason, son of Noah (3) and Harriet Wood (Fisher) Mason, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, February 12, 1834. He was educated in the common schools and for some years was engaged in the mercantile business. Later he dealt extensively in finely bred horses.

George Allen Mason married, in 1857, Mary Ann Cushman, of Middleboro, Massachusetts. (Cushman VIII.) Children: 1. Frederick George, of whom further. 2. William H., a manufacturer.

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of South-eastern Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 1050. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," p. 176. A. Borden: "Our County and Its People—Bristol County, Massachusetts," Personal References, p. 149. Family data.)

VIII. Frederick George Mason, son of George Allen and Mary Ann (Cushman) Mason, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, in 1858, and died January 6, 1935.

After completing his formal education in the schools of his birthplace, Mr. Mason went to Providence, Rhode Island, to supplement his formal studies with the business training in the Bryant and Stratton Business College. At the age of eighteen years he entered the employ of the then comparatively new First National Bank, of Attleboro. There was probably no banking service that he did not perform, and promotion came as fast as there was place for his increasing experience. He was made cashier in 1903 and in 1926 was elected vice-president, but still carried on his work as cashier. The span of his connection with the bank covered fifty-eight years.

The occasion of his fiftieth year with the bank was fittingly recognized. It was brought out then that Mr. Mason had seen practically all of the original incorporators of the institution pass on, while he remained, giving his help and guidance, which was always sought, to those who one by one took the place of the founders. His single-minded devotion to his work deprived him of much of the time and energy that he would have given to public affairs and personal enjoyment. He contributed to civic progress and happiness but steadfastly refused political preferment. Fraternally, he was affiliated with Ezekiel Bates Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, which he served as treasurer for fifteen years, and the Royal Arch Chapter. He was a

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member of the Massachusetts Cashiers' Association, serving on its board of directors and as its president, and he was a charter member of the Grand Army of the Republic Dining Club, one of the interesting social organizations characteristic of New England, and was always keenly interested in the welfare of men, who were veterans of the War Between the States. He attended the Second Congregational Church of Attleboro, and was wholly dependable for the furtherance of any worthy humanitarian enterprise.

Frederick George Mason married, at Attleboro, October 20, 1886, Mabel Wheaton Carpenter. (Carpenter IX.)

When Mr. Mason died, in the seventy-sixth year of his life, many tributes were paid to his memory. Of these, that passed by the directors of the bank, of the staff of which he was dean, is both comprehensive and revealing:

FREDERICK G. MASON

1876—1935

Nearly threescore years of devoted service!

Since 1876, when Homer Daggett called in Frederick G. Mason to assist him, the foremost interest of Mr. Mason, outside of his home life, has been this institution which he loved and served.

He had what might well be termed an almost militant pride in the good name and integrity of The First National Bank of Attleboro.

His approach to friends and customers was thoroughly in keeping with his immaculate appearance, which was such a distinguishing characteristic of this American gentleman.

Though not so active in recent years, his attendance at the bank was not interrupted except for occasional respites, his interest in its affairs was undiminished and his background of long experience was valuable to the present active officers of the bank.

Those of us who knew him best and longest—one of us goes back forty years in association with him—find it extremely difficult at this time to give proper expression to our sentiments of esteem, respect and sorrow.

We can only echo those words which we think he must be hearing even now:

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of South-eastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1580. Family data.)



Carpenter

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Carpenter Line)

Arms—Argent, a greyhound passant, and chief sable.

Crest—A greyhound's head, erased per fesse sable and argent.

Motto—*Celeritas, virtus, Fidelitas.*

(Amos B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," p. 29.)

Carpenter, as a surname, is of occupational origin, meaning "the carpenter," from the Old French *carpentier*, a worker in wood. The name appears very frequently in the Hundred Rolls of various English counties.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in England)

I. William Carpenter, son of William Carpenter, was born in 1576 and was a carpenter by trade in the city of London. He rented certain tenements and gardens in Houndsditch in 1625 "to him devised for 41 years with a covenant to build within 5 years, which tenements and gardens were heretofore conveyed to the city's use for the support of the Carpenter Free School by John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London."

William Carpenter came to America in the ship "Bevis," accompanied by his son William (2), his son's wife Abigail, and their children. Nothing, however, is known about him, after he arrived here. At Southampton he was registered at the time of emigration as a carpenter by trade, from Wherwell, but it is evident that he was a resident of London. The family being dissenters were obliged to leave London, and William went to Wherwell, while his brother Alexander went to Leyden.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," p. 34.)

(The Family in America)

I. William (2) Carpenter, son of William Carpenter, was born in England in 1605, and died at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, February 7, 1658. He came to this country in the ship "Bevis," together with other members of his family, and, with his wife, Abigail, settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts, where he was made a freeman in 1640. In 1641 and 1643 he was a representative from Weymouth to the General Court. About 1642 he was appointed captain for one or more years by the General Court of Massachusetts at Boston. He

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

became an inhabitant of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, in 1645, and in that year was made a freeman there and served as representative to the General Court. During 1643-49 he served as proprietors' and town clerk. He left a will, in which he bequeathed to son William his Latin, Hebrew and Greek books, which implies that he was an educated man.

William (2) Carpenter married, in England, Abigail, whose surname is not known, and who died February 22, 1687. Children: 1. John, born in England about 1628. 2. William (3), of whom further. 3. Joseph, born in England about 1633, buried May 6, 1675; married Margaret Sutton, who died in 1700. 4. Hannah, born at Weymouth, Massachusetts, April 3, 1640. 5. Abiah (twin), born April 9, 1643. 6. Abigail (twin), born April 9, 1643; married, in 1659, John Titus. 7. Samuel, born about 1644; married, May 25, 1660, Sarah Readaway.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, 44-45-47-48. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1579. "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 808.)

II. William (3) Carpenter, son of William (2) and Abigail Carpenter, was born in England about 1631, and died at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, January 26, 1703. The inventory of his estate amounted to £215-5-4. He followed the occupation of farming in Rehoboth, where his home was located on the left of the road leading from East Providence Meeting House to Rehoboth, fifty or sixty rods from the crossing of the Ten Mile River.

William (3) Carpenter was a man of ability and character and a wise counselor in the Colony. In 1668 he was made town clerk of Rehoboth and, except for the year 1698, held that office until his death. In 1668 he was also chosen deacon of the church and he served as deputy to the General Court of Plymouth. He was also one of the committee to settle the boundary between Taunton and the North Purchase in 1682. Three years later, at a meeting of the purchasers of the North Purchase, he was chosen surveyor. Specimens of his handwriting show fine penmanship.

William (3) Carpenter married (first), October 5, 1651, Priscilla Bennett, who died October 20, 1663. He married (second), December 10, 1663, Miriam Searles, Sayles or Sale, who died May 1, 1722.

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Children of the first marriage, born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts: 1. John, born October 19, 1652; married Rebecca Readaway. 2. William, born June 20, 1659, died March 10, 1718-19; married, April 8, 1685, Elizabeth Robinson. 3. Priscilla, born July 14, 1661; married Richard Sweet. 4. Benjamin, born October 20, 1663, died April 18, 1738; married, March 14, 1691, Hannah Strong. Children of second marriage, born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts: 5. Josiah, born December 18, 1664, died February 28, 1727; married, November 24, 1692. 6. Nathaniel, born May 12, 1667; married (first), September 19, 1693, Rachel Cooper, who died July 9, 1694; (second) Mary Preston; (third), July 8, 1707, Mary Cooper. 7. Daniel, born October 8, 1669; married (first), April 15, 1695, Bethiah Bliss; (second), May 30, 1704, Elizabeth Butterworth; (third), December 12, 1710, Margaret Thurston; (fourth), October 15, 1718, Mary or Margaret Hunt. 8. Noah, born March 28, 1672, died in April, 1756; married (first), December 3, 1700, Sarah Johnson; (second), May 22, 1727, Ruth Follet Talbott; (third), intentions published November 29, 1745, Tabithy Bishop. 9. Miriam, born October 26, 1674, died May 21, 1706; married, June 23, 1691, Jonathan Bliss. 10. Obadiah, of whom further. 11. Ephraim, born April 25, 1681, died young. 12. Ephraim (again), born April 25, 1683-84, died April 20, 1743; married (first), August 14, 1704, Hannah Read; (second), March 24, 1719, widow Martha (Ide) Carpenter. 13. Hannah, born April 10, 1684-85; married, November 23, 1703, Jonathan Chaffee. 14. Abigail, born April 15, 1687, died January 15, 1781; married, November 12, 1706, Daniel Perrin.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," pp. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1579. "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 78, 571, 808-09.)

III. Obadiah Carpenter, son of William (3) and Miriam (Searles, Sayles or Sale) Carpenter, was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, March 12, 1677-78, and died October 25, 1749, "in his 73d year."

Obadiah Carpenter married, November 6, 1703, Deliverance Preston, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, born October 7, 1681, died June 12, 1767, daughter of Deacon Daniel and Abigail (Jackson)

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Preston, and granddaughter of Deacon Daniel Preston. Children: 1. Edward, born October 5, 1705, died February 24, 1771; married (first), May 23, 1728, Mary Carpenter; (second), December 2, 1743, Dorothy Walker. 2. Obadiah (2), of whom further. 3. Nehemiah, born September 28, 1708, died March 19, 1711-12. 4. William, born June 26, 1711, died August 23, 1768; married (first), September 25, 1734, Abigail White; (second), in 1757, Sarah Blake. 5. Nehemiah (again), born June 24, 1714, died October 19, 1715. 6. Deliverance, born May 29, 1717; married, November 16, 1737, John Wright. 7. Josiah, born October 8, 1719, died in 1746-1747; married, October 25, 1742, Huldah Walker. 8. John, born March 7, 1726-27, died April 26, 1754; married (intentions published September 30, 1749), Anna Read.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," pp. 56, 71-73. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1579. "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Masachusetts," pp. 573, 809.)

IV. Obadiah (2) Carpenter, son of Obadiah and Deliverance (Preston) Carpenter, was born February 16, 1705-06, and died at Attleboro, Massachusetts, January 6, 1764. His will was proved January 30, 1764. He was a farmer by occupation and served as a deacon in the church in Attleboro. Both he and his wife are buried in the old cemetery at Attleboro, Massachusetts.

Obadiah (2) Carpenter married, December 12, 1728, Mrs. Bethia (Carpenter) Lyon, daughter of Daniel Carpenter. She was born September 23, 1706, died January 15, 1788, at Foxborough, Massachusetts, at the home of her son, Nehemiah. Children, born at Attleboro, Massachusetts: 1. Bethia, born December 6, 1729, died January 27, 1793; married, November 30, 1749, Peter Thacher. 2. Nehemiah, born October 20, 1731, died May 14, 1799; married (first), September 17, 1752, Elizabeth Sweet; (second), in 1773-74, widow Sarah Hartshorn. 3. Sybil, born October 20, 1733; married, April 4, 1755, Joseph French. 4. Huldah, born September 21, 1735; married, December 25, 1758, Nathaniel Read. 5. Deliverance, born February 27, 1737-38, died March 20 or 26, 1789; married (first), August 10, 1762, Samuel Read, Jr.; (second) Moses Walker. 6. Hannah, born June 10, 1740, died April 20, 1790; married, May 29,

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1760; Zachariah Carpenter. 7. Obadiah, born September 2, 1742, died December 6, 1810; married, October 16, 1766, Amy or Mercy Lee. 8. Daniel, of whom further. 9. Lucy, born February 14, 1746; married, April 28, 1768, Caleb Carpenter. 10. Ezra, born January 30, 1748-49, died May 20, 1750.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," pp. 72, 112, 114, 115. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1579. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 648.)

V. Daniel Carpenter, son of Obadiah (2) and Bethia (Carpenter-Lyon) Carpenter, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, September 29, 1744, and died there April 14, 1803. He followed the occupation of farming in Attleboro.

Daniel Carpenter married (intentions published January 11, 1766) on January 30, 1766, Elizabeth Tyler, born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, January 14, 1747-48, daughter of John and Anne (Blackenton) Tyler, of that town. She died November 17, 1821. She married (second), November 3, 1805, as his second wife, Thomas Sweet, of Attleboro. Children: 1. John, born September 1, 1766, died March 2, 1838; married (first), February 21, 1793, Molly Tyler; (second), in 1813, Lydia Potter. 2. Daniel (2), of whom further. 3. Ezra, born May 11, 1770, died February 27, 1821; married, June 17, 1795, Mary Follett. 4. Betty, born March 28, 1772, died March 5, 1835; married, intentions published April 2, 1792-93, Samuel Thacher. 5. Samuel, born May 20, 1774, died November 1, 1775. 6. Remember, born February 8, 1776; married, October 11, 1801, Betsey Read. 7. Ebenezer, born October 25, 1781, or according to the Family Bible record, October 25, 1780; married, August 17, 1806, Clarissa Kent. 8. Jesse, born September 30, 1783, died June 7, 1857; married, December 19, 1805, Philena Richardson. 9. Nancy, born August 11, 1786; married, February 19, 1804, Spencer Blanding. 10. Samuel (2), born January 12, 1789, died March 3, 1861; married, October 19, 1815, Nancy Ingraham. 11. Elizabeth, born November 1, 1792, died March 12, 1825; married, February 11, 1819, Benjamin Bowen.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," pp. 115, 212, 213.

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"Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, pp. 1579-89. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 273, 361, 572, 646, 648.)

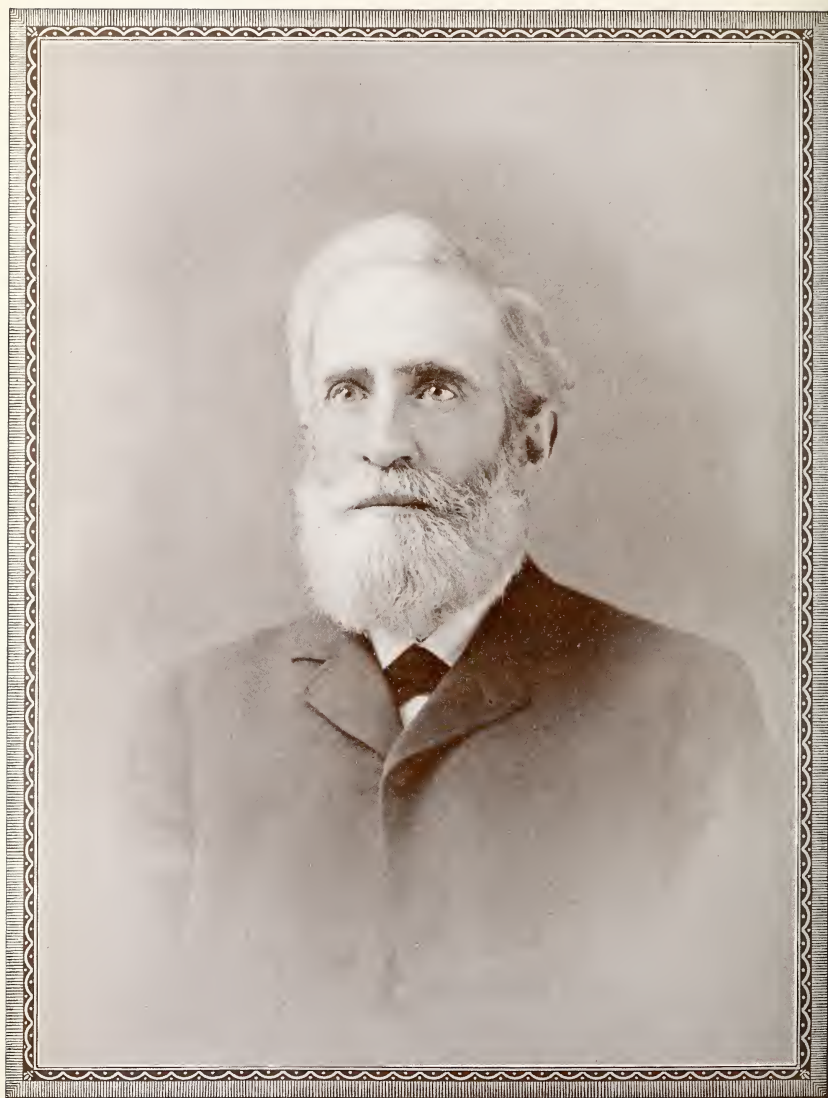
VI. Daniel (2) Carpenter, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Tyler) Carpenter, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, April 2, 1768, and died September 3, 1835. He, like his ancestors, spent his life in cultivating the land in Attleboro. He was captain of a militia company, but seems not to have had any active part in town affairs.

Daniel (2) Carpenter married, March 6, 1794, Alice Richardson, born in 1770, died January 28, 1844, daughter of Daniel Richardson. She was a sister of Philena Richardson, who married Jesse Carpenter, younger brother of Daniel (2) Carpenter. Children, born at Attleboro, Massachusetts: 1. Daniel, born April 5, 1795, died September 6, 1813. 2. Roxy, or Roxse, born August 24, 1801, died March 16, 1845; married (first), October 25, 1838, William Harris; (second) Leonard Stone. 3. Sylvia, born June 17, 1805, died March 17, 1842; married, September 1, 1830, Leonard Fuller. 4. Wheaton Allis or Ellis, of whom further. 5. Charlotte, born May 24, 1809, died October 31, 1813.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," p. 364. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1580. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 62, 66, 361, 646.)

VII. Wheaton Allis or Ellis Carpenter, son of Daniel (2) and Alice (Richardson) Carpenter, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, December 24, 1806, and died April 25, 1876. He was buried in Kirk Cemetery, of which he was sexton for many years. He made his home, in Attleboro, where he followed the carpenter's trade for a while and later engaged in the lumber and coal business.

Wheaton Allis or Ellis Carpenter married, May 27, 1832, Alice Briggs, daughter of Wheaton and Silda (Hunt) Briggs. She died December 6, 1888, and was buried beside her husband. Children: 1. Shepard Wheaton, of whom further. 2. Daniel, born April 2, 1834, died November 2, 1851. 3. Nelson, born January 2, 1836. 4. Maria Alice, born February 18, 1840, died April 5, 1877; married Edward M. Jackson. 5. Lovina Briggs, born November 10, 1841,



Shepard Wheaton Carpenter

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died February 22, 1865. 6. Henry Lafayette, born August 22, 1843, died September 24, 1892; married (first), November 20, 1867, Chloe M. Bliss; (second), a Miss Waldron. 7. Ellis, born June 20, 1845, died January 28, 1864. 8. Mary Elizabeth, born April 2, 1847, died September 15, 1848. 9. Mary Elizabeth (again), born January 30, 1849, died June 21, 1884; married Charles C. H. Pond. 10. Lyman, born May 20, 1851.

(A. B. Carpenter: "A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America," pp. 364, 559. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1580. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 366, 647.)

VIII. Shepard Wheaton Carpenter, son of Wheaton Allis or Ellis and Alice (Briggs) Carpenter, was born at Attleboro, Massachusetts, January 23, 1833, died May 18, 1898, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery. He was educated in the public schools of Attleboro, Massachusetts. Working in his father's store as a boy, he later established his own business as a general merchant and took an active interest in public affairs, serving in various offices. For several years he was town clerk and assessor of Attleboro and also trustee of schools for a time. He was one of the organizers of the National Bank of Attleboro, as well as one of its original directors and cashiers.

Shepard Wheaton Carpenter married, November 26, 1857, Eliza Jane Capron. (Capron VI.) Children: 1. Daniel Edgar, died young. 2. Mabel Wheaton, of whom further.

("Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, pp. 1580, 1582. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," p. 67.)

IX. Mabel Wheaton Carpenter, daughter of Shepard Wheaton and Eliza Jane (Capron) Carpenter, married Frederick George Mason. (Mason VIII.)

Mrs. Mabel Wheaton (Carpenter) Mason is widely active in the community. She is a member of the Attleboro Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Attleboro Round Table, of both of which she is a charter member; a director and former treasurer of the Old Ladies' Home; a member of the Second Congregational Church; and a member of the Ladies' Sewing Club. She is also

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most liberal in her support of charitable causes and is known for her business ability and social charm.

On Armistice Day the city of Attleboro celebrated the acquisition of several significant civic improvements and dedicated several beautiful memorials, among which was the Memorial Gateway, of which Mabel Carpenter Mason was one of the donors.

The Capron family and heirs have been active participants in the community life in the city of their residence. One of the favorite rendezvous of young and old of Attleboro, Massachusetts, and a spot to which they point with pride is Capron Park.

In 1901 an area of forty-four acres was presented to the city of Attleboro by Harford A. Capron, Mrs. Eliza Jane Carpenter and Everett S. Capron, the children and heirs of Dennis Capron.

This original gift has been improved upon and utilized by the park commission. Other interested individuals have given funds to enhance the usefulness and beauty of the park. In the intervening years a casino, fountain, shelter, wading pool, water system, bath houses, tennis courts, baseball fields, bandstand, stone seats and trees were added to the attractions of the park. The original zoo was donated by children of the city through the "Daily Sun" in 1922, while the present stone zoo just completed was made possible through the Capron fund.

The following article, which appeared in the November 12, 1937, issue of the "Attleboro Sun," tells of this latest amelioration of the park:

Designers and architects are commenting favorably on the beauty of the new entrance gateway at Capron Park, since the photograph of it appeared in the souvenir Armistice Day booklet. The gateway, which was dedicated Thursday, is the gift of Mrs. Mabel Carpenter Mason and the daughters of Dr. and Mrs. Charles E. Mooer and welcomes the park visitors to the City's Garden spot with its pools and zoo, its playground used by 14,700 children during the thirty-five days of last summer's season, the baseball park and tennis grounds, the twenty acres of lawn, the 18,000 plants and shrubs.

It is indeed a wise and generous act that contains so much thought and consideration as to have so contributed to the beauty and civic pride of a whole community that many rather than a select few were able to enjoy its benefits.

(Family data. Pamphlet: "Attleboro's Armistice Day," "Attleboro Sun," issue of November 12, 1937.)



"Capron Park"

Dedicated by the Citizens of Attleboro, Mass.
September 2, 1901.



MEMORIAL GATEWAY TO CAPRON PARK



Capron

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Capron Line)

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three lozenges, argent, each charged with an ermine spot, another chevron gules. (Burke: "General Armory.")

Capron and its variants, Capern, Chaperon, and Chapron, as surnames, originated from a nickname, probably a sobriquet for the cowed monks, from the Middle English *cape* or *cope*, a hood, and the Old French cape, augmented into Caperon. In various spellings, chiefly Caperun, this surname occurs in early Hundred Rolls in several English counties. According to Mr. Lower, in his book "Patronymica Britannica" the name Caperoun, the Old French for a hood, is found in the Roll of Battle Abbey, and it is of interest to note that the family have long resided near Battel, the scene of the exploits of the presumed founder of the name.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames."
M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. *Banfield Capron*, American progenitor of this family, was born in England in 1660 and died at Attleboro, Massachusetts, August 20, 1752. It is supposed that he was buried in "Peck Burying Ground," although no stone was ever erected to his memory. He came to New England, probably from Chester, Cheshire. He was the first of the Capron family in America and is said to be the ancestor of all the Caprons in America up to 1817. Philip Capron, grandson of Banfield Capron, wrote a historical account of his ancestor in 1817. Philip Capron, who was then in his seventy-third year, obtained a great part of the information about his grandfather from other grandchildren, from a number of other old people who were acquainted with them, and from the history of the family records of the Scotts and Jenkses with whom the Caprons became connected by marriage. The account by Philip Capron follows, in part:

Banfield Capron was the only Capron, that we have any account of, that came from Old England and settled in New England. . . . He came from England in a singular manner. He, with three other youths, each about fourteen years old, and all schoolmates, mutually agreed to leave their native land, their relations, and friends, . . . and go over to New England. . . . They knew of a vessel that was going to New England; and the night before it sailed, they privately concealed themselves in the hold of the vessel, with a small matter of provisions to live on a few days. After they had been to sea for a

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few days there was a strange noise heard from the hold. The hatchway was opened, and those four boys came upon deck to the surprise of all the ship's crew. The captain said he must return with them, for it was against the law for any captain of a vessel to transport any of the inhabitants of England to America, except they got license to go there. But both the mates and all the ships crew thought it best to proceed on, and not return back, and the captain finally fell in with their opinion, and brought them all safe to New England. . . .

The name of the town or county that the said Banfield came from is forgotten; but it has been kept in remembrance that he came from the northerly part of England, and that the town joined Wales. . . . Soon after he came over, a family by the name of Callender, with whom he was acquainted in England, came over and settled in Rehoboth, who are said to have been a very respectable family, and in affluent circumstances. The said Banfield became acquainted with them again, and afterwards married one of Callender's daughters, and settled in the town of Barrington, joining Rehoboth, where he lived about twenty years.

Mr. Daggett in an article on Banfield Capron says: "He came alone as a cabin boy, when very young, to America from England, in 1674-75." It is said that Banfield Capron sold his Barrington farm to a Mr. Humphreys and with his large family of children moved "away back in the woods to what is now Attleboro" (Massachusetts), where he could get more land and where he remained for the rest of his life. Mr. Daggett says: "Banfield became a large landowner in Attleboro. He purchased and laid out a large tract of land between the Bungay River and the Falls. About fifteen years before he died, it is said, he gave each of his eleven children a farm of two hundred acres." Banfield Capron's Bible was, in 1817, in the possession of a grandson, Abiel Brown, Esq., but it recorded nothing about the Caprons except the time of the birth of Mr. Capron's second child and oldest daughter, Betsey, mother of Mr. Brown. The other records formerly at the beginning or the end of the Bible had become loose and were lost; so stated its owner in 1817 to Philip Capron, who was shown the Bible, when he visited his cousin in Cumberland, Rhode Island. In 1779, Philip Capron visited the house in Barrington where his grandfather had lived. Banfield Capron was "of a middling stature, well-built, of a light complexion, blue eyes and reddish hair. He held out to be a very smart, active and capable man in his old age to do business."

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Banfield Capron married (first) Elizabeth (or Emma) Callender, who was born probably toward the North of England, near Wales, and died most probably at Attleboro, after March 11, 1708, daughter of John Callender, who lived in Rehoboth for a short time after coming to America and then removed to New Hampshire, near the location of Dartmouth College. He married (second) at Attleboro, Elizabeth Blackington, who died March or May 10, 1735, daughter of Pentecost and Ann (Barrett) Blackington, from Marblehead, Massachusetts. He married (third), December 16, 1735, Mrs. Sarah (Norton) Daggett or Doggett. Children, all said to have been of the first marriage (numbers three to eight on Swansea, Massachusetts, birth records as children of Banfield and Elizabeth Capron): 1. Banfield, Jr., born in 1682-83, died at Cumberland, Rhode Island, August 16, 1763; married (first) Hannah Jencks; (second), February 2, 1744-45, Sarah Brown, widow of Benjamin Brown, of Attleboro. 2. Betsey (Elizabeth) Banfield, born October 22, 1684; married Captain John Brown. 3. John, born April 25, 1687, who was a seafaring man, died at home, of fever; married, September 23, 1723, Deborah Woodcock. 4. Hannah, born July 2, 1689, died February 17, 1732; married, in 1710, David Aldrich, of Mendon, Massachusetts. 5. Captain Joseph, of whom further. 6. Walter, born October 2, 1693, died about 1777; was a farmer and forgerman, settled in Groton, near New London, Connecticut; married Hope. 7. Mary, born March 26, 1696, died July 6, 1780; married Captain Daniel Tyler, of Attleboro. 8. Edward, born March 17, 1697-98; was a shoemaker by trade; married (first), December 22, 1720, Mary Stanley. 9. A daughter, who died young. 10. Margaret, died in June, 1793; married, May 1 or 5, 1729, as his second wife, William Arnold, Esq., of Smithfield, Rhode Island. 11. Jonathan, born in March, 1705-06, was a farmer and lived with his father in Attleboro; married (first) Rebecca Morse or Moses; (second), May 20, 1773, Abigail Robinson. 12. Sarah, born March 11, 1708-09; married Ralph Freeman, of Attleboro. 13. (Possibly) Benjamin; the only mention of him is in the Rehoboth Church Records, which records the baptisms of "Benjamin and Jonathan, sons of Banfield Capron," September 29, 1706.

(F. A. Holden: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Banfield Capron, 1660-1859," pp. 1, 5, 6, 25, 146, 156, 161, 187, 191-92, 251-52. E. W. Leavitt: "The Starkeys of New England and Allied Families,"

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pp. 125-26, 131-32. James Savage: "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. I, p. 334. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 78, 570. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 49, 57, 355, 644. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1582. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XV, p. 790; Vol. XLVI, p. 145. "Swansea, Massachusetts, Records," Book A, 1662-1705, Index of Births. J. Daggett: "Sketch of the History of Attleboro, from Its First Settlement to the Division," pp. 89, 518.)

II. Captain Joseph Capron, son of Banfield and Elizabeth or Emma (Callender) Capron, was born in Massachusetts, September 12, 1691, and died October 14, 1776, in his eighty-sixth year. He "was a farmer and a man of repute in his day." He is buried in "Old Kirk" Cemetery, just in back of the Second Congregational Church on Park Street in Attleboro.

Captain Joseph Capron married (first), June 3, 1714, Judith Peck, who was born in 1690 and died March 14, 1734, daughter of Hezekiah and Deborah (Cooper) Peck. She was buried in an old graveyard opposite the house of Jonathan Peck, in Attleboro. Captain Joseph Capron married (second), February 14, 1735, Bethia Burt, who died May 18, 1753. He married (third), November 12, 1753, Mary French, who died November 21, 1783. Children of first marriage: 1. Amey, born July 15, 1715; married, in 1734, John Starkey. 2. Diedema, born June 6, 1718, died July 29, 1783; married, June 13, 1741, Bennajah Barrows, of Attleboro. 3. Judith, born April 8, 1720, died young. 4. Joseph, Jr., born at Attleboro, November 1, 1722, died August 1, 1784; was a Revolutionary soldier; married (first), July 3, 1745, Sarah Robeson; (second), March 6, 1762, Sarah Foster. 5. Rhoda, born November 21, 1725; married Daniel Stanley. Children of second marriage: 6. Judith, born May 19, 1737; married Caleb Eddy. 7. Hezekiah, born April 18, 1739. 8. Ebenezer, born November 9, 1740, died three weeks later. 9. Elijah, of whom further.

(F. A. Holden: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Banfield Capron, 1660-1859," pp. 112-13, 135. J. Daggett: "Sketch of the History of Attleboro from Its First Settlement to the Division," pp. 93, 519. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLVI, p. 146. "D. A. R. Lineage Books," Vol. LX, p. 148. Ira B.

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Peck: "A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck," p. 134. M. P. Carter: "Gravestones and Church Records of Attleboro and Swansea, Massachusetts," p. 26. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1582. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 357, 644.)

III. Elijah Capron, son of Captain Joseph and Bethia (Burt) Capron, was born in Attleboro, Massachusetts, June 27, 1742, and died there October 17, 1813. He served in the Revolutionary War, as follows:

Elijah Capron, Attleborough, Sergeant, Capt. Stephen Richardson's Co. of Minute Men, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775. Service 9 days, also order for wages at Attleborough, dated July 5, 1776, for service on the alarm caused by the battle of Bunker Hill; also on list of men in Captain Richardson's Co. of Nov. 12, Attleborough, serving in the 9th campaign in 1776; also 2d Lieutenant, Capt. Alexander Foster's (4th) Co., 4th Bristol Co. regt.; list of officers of Massachusetts Militia; commissioned July 31, 1779, etc., etc., discharged August 8, 1780, service 10 days.

Elijah Capron married (intentions published May 11, 1769), Abigail Stanley, of Attleboro, Massachusetts, born in 1742, died February 1, 1826, "aged 84 years." Children: 1. Lydia, born June 2, 1770; married Ephraim Dean. 2. Elijah (2), of whom further. 3. Abigail, born December 1, 1774; married, April 6, 1797, Cyril Carpenter. 4. Polly, born February 18, 1779; married Dr. Branch. 5. David (twin), born November 15, 1781, died January 23, 1850; married Polly Eaton. 6. Jonathan (twin), born November 15, 1781, died July 14, 1852; married Lucinda Richardson. 7. Jacob, born April 5, 1784, died October 24, 1847; married Deborah Bates.

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1582. F. A. Holden: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Banfield Capron," pp. 112, 135-36, 140-142. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution," Vol. III, p. 84. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 356, 643, 644. M. P. Carter: "Gravestones and Church Records of Attleboro and Swansea, Massachusetts," pp. 110, 140. "D. A. R. Lineage Books," Vol. XXXIX, pp. 181-82.)

IV. Elijah (2) Capron, son of Elijah and Abigail (Stanley) Capron, was born June 7, 1772, and died April 2, 1848, "aged 75 years." He and his wife were buried in Attleboro, Massachusetts.

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Elijah (2) Capron married Lydia Sweet, born in 1777, died January 8, 1852, "aged 75 years." Children: 1. Dennis, of whom further. 2. Leprelet, born July 25, 1807; married, April 9, 1834 (intentions published August 19, 1833), Candace Penie, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. 3. Lydia, born October 30, 1809. 4. Nelson, born March 25, 1815.

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of South-eastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1582. F. A. Holden: "Genealogy of the Descendants of Banfield Capron," p. 136. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 56, 58. "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 78.)

V. Dennis Capron, son of Elijah (2) and Lydia (Sweet) Capron, was born October 23, 1802, was baptized October 15, 1815, died at Attleboro, Massachusetts, December 30, 1884, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery. He lived in Attleboro, Massachusetts, where he owned one hundred ten acres of land on County Street, most of this property being improved. He was a successful farmer and won the esteem of his community. His heirs gave to the town of Attleboro a tract, known as Capron Park, which was dedicated September 2, 1901. Mr. Capron was a Republican and took an active interest in town affairs, but never sought public office.

Dennis Capron married Louisa Caroline Hodges. (Hodges VI.) Children, last two born at Attleboro, Massachusetts: 1. Harford Augustus, born at Norton, Massachusetts, October 10, 1828, living in Attleboro in 1892; married, at Attleboro, March 21, 1850, Rhoda Perry Thrasher, daughter of Simmons and Rhoda (Perry) Thrasher, of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. 2. Eliza Jane, of whom further. 3. Everett Sweet, born December 16, 1832; living in Attleboro in 1892; married, at Whiting, Vermont, October 11, 1855, Arabella Adelia Gibson, daughter of Levi Brown and Hulda (Bush) Gibson, of Whiting.

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of South-eastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, pp. 1582-84. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 56, 57, 459. A. D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of the Hodges Family of New England," p. 264.)

VI. Eliza Jane Capron, daughter of Dennis and Louisa Caroline (Hodges) Capron, was born January 10, 1831, and was living in



Hodges

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Attleboro in 1892. She married Shepard Wheaton Carpenter. (Carpenter VIII.)

(J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of South-eastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, pp. 1580-83. "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," p. 56. A. D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of the Hodges Family of New England," p. 264.)

(The Hodges Line)

Arms—Sable, three crescents or, on a canton gules a ducal crown of the second.

Crest—On a ducal coronet or, a crescent sable.

Motto—*Sicut patribus sit Deus nobis.*

(Arms in possession of the family.)

The surname Hodges, frequently appearing as Hodge and Hodgeson, is of English origin, from the nickname Hodge, from "the son of Roger." The "d" is intrusive as in Rodgers. During the reign of Edward III, there was an Alice Hogges in County Somerset, and in counties Norfolk and York the names of Johannes Hodgeson, Thomas Hogge, Johannes, William and John Hoggesson are recorded in England in 1379.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *William Hodges*, the American progenitor of the family, was born in England and died in Taunton, Massachusetts, April 2, 1654. The exact date that he came over from England is not known, nor is it certain just where he first settled, but, in all probability, he was the "William Hodges" who was appointed on the jury at the court held in Salem, Massachusetts, March 27, 1638. The name is given as William Hedges in the Plymouth Colony records and as Hodges in the Taunton records. In the beginning, Taunton was a part of Plymouth Colony, and in all probability the Captain Hodges at Boston, in 1633, who went by sea on excursions to Virginia and other places, but stopped his sailing after he settled in Taunton, is this William Hodges, who came, perhaps from Salem, to Taunton not long after the latter place was bought by the first proprietors. His name is in the second list of early Taunton settlers made out by the town clerk.

In August, 1643, he is listed among the males at Taunton between the ages of sixteen and sixty, able to bear arms. He was propounded freeman June 6, 1649, and admitted freeman, June 5, 1651, at which time he was made constable at Taunton. On June 2, 1652, he served on the Grand Jury and on a coroner's jury August 2, 1653, at Plymouth Court. He was an original stockholder of the first Taunton

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Iron Works and subscribed £20 for a whole share. Although fairly young at the time of his death he appears to have owned much property. The inventory of his estate is still on file at Plymouth. It was taken and appraised by James Wyate, Oliver Purchis and William Parker, May 15, 1654.

Mary (Andrews) Hodges, on March 15, 1654-55, testified to the correctness of the inventory of her husband's estate and executed a deed of gift to her two children. To John she gave £30 with her house, home-lot and all lands pertaining thereto. To Henry, her second son, she gave £30 with a parcel of land given her by her father and lying between the lots of her brother, Henry Andrews, and John Cobb.

William Hodges married Mary Andrews, who was born about 1628-30, and died after 1700, daughter of Henry and Mary Andrews, of Taunton, Massachusetts. Mary (Andrews) Hodges married (second), in 1655, Peter Pitts, of Taunton, who died in 1692 or 1693, and whose will was proved, January 12, 1692-93, with his widow as executrix. They had six children. Children of William and Mary (Andrews) Hodges: 1. John, born at Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1650, died there in 1719, between May 27 and October 1; married, at Taunton, May 15, 1672, Elizabeth Macy, of that place. 2. Henry, of whom further.

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of The Hodges Family of New England," pp. 71, 72, 73. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1584. New England Historic Genealogical Society: "Vital Records of Taunton, Massachusetts," Vol. II, p. 320. Charles H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 226. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, pp. 400, 440. Rufus Hodges: "Record of Hodges Families," pp. 5-6. S. H. Emery: "History of Taunton, Massachusetts," pp. 89-90.)

II. Henry Hodges, son of William and Mary (Andrews) Hodges, was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1652, and died there, September 30, 1717. He resided in Taunton all his life, near his brother John. His house was within a few yards of the place where a red schoolhouse stood in 1820.

Henry Hodges took an active part in local affairs and became a leading man in the settlement. He served as captain of the military

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company, held the highest town offices for many years, and was a deacon and presiding elder of the church, occupying, it is said, a seat in the pulpit with Rev. Samuel Danforth. He acquired a large amount of real estate, and his farm of "Crooked Meadow" at Burt's Brook, adjoining the boundary line of Norton and Taunton, is often referred to in the records. He administered a large number of estates, and because of his activity in land allotments it would seem he was probably a surveyor. On October 30, 1678, he served on a coroner's jury at court held at Plymouth, and on the Grand Jury, June 6, 1683. He was appointed constable at Taunton in 1681; selectman for twenty-eight years (1687-1701, 1703-09, 1711-16); member of the Town Council for two years (1689, 1690) and represented Taunton in the General Court for five years (1704, 1713, 1715, 1716 and 1717).

On April 8, 1682, his name was in the roster of the 3d squadron of the military company ordered to bring arms to church on Sundays. He was elected ensign of the 1st Military Company in March, 1690. The second military company was organized previous to 1703. Henry Hodges was the first captain of his company and retained command until 1714. He subscribed to the fund for the Canadian Expedition of 1690 under Sir William Phipps. Henry Hodges was buried in the "Neck of Land Burying Ground," where his gravestone bears the inscription, "Here lies the body of Elder Henry Hodges. Died September 30, 1717—aged 65 years."

Henry Hodges married, at Taunton, December 17, 1674, Ester Gallop, born July 21, 1653, the daughter of John Gallop, of Taunton, Massachusetts. Children, born in Taunton: 1. Mary, born February 3, 1675-76, died probably in Mendon; married, about 1695, James Keith. 2. Esther, born February 17, 1677-78, died February, 1760; married Ichabod Southworth. 3. William, born March 18, 1679-80, died February 12, 1768; married, July 29, 1708, Susannah Gilbert. 4. Charity, born April 5, 1682, died February 28, 1739; married (first), March 25, 1702-03, Elkanah Leonard; (second), December 17, 1722, Jabez Perkins. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Henry, born in 1685 or 1686, died September 18, 1755; married, April 5, 1711, Sarah Leonard. 7. Joseph, born in 1688 or 1689, died in 1745; married (first), March 11, 1712-13, Bethiah Williams; (second), October 26, 1738, Mary (Toogood-Kent) Barney. 8. Benjamin, born about 1691, died in November, 1754; married (first), about 1719,

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Abiah Deane; (second), May 27, 1749, Sarah (Lane) Silley, widow of Benjamin Silley. 9. Ephraim, born about 1693, died at Mansfield, Connecticut, March 4, 1772; married, January 21, 1731, Bethiah Danforth. 10. Elizabeth. 11. Abigail.

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of the Hodges Family of New England," pp. 71, 75, 76, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88. "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIV, p. 89. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1584. New England Historic Genealogical Society: "Vital Records of Taunton, Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 215-16-17; Vol. II, p. 250; Vol. III, p. 106.)

III. John Hodges, son of Henry and Ester (Gallop) Hodges, was born in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1684, and died in Norton, Massachusetts, in 1759, aged seventy-five years. He lived on the "Crooked Meadow" farm in the southern part of Norton, where were also his son, Andrew Hodges, and grandson, Rufus Hodges. In his youth John Hodges was injured so that his limbs were crippled all his life. He was called "Junior" in the town records to distinguish him from his older cousin, John Hodges, called "Senior."

John Hodges married Hannah Morton. (Morton IV.) Children, born in Norton, Massachusetts: 1. Elizabeth, born November 24, 1724, died in infancy. 2. Peter, born September 13, 1727, died young. 3. Andrew, of whom further.

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of The Hodges Family of New England," p. 84.)

IV. Andrew Hodges, son of John and Hannah (Morton) Hodges, was born at Norton, Massachusetts, in 1729 or 1730, and died there in January, 1777, aged forty-seven. He settled at the "Crooked Meadow" at Norton, on the homestead of his father, and later the home of his son, Rufus Hodges.

Although it is known that Andrew Hodges served in the French and Indian Wars, details of his service have been lost. He was sergeant of the detail from the 3d Bristol County Regiment, ordered August 11, 1751, to march and report to Lieutenant-General William Pepperell, on news of the attack on Fort William Henry, New York, by the French and Indians. Andrew Hodges was second lieutenant of the 2d Troop of Horse, 3d Bristol County Regiment, in July, 1771.

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A strong supporter of the cause of the Colonies, he was, in 1776, elected on the Norton Committee of Correspondence and Inspection.

Andrew Hodges married (first) Mehitable Leonard, born at Taunton, died at Norton, about 1770, daughter of James and Mehitable (Phillips) Leonard. Andrew Hodges married (second), intentions published May 17, 1773, Abigail Hoskins, born at Middleboro, Massachusetts, in 1741, died at Newport, Rhode Island, October 24, 1824, daughter of Samuel and Joanna (Harvey) Hoskins. She married (second) James Taylor, of Newport, Rhode Island. Children of the first marriage, born in Norton, Massachusetts: 1. Hannah, born in 1753 or 1754, died March 5, 1811; married, in 1784, Job Tisdale. 2. John, born probably about 1751, or between that date and 1756, died in New York City in the Revolutionary Army, July 28, 1776, unmarried. 3. Rufus, born March 1, 1759, died at Norton, July 15, 1841, unmarried. 4. Andrew, born probably in 1761, died at Captain James Leonard's home May 9, 1779, unmarried. 5. Sibyl, born November 12, 1762, died March 23, 1842; married, in 1782, Rufus Clapp. 6. Mehitable, born November 15, 1766, died October 4, 1853; married, January 17, 1787, Ebenezer Hall. 7. Zilpha, born in November, 1769, died February 27, 1853; married, November 29, 1792, Luther Short. Child of the second marriage: 8. Leonard, of whom further.

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of The Hodges Family of New England," pp. 84, 116, 117, 168-69. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1584.)

V. Leonard Hodges, son of Andrew and Abigail (Hoskins) Hodges, was born at Norton, Massachusetts, March 13, 1774, and died there March 7, 1841. He accompanied his mother to Newport, Rhode Island, after her second marriage and until he was fourteen years old stayed there, attending the school of Master Goddard, whom he described as "an excellent teacher." He removed to his brother Rufus' house at Crooked Meadow, Norton. He became an apprentice to Ichabod Perry, of Norton, in the trade of carpenter and wheelwright, and at the age of twenty-one followed this trade a few years at Williamstown, Massachusetts. About the time of his marriage he returned to Norton and settled on the old homestead, continuing his trade in addition to farming.

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Leonard Hodges built the Norton Academy, the Free Masons' Hall, and the Major White homestead, the latter in 1810, also the Talbot factory, and many other structures. He was a Democrat of the old school, and a loyal Methodist in his religion. He has been characterized as modest, energetic, and strictly honest.

Leonard Hodges married, at Taunton, Massachusetts, March 13, 1798, Hannah Peck. (Peck VI.) Children, born at Norton, Massachusetts: 1. Rufus, born April 12, 1799, died at Cincinnati, Ohio, January 8, 1845. 2. Leonard, born February 27, 1801, died at Norton, May 27, 1877; married, November 26, 1824, Chloe Lane. 3. Hannah Peck, born June 15, 1803, died July 25, 1885; married, September 12, 1824, Asa Arnold, born August 10, 1797, died August 29, 1871. 4. Abby Ann, born December 15, 1805, died August 10, 1881; married, November 22, 1836, Joseph Dana Sweet, born February 17, 1803, died January 11, 1889. 5. Louisa Caroline, of whom further. 6. Lewis (twin), born August 9, 1810, died October 15, 1837; married, August 9, 1832, Sally B. Round, born May 9, 1809, died August 29, 1865. 7. Earl (twin), born August 9, 1810, died April 3, 1857; married, April 22, 1831, Harriet Lane, born July 10, 1807, died May 27, 1894. 8. Lepha Miranda, born March 19, 1813, died December 2, 1894; married, May 10, 1832, Samuel Seaver, born June 10, 1808, died July 3, 1884. 9. Andrew James, born October 31, 1815, died October 9, 1900; married, August 1, 1844, Sarah Elizabeth Grant, born October 16, 1821. 10. Royal Peck, born August 1, 1818, died at Norton, in August, 1893; married (first), September 9, 1846, Martha Maria Leonard, born May 20, 1816, died April 29, 1864; married (second), April 3, 1865, Henrietta Catherine Palmer, born March 5, 1835. 11. Lydia Taylor, born December 16, 1820, died January 26, 1895; she was a resident of Wellesley, Massachusetts, in 1894; married, at Norton, March 26, 1851, Benjamin Caswell, born October 20, 1805, died January 18, 1874.

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of The Hodges Family of New England," pp. 116, 170, 262-67. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1585. New England Historic Genealogical Society: "Vital Records of Taunton, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 216; Vol. II, p. 250. "Descendants of Leonard and Hannah Hodges," pp. 5-6.)

VI. Louisa Caroline Hodges, daughter of Leonard and Hannah (Peck) Hodges, was born in Norton, Massachusetts, May 18, 1808,

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

where she resided until she removed to Attleboro, Massachusetts, where she died March 18, 1879. She married Dennis Capron. (Capron V.)

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Records of The Hodges Family in New England," p. 263. The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts: "Vital Records of Attleboro, Massachusetts," pp. 56, 459.)

(The Peck Line)

Arms—Argent, on a chevron gules three crosses formée of the field.

Crest—Two lances or in saltire headed argent pennons hanging to them or, each charged with a cross formée gules, the spears enfiled with a chaplet vert.

Motto—*Cruz Christi salus mea.*

(Crozier: "General Armory." Bolton: "American Armory.")

Peck is a surname of great antiquity, going back to an early date in England. It was originally adopted by those persons living at "the peck," that is, the hilltop. It has been found as del Pek, Pek, Pecke, del Pecke, etc., in very early records.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

(The Family in England)

I. Robert Peck, second son of Robert Peck, the elder, resided in Beccles, County Suffolk, England. He was born prior to May 28, 1547, when he was named legatee in the will of his maternal grandfather, John Waters, the elder, of Beccles.

Robert Peck died between March 22, 1592-93, when his will was dated, and November 10, 1598, when it was proved at Beccles.

The will of Robert Peck, of Beccles, County Suffolk, dated 22 March, 1592:

I, Robert Peck of Beccles, county Suffolk, whole of mind and perfect of remembrance, although sick and weak of body at Chelmsford, county Essex, at this present, of a pleurisy (both real and personal), with appurtenances. as follows:

My body to be buried where it shall please God to call me. To Helen, my well-loved wife. (in consideration of the payment of my debts, the bringing up of my children, and the finishing of the houses which I am now building.) I give all my houses, lands, tenements, etc., as well freehold as copyhold, and all my leases, plate, goods and chattels within the town of Beccles, Barsham, Ingate, or elsewhere, with the appurtenances—to the said Helen or her assigns during her natural life, in consideration of the things above-mentioned and also

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

of paying such legacies to my children as I shall appoint, or leave to her goodly consideration to provide for them according to her ability.

I give unto her (Helen) full authority to sell my woods in Barsham or my meadows in Barsham or both, if necessary. I desire my very good friends, Mr. Bartholomew Stiles and Mr. John Talbot, to aid my wife with their good counsel about the execution of this, my last will and testament.

To Richard Peck, my son, all my houses wherein I dwell in Blibergate (Balligate) Street, my close at Ingate Church, and my "pightill" in the same field—to him and his heirs for ever, and also all the lease lands adjoining the said close during the numbers of years yet to come, if his mother will vouchsafe him such favor, on condition that he pay such legacies as his mother shall appoint him to do.

Whereas Thomas Peck, my brother, deceased, by his last will gave unto the said Richard, my son, two tenements in Balligate Street, lately burnt, one of which has been built again on the same ground and the other on part of the said ground and on part of other freground which I purchased of my uncle, William Waters, I will that the said Richard, my son, within one month after he shall become twenty-one years of age he shall make over an estate in fee simple to such of my sons and their heirs to whom I shall hereafter bequeath the said tenements, and also surrender my copyhold if it come to his hands. And if my son Richard shall not perform these things, he shall lose the benefit of such houses, lands, and leases as I have before assigned to him, and the same shall be (*i. e.* shall go) to those of my two sons to whom I shall give the forsaid new tenements and to their heirs and assigns forever.

To Nicholas Peck, my son, my new tenement, partly builded on the tenement late of William Waters, and my meadows lying in Barsham (if his mother will spare the said meadows) to him, the said Nicholas, and his heirs for ever, he paying out the same such sums of money as his Mother shall assign him to do.

To Samuel Peck, my son, the other new tenement and little copyhold yard—to him and his heirs forever—he paying out thereof to such of his brothers and sisters such money as his Mother shall assign him to do.

If, for paying my debts, bringing up my children, finding my son Robert at Cambridge, and providing legacies for my two daughters and my son Joseph my said wife shall make a lease of all or any part of my said lands and tenements, the same shall continue for so many years as she shall lease the same, her death or any legacies whatsoever before given or appointed to the contrary notwithstanding.

The residue of all my goods and chattels I give wholly to the said Helen, my wife, whom I make my sole executrix, desiring her to have

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

care of those my children whose legacies I have left to her consideration, and also of Joane Babb and Elizabeth Babb and Robert Merri-man and my sister Note (Nott) as she may.

Supervisors: Mr. Bartholomew Stiles, clerk, Mr. Roger Peirson, and Mr. John Talbot, whom I desire to aid my wife with their best counsel and advice.

Written with my own hand the day and year above said. By me
(signed) ROBERT PECK.

Robert Peck married Helen (or Ellen) Babbs, daughter of Nicholas Babbs, of Guilford, County Surrey, England. She survived him and as "Ellenor Pecke Widowe" was buried at Beccles, October 31, 1614. Children of Robert and Helen (Babbs) Peck were: 1. Richard, born about 1574, died in 1615, without issue. 2. Nicholas, born about 1576; married at Yarmouth, England, February 19, 1610, Rachel Young. 3. Rev. Robert, born about 1580, died in Hingham, England, in 1656; came to America in 1638, returning to England in 1641 to preach again in his old parish at Hingham, County Norfolk, as rector of St. Andrew's Church there; married (first), Anne, who died in Hingham, England; (second), Martha Bacon. 4. Joseph, of whom further. 5. Samuel. 6. Margaret. 7. Martha.

("The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XC, p. 373; Vol. CXI, pp. 282-86. "Visitation of Suffolk, 1664-1668 in the Harleian Society Publications," Vol. LXI. G. Lincoln: "History of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 107.)

(The Family in America)

I. Joseph Peck, son of Robert and Ellen (Babbs) Peck, was born at Beccles, County Suffolk, England, in 1587, and died at Seekonk, Massachusetts, December 23, 1683. In 1638 he came from England with his wife, three sons, a daughter, two men servants, and three maid servants. They were from Hingham and arrived in the ship "Diligent" of Ipswich, John Martin, master. Joseph Peck and his brother Robert had grants of land adjoining each other in Hingham, Massachusetts; Joseph's grant being of seven acres. He was a man of prominence and holder of many important offices, namely: representative to the General Court, selectman, justice of the peace, assessor, keeper of the records. In 1641 he bought lands in Seekonk and moved there in 1645. At the time of his removal a fire burned

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

some of his horses and other property amounting to £50. At Seekonk Joseph Peck was active in town affairs and was one of the wealthiest proprietors. His will follows:

Know all men by these presents that I, Joseph Peck, Senr., of Rehoboth, so ordain and make this my last will and testament in manner and form following:

ITEM—I give and bequeath unto my son Joseph all my lands and meadows lying and being near unto the River called Palmers River to him and his heirs forever.

ITEM—I give unto him my old black mare and my great chist in the parlor.

ITEM—I give unto my son John my house and lands which I purchased of John Torry and the half of the meadow betwixt Mr. Newman and me on the other side of the new meadow river to him and his heirs forever. Also, I give unto him my great chist in the hall.

ITEM—I give and bequeath unto my son Nicholas all my meadow at the hundred acres and the meadow called bushey meadow and all my meadows on the north side of town to him and his heirs forever.

ITEM—I give and bequeath unto my son Samuell my house where I now dwell with all my houses standing there. The outyards and all my house lott and all my land in the second division and my Plaine lotts excepting half my furthest which I give unto him my meadow called cheesbrook meadow and also my salt marsh att broad cove To him and his heirs forever.

ITEM—I give unto my sons Nathaneil and Israel all my lands which I purchased of John Adams and Mr. Bradford with the meadow called the long beach which is betwixt John Allin and mee; and also my meadow at Papasquash betwixt John Allin and me to them and their heirs forever.

ITEM—I give my use of the meadow att Kekumeutt unto John Pecke my son and also my lands att Waxkamauquate I give unto my sonnes Joseph and Nicholas divided betwixt them.

ITEM—I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Hubbert thirty pounds in such pay as can be raised out of the goods I shall leave to be paid by my Executors within one year after my decease and also give unto her my wifes best cloak and one fine pillowbeer and my Damask napkin.

ITEM—I give unto my son Samuell my silver beaker and two silver spoons and one Gould Ringe which was his mother's

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

and also one pair of fine holland sheets and one Diaper Tablecloth and six Diaper Napkins 2 fine pillow bears and the feather bed and bolster and pillow and two Blankets whereon I now lye my second Rugg with some other small linenne in my Trunk in the parlor which I also give to him and other chist under the window in the parlor and my best curtains and curtain rodds.

ITEM—I give unto my son Nathaniel my biggest silver cupp and gould Ringe two silver spoons my best feather bed one bolster two blankets the rug that now lyeth upon mee my trunk in the parlour chamber my round table three diaper napkins one long table cloth betwixt Irrael and him.

ITEM—I give unto Israel my son my silver salt 2 silver spoons two bed teekes with the bolster the olde flocke bed two blankets my best coverlid one bolster one pillow two pillowbears also unto Nathaniel one pillow two pillowbearers.

ITEM—I give Irrael my son ten of my best ewes and my sorrelled mare two of my best cows and my bull and my segg and three Diaper napkins.

ITEM—I give unto my son Joseph five ewes and to my son Samuel my two oxen called Bucke and Duke and two cowes and one of my little Blowes one chaine with the copses for the cart and I give unto Nathaniel two steeres and two cows.

ITEM—I give unto my son Nicholas the feather bed which he hath allready and my best Rugg and unto my son John I give the feather bed and bolster which he hath allready and 40s to buy him a rugg and to Israel I give the two little chists in the chamber and his mothers little trunke and unto my son Samuell I give my Bedstead in the Parlor chamber.

ITEM—I give unto my son Joseph my goulde Ringe and unto John and Nicholas my two silver wine cupps—My mind is that my three younger sonnes should each have three platters and all the rest my pewter should be equally between my six sonnes and all my apparrell I give unto my three elder sonnes and all my wifes apparrell I give unto my three youngest sons to be divided. betwixt them.

I give and bequeath all the rest of my goods cattles and chattels my debts and legacies being paid and my body brought to the grave unto my six sonnes equally to be divided amongst them the youngest and weakest to have as good a share as the eldest and strongest desiring Mr. Newman and my brother Thomas Cooper to be the supervisors of this my last will and testament, and I do ordane my son Nicholas and my son Samuell the Executors of this my last will desir-

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ing the Lord to guide their hartes to do all according unto my intent heer seet down.

The last will and testament of mee Joseph Pecke written with my own hand.

A further Amply fication of our fathers will upon his death bed, which was not expressed in his will.

ITEM—hee gave to his Joseph half his meadow that he purchased of Mr. Bradford lying on the further side of the new Meadow River; to his son John thirty five pounds of comon; to his son Samuell two hundred fifty pounds of comon to his son Nathaniel two hundred pounds of comon. These gifts were given them and their heirs forever. Moreover our father added to his daughter hibert ten more pounds than sett down in his written will.

ITEM—That Nathaniel and Israel shall have equal shares of the corn that shall be raised upon that grounds which he hath given his son, Samuel for this year ensuing they bestowing an equal share of labor with them upon the land. It was further expressed by him that seeing those oxen expressed his will that was given to his three younger sons was disposed of before his death that are coming on in their rooms should be made choice of by them in manor as followeth his son Samuel first choosing his son Israel next and Nathaniel last. It was his will also that those two mares which were given to his sonne Joseph five sheep and Israel ten they also being sold before our father's death wee have agreed that they shall have a valuation as they were sold which was nine shillings apiece.

This we own to be our father's will expressed to him unto us when he was in perfect memory which we owne as his proper will and desire.

In witness whereof wee sett to our hands—

Witness whereof:

STEPHEN PAINE

THOMAS COOPER

JOHN REED

JOSEPH PECKE

JOHN PECKE

SAMUEL PECKE

NATHANIEL PECKE

ISRAEL PECK.

Joseph Peck married (first), May 21, 1617, Rebecca Clark, who died in Hingham, England, and was buried there on October 24, 1637. Joseph Peck married a second time, a wife whose name is unknown.

Children of the first marriage (all baptized in Hingham, England): 1. Anna, baptized March 12, 1617-18, buried in Hingham,

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July 27, 1636. 2. Rebecca, baptized May 25, 1620; married Mr. Hubbert. 3. Joseph, of whom further. 4. John, born about 1626; married (first) a wife whose name is not known. She died in 1677 and he married (second) Elizabeth, died in 1687, and (third) Rebecca. 5. Nicholas, baptized April 9, 1630, died May 27, 1710; married (first) Mary Winchester; (second) Rebecca, who died November 2, 1704. Children of the second marriage (baptized in Hingham, Massachusetts): 6. Samuel, baptized February 3, 1638-1639, died June 9, 1736; married (first), June 1, 1666, Sarah Hunt, who died in 1673; married (second), November 21, 1677, Rebecca (Paine) Hunt. 7. Nathaniel, baptized October 31, 1641, married Deliverance, who was buried on May 1, 1675. He was buried August 12, 1676. 8. Israel, baptized March 4, 1644, died September 2, 1723; married Betha Bosworth.

(I. B. Peck: "A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck," pp. 13-17, 29, 122-23, 200, 203, 245. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth," pp. 282, 283. G. Lincoln: "History of Hingham, Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 108.)

II. Joseph (2) Peck, eldest son of Joseph and Rebecca (Clark) Peck, was baptized at Hingham, County Norfolk, in England, August 23, 1623. His will was dated at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, July 5, 1697. A codicil was dated March 11, 1701. In his will he names first his daughter Patience, wife of Richard Bowen, and to her and her heirs bequeaths twenty acres and twenty pounds. He also names his other children.

Joseph Peck, Jr., came with his father to New England in 1638, and was in Hingham, Massachusetts, until the family removed to Seekonk in 1645. There he settled near his father on what is known as Seekonk Plain. In 1655 he was on town records—one of a committee to levy a tax for the minister's maintenance. In 1661 he was appointed to view the damage in the Indians' corn and give notice to the town concerning it. He was among those who advanced money for carrying on King Philip's War. About 1660 he left Seekonk Plain to live on Palmer's River in the Southwestern part of the town of Rehoboth. The sale of his first property appears on date of July 15, 1665, when he deeded to Thomas Cooper, his house, orchards, yards and home lot, containing twelve acres, besides certain common-age and rights, the said Cooper not to occupy the lands until Joseph

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Peck had gathered and carried away his corn. Joseph Peck had land from his father, bought other portions and in time had acquired a large amount.

Joseph Peck married Hannah. Their children were all born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Rebecca, born November 6, 1650. 2. Hannah, born March 25, 1653; married, August 20, 1677, Daniel Reed. 3. Elizabeth, born November 26, 1657; married, as his second wife, Major Samuel Mason, of Stonington. 4. Jathniel, of whom further. 5. Mary, born November 17, 1662; married February 4, 1690-91, Benjamin Hunt. 6. Ichabod, born September 13, 1666; died about 1690 on Anticosti Island during the Old French War in the William Phips Expedition to Canada. 7. Patience, born October 11, 1669, and died at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, August 21, 1746; married Richard Bowen, Jr. 8. Captain Samuel, born October 11, 1672; died June 9, 1736; married Rachel.

(Ira B. Peck: "A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck," pp. 14, 29-33, 35. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 283, 703.)

III. Jathniel Peck, son of Joseph (2) and Hannah Peck, was born July 24, 1660, and died April 5, 1742. He established a home near that of his father in Rehoboth, Massachusetts. He became wealthy and influential. He represented his district at the Massachusetts General Court in the years 1721-23 and 1726-31. He was active in church affairs and assisted in organizing the church at Palmers River. He and Captain Peck each gave an acre of land for the site on the hill, and became members; there being only ten at first. The deeds for the land which Jathniel Peck gave his children may be found in the records of Taunton, Massachusetts. Jathniel Peck and his wife were buried in the graveyard at Palmers River Church.

Jathniel Peck married, February 28, 1688-89, Sarah Smith, who was born in 1670 and died June 4, 1717. Children: 1. Daniel, born January 30, 1689-90, died November 6, 1750; married Sarah Paine. 2. Ichabod, born March 9, 1690-91, died July 8, 1773; married Judith Paine. 3. Solomon, born September 20, 1692, died, unmarried, December, 1728. 4. Esther, born April 30, 1694, believed to have died February, 1729-30. 5. Jathniel, born September 10, 1695, his estate was administered October 28, 1739; married, October 19,

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1719, the widow, Damaris Hunt. 6. Ebenezer, born September 20, 1697, baptized June 14, 1699, will dated August 6, 1760; married, August 12, 1724. 7. Sarah, born March 1, 1698-99. 8. Rebecca, born October 10, 1700, baptized May 25, 1701. 9. Joseph, born April 18, 1702, baptized June 14, 1702, died and estate administered before March 21, 1737; probably married Mary Bliss. 10. Ann, born April 7, 1704, baptized May 28, 1704. 11. Benjamin, born January 18, 1705-06. 12. Elizabeth, born October 31, 1707, baptized April 17, 1709. 13. Henry, of whom further. 14. Nathaniel, born September 14, 1712, died about 1762; married Marcy.

(J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 289, 704. I. B. Peck: "A General History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck," pp. 33-34, 37-44. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XV, pp. 67, 69-71.)

IV. Henry Peck, son of Jathniel and Sarah (Smith) Peck, was born December 7, 1709, and died in Rehoboth, Massachusetts. He lived in Rehoboth all of his life near what is now known as the "Village" and also upon the farm later occupied by the widow Hannah Allen in 1863. The following record is of his military service:

Henry Peck, Rehoboth, Private, Captain Stephen Bullock's Co., Col. Thomas Carpenter's (Bristol Co.) Regiment, entered service July 27, 1778; discharged September 10, 1778. Service 1 mo., 16 days on expedition to Rhode Island.

Henry Peck married Rachel Whitaker, who died at the home of her son Solomon in Royalston, Massachusetts, aged ninety-three years. Children: 1. John, born February 4, 1734-35, died at Montpelier, Vermont, March 4, 1812; married Mary Drown. 2. Henry, born February 28, 1737-38; married, April 25, 1765, Naomi Peck. 3. Rebekah, born February 11, 1739-40. 4. Daniel (twin), born May 17, 1741, died at Royalston, Massachusetts, in 1814; married, November 7, 1771, Relief Jay. 5. Benjamin (twin), born May 17, 1741. 6. Oliver, died young. 7. Rachel, born February 12, 1744-45. 8. Lydia, born September 16, 1747, died young. 9. Solomon, born October 3, 1749, died November 14, 1822; married, July, 1772, Anna Wheeler. 10. Oliver, of whom further. 11. Lydia, born February 1, 1755.

(J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 284, 704, 706. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolu-

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tionary War," Vol. XII, p. 47. I. B. Peck: "A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck," pp. 43-44, 50-52.)

V. Oliver Peck, son of Henry and Rachel (Whitaker) Peck, was born February 26, 1751-52, and died in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, January 26, 1839. He lived in the northern part of Rehoboth, and was a farmer of comfortable means. The record of his war service is as follows:

Oliver Peck of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, Private. Capt. Samuel Bliss Co. of Minute Men which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service to April 27, 1775. Also Lieutenant John Dryer's Co., Col. Thomas Carpenter's regiment, service eleven days; company marched from Rehoboth, to Bristol, Rhode Island on the alarm of December 8, 1776; also, Capt. Sylvannus Martin's Co., Col. William's regiment, service from September 29, 1777 to October 30, 1777 at Tiverton.

Oliver Peck married, October 3, 1774, service performed by Rev. Robert Rogerson, Hannah Bliss, who died March 14, 1837. Children: 1. Darius, born January 20, 1776; left no family. 2. Hannah, of whom further. 3. Lepha, born January 23, 1781, died September 2, 1792. 4. Oliver, born February 9, 1784, still living in 1860; married, April 24, 1808, Nancy Macomber. 5. Rufus, born June 17, 1786, died in New Providence, Clark County, Indiana, August 6, 1826; married, April 6, 1812, Naomi Alexander. 6. Caleb, born January 10, 1789, living in 1860; married Polly Jacobs. 7. Samuel, born November 24, 1791, died in Texas, June 13, 1843; married, April 20, 1820, Malinda Hide. 8. Royal, born May 11, 1794, died April 29, 1815; unmarried. 9. Lepha, born December 13, 1797; married, April 6, 1820, Zeba Bliss.

(I. B. Peck: "A History of the Descendants of Joseph Peck," pp. 44, 52, 53, 72. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," pp. 286, 290. Rev. George Tilton: "A History of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 123. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," Vol. XII, p. 52.)

VI. Hannah Peck, daughter of Oliver and Hannah (Bliss) Peck, was born at Rehoboth, Massachusetts, June 5, 1778, and died at Taunton, Massachusetts, July 13, 1857.

Hannah Peck married Leonard Hodges. (Hodges V.)

(J. N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rehoboth, Massachusetts," p. 290.)

RING

Arms—Argent, on a bend gules, three crescents of the first.

Crest—A hand vested sable cuffed or, holding a roll of paper.

(Burke: "General Armory." Clark L. Ring: "A History of the Ring Family, 1631-1928.")

ALLERTON

Arms—Argent, a chevron between three lions' heads erased sable.

Crest—A lion's head erased collared.

(Matthews: "American Armoury." Burke: "General Armory.")

PECK

Arms—Argent, on a chevron gules three crosses formée of the field.

Crest—Two lances or in saltire headed argent pennons hanging to them or, each charged with a cross formée gules, the spears enfiled with a chaplet vert.

Motto—*Cruz Christi salus mea.*

(Crozier: "General Armory." Bolton: "American Armory.")

MORTON

Arms—Quarterly, gules and ermine, in sinister chief and dexter base a goat's head, erased argent, attired or.

(Crozier: "General Armory." Burke: "General Armory.")

KNOW

It was a great deal of time before the first
Guest—A and a half of the first of paper
(Baker, "General History," Clark L. Baker, "A. L. H.
History of the R. Family," 1811-1812)

ALLERTON

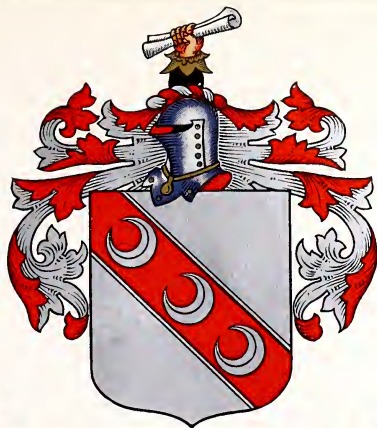
It was a great deal of time before the first
Guest—A and a half of the first of paper
(Baker, "General History," Clark L. Baker, "A. L. H.
History of the R. Family," 1811-1812)

BLACK

It was a great deal of time before the first
Guest—A and a half of the first of paper
(Baker, "General History," Clark L. Baker, "A. L. H.
History of the R. Family," 1811-1812)

MORTON

It was a great deal of time before the first
Guest—A and a half of the first of paper
(Baker, "General History," Clark L. Baker, "A. L. H.
History of the R. Family," 1811-1812)



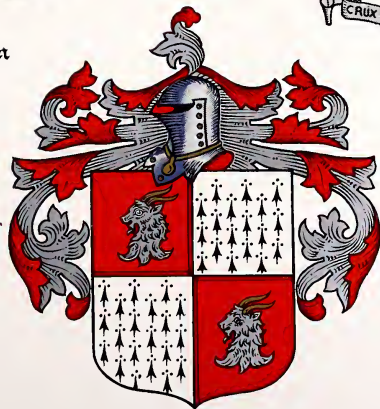
Ring



Allerton



Peck



Morton

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(The Morton Line)

Arms—Quarterly, gules and ermine, in sinister chief and dexter base a goat's head, erased argent, attired or.

(Crozier: "General Armory." Burke: "General Armory.")

The surname Morton, Moreton, and Mortaigne, is of very ancient origin, having been found in old Dauphiné. However, it is still extant in France today. In 1273 we find written records in several counties of England thus proving the early popularity of the surname in England also. It is a surname of locality, moor-ton, meaning a farm or enclosure on the moor. Alicia de Morton, among those recorded in 1273, was of Yorkshire County. It is this county in which the first of the Morton family of our concern was located.

(Bardsley: "A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. George Morton, first of the name to establish a family in America, was born about 1585 at Austerfield, Yorkshire, England, and it is believed that he was of the ancient family of Morton. He may be the hitherto unaccounted for George, son of Anthony Morton, of Bawtry. This historic family, although of Romanist lineage, departed from family tradition and joined the Protestant Puritans and Separatists.

No record of George Morton of this line has been found for the early days of his life. His home was in Yorkshire in the vicinage of Scrooby Manor so it is possible that he was a member of Brewster's historic church. It is definitely known that he joined the Pilgrims at Leyden, Holland, and remained one of their company until his death. He is said to have been a merchant. His chief claim to prominence in the history of his days is in the rôle of publisher of a journal which he issued in London in 1622. It was known as "Mourt's Relation," which has been called the first history of New England.

Not long after this journal was given to the public, George Morton sailed for America in the ship "Ann," reaching Plymouth in June, 1623. He died just one year later, in June, 1624, and his body rests at Burial Hill, Plymouth, Massachusetts. He was considered an exemplary Christian and will be remembered as one of the founders of the Colony of New Plymouth in Massachusetts.

George Morton married in Leyden, Holland, July 23 or August 12, 1612, Juliana Carpenter, daughter of Alexander Carpenter, of Wrentham, England, and sister of Alice Carpenter, who became the

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second wife of Governor Bradford. Juliana Carpenter married (second), Manasseh Kempton, Esq., and died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, February 19, 1665. Her grave is on Burial Hill in Plymouth. Children of George and Juliana (Carpenter) Morton: 1. Nathaniel, born at Leyden, Holland, about 1613, died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1685; married (first), in 1635, Lydia Cooper; married (second), in 1674, Mrs. Hannah Taylor. 2. Patience, born at Leyden, Holland, in 1615, died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1651; married, in 1633, John Faunce. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Sarah, born at Leyden, Holland, in 1617-18, died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1694; married there, December 20, 1644, George Bonham, or Bonum. 5. Ephraim, born on the ship "Ann," in 1623, died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1693; married (first), in 1644, Anna Cooper; married (second), Mrs. Mary Harlow. 6. George (perhaps); married Phebe.

(S. C. Wade: "The Morton Genealogy," pp. 25, 32, 45, 46. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," Part II, p. 189. "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1363. G. B. Cheeves: "Mourt's Relation, A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, in New England in 1620," pp. 11, 23. J. K. Allen: "George Morton of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Some of His Descendants," pp. 1-3, 7-9.)

II. John Morton, son of George and Juliana (Carpenter) Morton, was born at Leyden, Holland, about 1616-17, and died at Middleboro or Middleborough, Massachusetts, October 3, 1673. He came from England with his parents in the ship "Ann" in 1623. It is thought that after the death of his father he was adopted by Governor Bradford.

John (1) Morton was made a freeman of Plymouth, Massachusetts, June 7, 1648, and chosen constable in 1654. In 1660 he was a member of the grand inquest of Plymouth County, deputy of the General Court in 1662, tax assessor in 1664, selectman in 1666, collector of the excise tax in 1668. In 1670 he removed to Middleboro, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, where he was one of the twenty-six original proprietors and founders and the town's first representative to the Massachusetts General Court, holding the office until his death. The colonial records call him "a godly man."

John Morton married, about 1648-49, Lettice, who died February 22, 1690. She might have been Lettice Hanford, widow of Edward

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Foster, of Scituate, Massachusetts, and niece of Timothy Hatherly, of that place. Lettice Morton, after the death of her husband, married (second) Andrew Ring. It is interesting to note that Andrew Ring was the father of Mary Ring, who married John (2) Morton, son of Lettice and John (1) Morton. Children of John (1) and Lettice Morton: 1. John, born December 11, 1649, died December 20, 1649. 2. John (again), of whom further. 3. Deborah, married Francis Coombs. 4. Mary. 5. Martha. 6. Hannah, married John Fuller. 7. Esther. 8. Ephraim (twin). 9. Manasseh (twin).

(W. C. Wade: "The Morton Genealogy," p. 48. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," p. 189. J. K. Allen: "George Morton of Plymouth and Some of His Descendants," pp. 11, 12.)

III. John (2) Morton, son of John (1) and Lettice Morton, was born December 21, 1650, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and died at Middleboro, Massachusetts, March 20, 1718. He is said to have established the first absolutely free public school in America. This he "erected and kept" at Plymouth in 1671 "for the education of children and youth."

John Morton married (first), about 1680, Phebe Shaw, daughter of Jonathan Shaw. He married (second), at Middleboro, Massachusetts, about 1687, Mary Ring. (Ring III.) Children of the first marriage, born at Middleboro: 1. Joanna, born February, 1682; married, at Middleboro, July 3, 1705, Elisha Vaughn. 2. Phebe, born July 7, 1685; married, 1719, John Murloch. Children of the second marriage, born at Middleboro: 3. Mary, born December 15, 1689; married, in 1711, Joseph Hall. 4. John, born June, 1693. 5. Hannah, of whom further. 6. Captain Ebenezer, born October 19, 1696. 7. Deborah, born 1698; married Caleb Stetson. 8. Perez (Persis), born November 27, 1700.

(S. C. Wade: "The Morton Genealogy," p. 57. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," Part II, p. 189. J. K. Allen: "George Morton of Plymouth and Some of His Descendants," pp. 12, 13, 14. "Mayflower Descendant," Vol. IV, p. 195.)

IV. Hannah Morton, daughter of John (2) and Mary (Ring) Morton, was born at Middleboro, Massachusetts, September 1, 1694.

Hannah Morton married John Hodges. (Hodges III.)

(Almon D. Hodges: "Genealogical Record of the Hodges Family of New England," p. 84.)

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(The Ring Line)

Arms—Argent on a bend gules, three crescents of the first.

Crest—A hand vested sable cuffed or, holding a roll of paper.

(Burke: "General Armory." Clark L. Ring: "A History of the Ring Family, 1631-1928.")

The surname Ring is found registered at the Parish of Hoghton, County of Lancaster, England, over a period of seven hundred years, and representatives of the first branch of the family are still living there. One of this name, Joseph Ring, was a member of the British Parliament in the reign of King Charles I.

(Clark L. Ring: "A History of the Ring Family, 1631-1828," pp. 1-4.)

I. Mary Ring, a widow, came from England across to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1629. With her she brought her three children, the oldest of whom was but thirteen years of age.

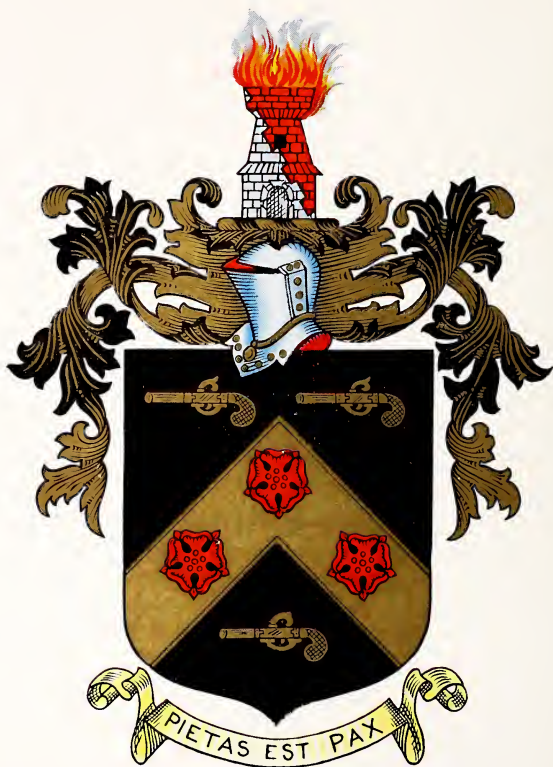
Mary Ring died July 15, 1631, and her will was proved in the public court "the 28th of October, in the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Charles First, King of England." It read, in part, as follows:

To son Andrew all brass and pewter, new bed and bolster and other household items, also all my cattle, land and tools. To daughter Susan Clark, bed and coverlet. Names daughter Elizabeth Deane. Requests that son Andrew "be left with my son-in-law Stephen Deane and do require of my son Deane to help him forward in the knowledge and fear of God, not to oppress him by any burdens, but be tender to him as he will answer to God." Friends Samuel Fuller and Thomas Blossom appointed overseers.

Children of Mary Ring: 1. Andrew, of whom further. 2. Susan. 3. Elizabeth, married Stephen Deane.

(C. L. Ring: "A History of the Ring Family," pp. 1-4. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," Part II, p. 216.)

II. Andrew Ring, the son of the widow Mary Ring, was born in England in 1617. He came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, with his mother in 1629. Following the death of his mother, when Andrew was only sixteen, he was placed in the care of Samuel Fuller. In 1640 he owned land in what was later known as Rings Lane in Plymouth, Massachusetts. After his second marriage Andrew Ring went with others to settle a new Colony at Middleboro, Massachusetts.



Hopkins

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Andrew Ring died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, February 22, 1692-93. His will is on file in the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, Connecticut. It is in the handwriting of Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, Massachusetts. The inventory of the estate was taken March 18, 1692-93, and the will probated March 22, 1692-93. The will dated December 14, 1691, names the eldest son William, son Eliezer, grandson John Mayo, son of his daughter Elizabeth Mayo, grandson Andrew Ring, child of his son Eliezer, granddaughter Mary Morton, "daughter of my daughter Mary Morton," also daughters Deborah and Susanna. Inventory includes household articles, land, and cattle.

Andrew Ring married (first), in 1646, Deborah Hopkins. (Hopkins II.) He married (second), Lettice Morton, widow of John Morton. She died February 22, 1690, aged about sixty-six. Children of the first marriage: 1. William, buried in the old Plymouth cemetery. 2. Eleazar, buried in the old Plymouth cemetery; married, January 11, 1687, Mary Shaw. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Deborah. 5. Susanna. 6. Elizabeth; married Mr. Mayo, of Eastham, Massachusetts. 7. Samuel, married Sarah.

("Mayflower Descendant," Vol. IV, pp. 193-95.)

III. *Mary Ring*, daughter of Andrew and Deborah (Hopkins) Ring, married, as his second wife, John Morton. (Morton III.)

("Mayflower Index," Vol. IV, p. 193. John K. Allen: "George Morton of Plymouth Colony and Some of His Descendants," p. 12. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," Part II, p. 216.)

(The Hopkins Line)

Arms—Sable, on a chevron between three pistols or, as many roses gules.

Crest—A tower per bend indented, argent and gules, in flames proper.

Motto—*Pietas est pax.*

(Matthews: "American Armoury.")

Of historic interest is the old custom of substituting the initial letter H for R in nicknames, the form Hob being of frequent use for Rob. With the acquisition of the diminutive kin, and the sharpening of Hobbins into Hopkins, the derivation of the surname may be readily perceived. The name was used as early as 1273, when a Nicholas Hobekeyn was on record in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. *Stephen Hopkins* was born in England in 1580 and died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, before August 20, 1644. He came to

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America from London in the "Mayflower" in 1620. He was one of the well-to-do Pilgrims, and although little is known of his life before he came to America, he is recorded as a man of energy, courage and ability, who became one of the most prominent and useful men of the Colony. He was one of the assistants to the Governor, 1633-37, and there is very frequent mention of him in the records of the Plymouth Colony.

Stephen Hopkins married (first) in England; married (second) Elizabeth. Children of the first marriage: 1. Giles, born in England, about 1605; married Katherine Whelden. 2. Constance, died at Eastham, Massachusetts, October, 1677; married Nicholas Snow. Children of the second marriage: 3. Damaris, born in England; married Jacob Cooke. 4. Oceanus, born on shipboard, October, 1620, died in 1627. 5. Caleb, born in Plymouth, before June 6, 1623. 6. Deborah, of whom further. 7. Ruth, born in Plymouth, died an infant. 8. Elizabeth, born in Plymouth, died in 1659.

(Grace Fielding Hall: "A Mayflower Line—Hopkins, Snow, Cook," p. 1.)

II. Deborah Hopkins, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins, was born in Plymouth in 1622. She married Andrew Ring. (Ring II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Cushman Line)

Arms—Sable, three cinquefoils two and one between nine crosses crosslet argent.

Crest—A demi-lion rampant sable, semée of crosses crosslet argent, holding between the paws a cinquefoil of the last. (Burke: "General Armory.")

One surname authority states that the name Cushman perhaps was derived from the word "cuishman," designating a maker of cuish, or thigh armor. Other records, however, state that Cushman is a later spelling of the English surname Couchman, "the couchman," designating an occupation, probably similar to our modern coachman. In the sixteenth century John Coachman, Richard Couchman and William Couchman are found recorded in England, and a family of Couchman is recorded as living in Canterbury, Kent, for at least two generations before the time of Henry VIII. No proof has been found, but it is highly probable that Robert Cushman, founder of our line in America, came from this family.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." H. Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." H. W. Cush-



Couchman
(Cushman)

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man: "A Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," p. 65.)

I. Robert Cushman, American progenitor of this line, was born in England, probably between 1580 and 1585. He died in England about January or February, 1625. He was a Puritan, and joined the company of people who had moved to Leyden, Holland, seeking religious freedom. He and Deacon John Carver were of the group founded in England under Royal Sanction, and called "The Virginia Company." They were chosen to go to London to make arrangements for permission to settle in the Company's territory in North America. After many delays, the ships "Mayflower" and "Speedwell" set sail on August 5, 1620. Robert Cushman was among those obliged to return to England when trouble developed with the "Speedwell," as the "Mayflower" could not carry all the passengers.

After the "Mayflower" returned to England, May 6, 1621, bringing news of the Colony in the New World, Robert Cushman began his preparations for taking those to New England who had been left behind. In July, 1621, a party of thirty-six, including Robert Cushman and his son, Thomas, set sail in the ship "Fortune," arriving off Cape Cod, Friday, November 9, 1621, with all the passengers in good health. Becoming aware that there was dissatisfaction among the colonists, on Wednesday, December 12, 1621, Robert Cushman delivered a sermon, addressed to "my loving friends the Adventurers for New England," although he was not a clergyman, nor a "Speaking Elder." This sermon, the first delivered in New England to be printed, was published for the first time in London in 1622, and has been reprinted many times since then. On December 13, 1621, when Robert Cushman, as agent of the Pilgrims, sailed for England to report on the conditions of the Colony, he placed his son, Thomas, in the care of his intimate friend, Governor Bradford, where he remained until he reached manhood. In 1623, "Robert Cochman" was assigned "one acre, These lye on the south side of the Brook to the Baywards," although he was still in London, which indicates the important position he occupied in the opinion of the Governor and the Colony.

In 1623, Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, who had accompanied him to England on business for the Colony, negotiated with Lord Sheffield for a tract of land lying on Cape Ann in the present town of Gloucester, for the purpose of establishing a Colony there,

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thus extending the settlement in the new country and benefiting the Pilgrim colonists at Plymouth. The Colony began under the charter obtained by Cushman and Winslow, and under the auspices of the Plymouth Colony, and was the first permanent settlement on the territory of the Massachusetts Colony. In this charter the name of Robert Cushman is placed before that of Edward Winslow.

Robert Cushman died while in London, and when Governor Bradford heard of his death, he said, "And now we have lost a wise and faithful friend. He proposed to be with us on the next ship, but the Lord did otherwise dispose, and had appointed him a greater journey to a better place. . . . He was our right hand with the adventurers, who for divers years has managed all our business with them to our great advantage." Among the many tributes paid him was one published in 1785, written by Hon. John Davis, who wrote: "Robert Cushman was one of the most distinguished characters among the collection of worthies who quitted England on account of their religious difficulties and settled with Mr. John Robinson, their Pastor, in the city of Leyden, in 1609."

Robert Cushman married (first), probably in England, Sarah Reder; (second), at Leyden, Holland, June 3, 1617, Mary Singleton (or Shingleton), of Sandwich, England. Child of the first marriage: 1. Thomas, of whom further.

(H. W. Cushman: "Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," pp. 9, 14-15, 16, 24-31, 38-39, 41, 64, 65-66, 68, 70, 77, 84, 85, 89, 90, 97. "American Ancestry," Vol. I, p. 20; Vol. III, p. 12; Vol. IX, p. 100. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 105. A. Ames: "The Mayflower and Her Log," pp. 146-47.)

II. Elder Thomas Cushman, son of Robert and Sarah (Reder) Cushman, was born in England in February, 1608, died, according to the inscription on his gravestone, December 10, 1691, and according to the church records, December 11, 1691, in his eighty-fourth year. He is buried on "Burying Hill" overlooking Plymouth Harbor. He came to America with his father in the ship "Fortune," arriving at Plymouth in November, 1621. As his father had placed him in the care of Governor Bradford, and had unexpectedly died in London, Elder Thomas Cushman grew up in the Bradford family. On July

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1, 1633, he was among those "admitted into the freedom of the society." He was then aged about twenty-five or twenty-six.

In 1635 Thomas Cushman served as a jurymen. He owned a small amount of land in Plymouth in 1637 and about that time moved to Jones River (which is now Kingston), where he resided until his death. In 1645 he purchased "Prence's Farm" at Jones River (which is now "Rocky Nook" in Kingston), by exchanging land at Sowanes, on Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island, for it, for £75. It was previously owned by his father-in-law, Isaac Allerton. A spring of water near this property has for many years been called "the Elder's Spring," and is often visited as a place of interest. After the death of the venerable Elder Brewster, in 1649, Thomas Cushman was appointed ruling elder of the church of Plymouth, and was ordained to the office by appropriate religious services on Friday, April 6, 1649. Having been brought up in the family of Governor Bradford, Elder Cushman was always his intimate and confidential friend, and was the principal witness to his will, which was proved at Plymouth, June 8, 1657, and also inventoried the Governor's estate. Thomas Cushman's will was made about a year before his death, October 22, 1690.

Elder Thomas Cushman married, about 1635-36, Mary Allerton. (Allerton II.) Children: 1. Thomas, born September 16, 1637, died August 23, 1726; married (first), November 17, 1664, Ruth Howland, died between 1672-79, daughter of John Howland; (second), October 16, 1679, Abigail Fuller, of Rehoboth. 2. Sarah, married, April 11, 1661, John Hawks. 3. Lydia, married William Harlow, Jr. 4. Rev. Isaac, of whom further. 5. Elkanah (Deacon), born June 1, 1651, died at Plympton, September 4, 1727; married, February 16, 1676-77, Elizabeth Cole; (second), March 2, 1682-83, Martha Cooke. 6. Feare, born June 20, 1653, died young. 7. Eleazer, born February 20, 1656-57; married, January 12, 1687-88, Elizabeth Combes. 8. Mary, died before 1790; married Mr. Hutchinson, of Lynn.

(H. W. Cushman: "A Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," pp. 84, 85-89, 90-93, 97, 100-01, 123-24. "American Ancestry," Vol. I, p. 20. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 106. Allerton and Currier: "A History of the Allerton Family in the United States," p. 30.)

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III. Rev. Isaac Cushman, son of Elder Thomas and Mary (Allerton) Cushman, was born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, February 8, 1647-48, and died October 21, 1732, in his eighty-fourth year. He had the advantage of obtaining a better education than most men of his day. He was a deacon of Plymouth Church, and in 1685 was one of the selectmen. In June, 1690, he and John Bradford were appointed deputies from Plymouth to the General Court, and they also served at another General Court held that year, and at one held in June, 1691.

When Isaac Cushman was about forty-five years of age, he decided to enter the ministry. That he had not been a ruling elder was a drawback, but objections were finally overcome and he was ordained when he was about fifty years of age. He received calls to be minister at Middleborough and Plympton, but chose Plympton, and was pastor there until his death. He was called "a pious and godly man." In 1701 his salary was £35, and was increased until in 1728 it was £85 per year. He had a large estate for the times, and during his lifetime gave land to two of his sons, Isaac and Ichabod. His will was dated October 5, 1727, and in it he made bequests to his wife and children.

Rev. Isaac Cushman married, about 1675, Mary Ricard or Rickard, born in 1654, died at Plymouth, September 27, 1727, aged seventy-three. Children: 1. Isaac, born November 15, 1676, died September 18, 1727; married (first), January 28, 1700-01, Sarah (Warner) Gibbs, daughter of Nathaniel Warner; (second), October 10, 1717, Mercy (Bradford) Freeman, daughter of Major Jonathan Bradford. 2. Rebekah, born November 30, 1678; married, November 18, 1701, Jacob Mitchel. 3. Mary, born October 12, 1682, baptized at Plympton, in 1692; married, March 19, 1702, Robert Waterman. 4. Sarah, born April 17, 1684; married (first) James Bryant; (second) James Bradford. 5. Ichabod, of whom further. 6. Feare, born March 10, 1689, died July 13, 1746; married, February 12, 1707-08, William Sturtevant.

(H. W. Cushman: "A Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," pp. 101, 103, 110-12, 119-20, 126-27. W. T. Davis: "Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth," p. 77. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1155. "Register of the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial

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Dames of America, 1893-1927," p. 373. Thomas Weston: "History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts," p. 623.)

IV. Ichabod Cushman, son of Rev. Isaac and Mary (Ricard or Rickard) Cushman, was born October 30, 1686, and died before 1736, the year his wife settled his estate. He was a resident of Plympton and Middleborough, Massachusetts. During his father's lifetime he received his share of land, and in his father's will a bequest of a fifth part of his books.

Ichabod Cushman married (first) Esther Barnes, daughter of Jonathan Barnes; (second), November 27, 1712, Patience Holmes, daughter of John Holmes. She married (second) Elnathan Wood, who became the guardian of Patience Cushman, one of Ichabod Cushman's daughters. Children of the second marriage, first three born at Plympton, others at Middleborough, Massachusetts: 1. Joanna, born December 17, 1713; married Ichabod Bosworth. 2. William, born October 13, 1715, died August 27, 1768; married (first), December 25, 1735, Susanna Sampson; married (second), in 1751, Priscilla Cobb. 3. Sarah, born November 8, 1717; married, August 12, 1735, Daniel Vaughan. 4. Experience, born July 12, 1719; married, September 6, 1737, Jonathan Smith. 5. Patience, born April 8, 1721; married, July 23, 1739, Caleb Sturtevant. 6. Mary, born December 22, 1723; married, November 24, 1743, Jedediah Lyon. 7. Ichabod, born May 12, 1725; married (first), March 4, 1751, Patience Mackfern; (second), Hope White. 8. Rebekah, born July 11, 1727; married, January 14, 1744-45, Manassah Clapp. 9. Isaac (2), of whom further.

(H. W. Cushman: "A Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," pp. 120, 127, 135. W. T. Davis: "American Landmarks of Plymouth," p. 77. "Vital Records of Plympton, Massachusetts," pp. 84, 85, 86, 87. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1155.)

V. Isaac (2) Cushman, son of Ichabod and Patience (Holmes) Cushman, was born at Middleborough, Massachusetts, August 12, 1730, and died August 1, 1820. He married, probably in 1756, Sarah Miller, who died August 11, 1806. Children: 1. Sarah, born May 13, 1757. 2. Eliphalet, born February 25, 1759; married, November 25, 1784, Joanna Wood. 3. Elias, born May 14, 1761. 4. Zebulon, born July 25, 1763; married (first) Deborah Wood, who

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died January 2, 1801; married (second), April 2, 1818, Nancy Hall. 5. Olive, born February 28, 1766. 6. Betsy, born April 1, 1768. 7. Isaac (3), of whom further. 8. Hannah, born September 18, 1773. 9. Rebecca, born May 27, 1776.

(H. W. Cushman: "A Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," pp. 136, 168, 169. "Vital Records of Plympton, Massachusetts," p. 84. J. H. Beers: "Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts," Vol. III, p. 1155.)

VI. Isaac (3) Cushman, son of Isaac (2) and Sarah (Miller) Cushman, was born December 9, 1770. He held the office of ensign.

Isaac (3) Cushman married, in 1794, Lydia Pratt. Children: 1. Elias, born in 1795; married Betsy Southworth. 2. Venus, born May 29, 1797; married Melintha Nye. 3. George, married Louisa Haywood. 4. Lydia, born August 8, 1801; married Samuel Hall. 5. Hannah, married Jacob Miller. 6. Isaac (twin, probably of Hannah, above), born July 9, 1803, died in 1825. 7. Eliphalet, born March 8, 1806; married Eliza Doane. 8. Abraham, of whom further.

(H. W. Cushman: "A Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans," pp. 168, 301.)

VII. Abraham Cushman, son of Isaac (3) and Lydia (Pratt) Cushman, was born November 6, 1808. He married Abigail Cole, of Middleborough, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Mary Ann, of whom further. 2. Abraham Harrison, born about 1840. 3. Sarah Caroline, born about 1846.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 301, 541.)

VIII. Mary Ann Cushman, daughter of Abraham and Abigail (Cole) Cushman, was born at Middleborough, Massachusetts, July 31, 1836, and died August 23, 1913. She married George Allen Mason. (Mason VII.)

(Family data.)

(The Allerton Line)

Arms—Argent, a chevron between three lions' heads erased sable.

Crest—A lion's head collared.

(Matthews: "American Armoury." Burke: "General Armory.")

Allerton is one of the many surnames derived from residence in a town. A parish of the name Allerton is found near Knaresborough, Yorkshire; a township of the name is in the parish of Childwell, near

IN YE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread fovereigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, King, defender of ye faith, etc., having undertaken for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly, and mutually, in ye presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye end aforesaid, and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equal lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our fovereigne Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, ye eighteenth. and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth. Ano Dom. 1620.

1. John Carver,
2. William Bradford,
3. Edward Winslow,
4. William Brewster,
5. Isaac Allerton,
6. Myles Standish,
7. John Alden,
8. Samuel Fuller,
9. Christopher Martin,
10. William Mullins,
11. William White,
12. Richard Warren,
13. John Howland,
14. Stephen Hopkins,

15. Edward Tilley,
16. John Tilley,
17. Francis Cooke,
18. Thomas Rogers,
19. Thomas Tinker,
20. John Rigdale,
21. Edward Fuller,
22. John Turner,
23. Francis Eaton,
24. James Chilton,
25. John Crackston,
26. John Billington,
27. Moses Fletcher,
28. John Goodman,

29. Degory Priest,
30. Thomas Williams,
31. Gilbert Winslow,
32. Edmund Margeson,
33. Peter Brown,
34. Richard Britteridge,
35. George Soule,
36. Richard Clarke,
37. Richard Gardiner,
38. John Allerton,
39. Thomas English,
40. Edward Dotey,
41. Edward Lister,

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Liverpool, and another township is in the parish of Kippax, West Riding, Yorkshire. In 1379, Willelmus de Allirton and Johannes de Allerton were recorded in Yorkshire.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Isaac Allerton, progenitor of the family in America, was born in England in 1586, and died in New Haven, Connecticut, early in 1659. Until he was about twenty-six years old, he was a resident of London, and was called a "young tailor." In 1608 or 1609, he removed to Holland, where he joined the society of Separatists, and was called by the Dutch a "merchant of Suffolk." In 1614 the privilege of citizenship was granted him by the city of Leyden. He embarked for New England in 1620, a passenger in the cabin of the "Mayflower," it being preceded only by Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Brewster. He brought with him his wife, a boy servant and three children, leaving behind him his youngest child, Sarah, with her aunt in London. She later came to America in the ship "Ann." He was one of the wealthiest of the Pilgrims, and he became an important figure in all Colonial affairs. In 1621, Isaac Allerton was elected assistant governor, a position he held until 1624.

In 1626, Isaac Allerton was elected by the colonists to go to England to arrange for supplies, and to secure a release from the compact made with The Adventurers. He was selected because of being well educated, experienced, and having the confidence of the merchants of London. He made several other business trips to London for the colonists.

Isaac Allerton was the first merchant of New England, and the founder of the coast trade and fishing industry of the Colony. He founded Marblehead, Massachusetts, and made that place the headquarters for his fishing fleet, and his place of residence for the greater part of his time. He became a permanent resident of New Haven, Connecticut, in 1647, where he built "a grand house on the creek, with four porches." As a business man, he was in advance of his associates. He early saw the possibilities of the trade and commerce of New England, its natural position for coast trade, and exhibited a remarkable business acumen for the accumulation of wealth. As a founder of New England's great industry of fishing, he erected a monument to his memory that never shall be erased.

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Isaac Allerton married (first), in Leyden Holland, November 4, 1611, Mary Norris, of Newbury, County Berks, England. She died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, February 25, 1621 or 1625. This was the first marriage solemnized by the Leyden exiles. He married (second), in 1626, Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William and Mary Brewster. Fear Brewster came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1623, in the ship "Ann" and died at Plymouth, December 12, 1634. Isaac Allerton married (third), before 1644, Johanna, who died at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1682. Children of the first marriage: 1. Bartholomew, born about 1612, died in England; married in England. 2. Remember, born in 1614, died at Salem, Massachusetts, between September 12, 1652, and October 22, 1656; married Moses Maverick. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Sarah. 5. Child, born dead on the "Mayflower" in 1620. Child of the second marriage: 6. Isaac, born in 1630, died in Virginia, in 1702; married (first) Elizabeth; (second) Elizabeth (Willoughby-Overzee) Colclough.

(Allerton and Currier: "A History of the Allerton Family in the United States," pp. 13-30, 118, 121. A. Ames: "The Mayflower and Her Log," p. 167. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLIV, p. 290: "Tercentenary of New England Families," Vol. I, pp. 46, 47.

II. Mary Allerton, daughter of Isaac and Mary (Norris) Allerton, was born in Leyden, in June, 1616, and died in 1699, the last survivor of the "Mayflower." She married Elder Thomas Cushman. (Cushman II.)

(*Ibid.*)

(Mayflower Descent)

I. Stephen Hopkins, emigrant ancestor, was born in England in 1580 and died at Plymouth, Massachusetts, before August 20, 1644. He came to America from London in the "Mayflower" in 1620.

Stephen Hopkins married (first) in England; married (second) Elizabeth. Among their children was Deborah, of whom further.

II. Deborah Hopkins, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins, was born in Plymouth in 1622. She married Andrew Ring. (Ring II.) They had a daughter: Mary, of whom further.

III. Mary Ring, daughter of Andrew and Deborah (Hopkins) Ring, married, as his second wife, John Morton. (Morton III.) Among the children of this marriage was: Hannah, of whom further.

MASON AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. Hannah Morton, daughter of John (2) and Mary (Ring) Morton, was born at Middleboro, Massachusetts, September 1, 1694.

Hannah Morton married John Hodges. (Hodges III.) Among the children of this union was: Andrew, of whom further.

V. Andrew Hodges, son of John and Hannah (Morton) Hodges, was born at Norton, Massachusetts, in 1729 or 1730, and died there in January, 1777.

Andrew Hodges married (first), Mehitable Leonard. He married (second), intentions published May 17, 1773, Abigail Hoskins, born in 1741, died in 1824. The child of the second marriage was: Leonard, of whom further.

VI. Leonard Hodges, son of Andrew and Abigail (Hoskins) Hodges, was born at Norton, Massachusetts, March 13, 1774, and died there March 7, 1841.

Leonard Hodges married, at Taunton, Massachusetts, March 13, 1798, Hannah Peck. (Peck VI.) They were parents of: Louisa Caroline, of whom further.

VII. Louisa Caroline Hodges, daughter of Leonard and Hannah (Peck) Hodges, was born in Norton, Massachusetts, May 18, 1808, and died March 18, 1879.

Louisa Caroline Hodges married Dennis Capron. (Capron V.) Among the children of this union was: Eliza Jane, of whom further.

VIII. Eliza Jane Capron, daughter of Dennis and Louisa Caroline (Hodges) Capron, was born January 10, 1831.

Eliza Jane Capron married Shepard Wheaton Carpenter. (Carpenter VIII.) They were parents of a daughter: Mabel Wheaton, of whom further.

IX. Mabel Wheaton Carpenter, daughter of Shepard Wheaton and Eliza Jane (Capron) Carpenter, married Frederick George Mason. (Mason VIII.)



DUMBARTON CASTLE (WEST SIDE) ABOUT 1685

AMERICANA

JULY, 1939



Francis Hopkinson and the American Flag¹

BY GEORGE E. HASTINGS, PH. D., PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH,
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS



N June 14, 1777, the Continental Congress passed a resolution:

"That the flag of the ||thirteen|| United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white: that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."²

Who introduced this resolution, and who designed the flag described in it the "Journals of Congress" neglect to state; hence much speculation about the origin of the flag has arisen. For example, one of the authors of the "Flag Number" of the "National Geographic Magazine" quotes an authority who advances the following theory concerning the origin of the colors employed in the national ensign:

"The flag may trace its ancestry back to Mount Sinai, whence the Lord gave to Moses the Ten Commandments and the book of the law, which testify of God's will and man's duty; and were deposited in the Ark of the Covenant within the Tabernacle, whose curtains were blue, purple, scarlet and fine-twined linen."³

1. Some of the material used in this paper is to be found in my "Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson" (The University of Chicago Press, 1926), pp. 238-57. Limitations of space, however, made it impossible for me to present all the evidence I had even when that book was published, and various circumstances have since prevented me from publishing a supplementary article, though new evidence has come to light. Meanwhile the interest of the public in the subject still brings me letters of inquiry. For this reason, I have set down here as briefly as I can all that I know about Francis Hopkinson's connection with the American flag.

2. "Journals of the Continental Congress," VIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 464.

3. Commander Byron McCandlers, U. S. N., "The Story of the American Flag," "The National Geographic Magazine," XXXII, 303 (October, 1917).

FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND THE AMERICAN FLAG

This is the only authority I know who has suggested that God himself had a hand in the designing of the flag; in general those who have written histories of the national ensign have been willing to concede that it was designed on earth by a human being. All school children and most teachers believe Betsy Ross to have been the designer of the flag, and consequently pay great reverence to her memory. Historians seeking by scholarly research to discover the origin of the flag have traced the colors and design to various sources, such as the flag of Holland, the colonial banner of Rhode Island, and the coat-of-arms of the Washington family.⁴ Whatever the original source of the design, I shall here present evidence that the designer was Francis Hopkinson.

Francis Hopkinson, a native of Philadelphia and a prominent figure in the history of both Pennsylvania and New Jersey, was somewhat like Benjamin Franklin in the number and variety of his attainments. Besides being an able lawyer, a shrewd politician, and a capable executive, he was an inventor, an artist, a musician, a poet, and an essayist. He was a member of the Second Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. From 1776 to 1778 he served as chairman of a committee of three who were appointed by Congress to execute the business of the navy under the direction of the Marine Committee. From 1778 to 1781 he held the position of Treasurer of Loans, from 1779 to 1789 he was Judge of the Admiralty for Pennsylvania, and from 1789 until his death in 1791 he was Judge of the United States District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Hopkinson had some natural artistic ability, and in his youth studied drawing, probably under Pierre Eugène Du Simitière or Benjamin West, or under both. During a visit to England in 1766-67 he copied a coat of arms from the tomb of a great-uncle of his, and after his return home he seems to have acquired the reputation of being something of an authority on heraldry. In 1770 he was one of a committee who designed a seal for the American Philosophical Society; in 1776 he and Du Simitière designed the Great Seal of New Jersey, and in 1782 he designed a seal for the University of the State of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pennsylvania.

4. See, for example, Willis Fletcher Johnson, "The National Flag: A History," (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), pp. 5, 12, 36, etc.

185.
Gentlemen.

It is with great Pleasure I
understand my last Device of a Seal for
the Board of Admiralty has met
your Honours Approbation. I have
with great Readiness, upon several Occasions
executed my small Abilities in this Office
for the Public Service; & as I flatter myself
to the Satisfaction of those I wish to please

Wishes

the King of the United States of America

A Device for the Continental Currency

A Seal for the Board of Treasury

Ornaments, Devices, & Checks for the new

Notes of Bank of America in Thane & The Board

A Seal for the Papers of the United States

A Seal for the Board of Admiralty

The Borders, Ornaments & Checks for

the new Continental Currency now in

the Press, a work of considerable length.

A Great Seal for the United States

of America, with a Reverse. -

To these Services I have as yet
made no Charge, nor received any Recom-
pense. I now submit it to your Honours
Consideration, whether a Quarter Cash
of the Public Loan, will not be a
proper & a reasonable Reward for
these Labours of Thane and a suitable
Encouragement

to future Editions of the like Nature.
I sincerely hope your Pleasures will
be of this Opinion & am with great
Respect

Yours &c

Your very humble Servant

Thos. Hopekirk

Blatt Band of Adams. Ry

FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND THE AMERICAN FLAG

The first intimation we have that Hopkinson had anything to do with designing the flag described in the resolution of June 14, 1777, appears in a letter which he wrote to the Board of Admiralty⁵ in May, 1780:

"GENTLEMEN.

It is with great Pleasure I understand my last Device of a Seal for the Board of Admiralty has met with your Honours Approbation. I have with Great Readiness, upon several Occasions exerted my small Abilities for the public service; &, as I flatter myself, to the Satisfaction of those I wish'd to please,

Viz^t.

the flag of the United States of America

7 Devices for the Continental Currency

A Seal for the Board of Treasury

Ornaments Devices & Checks for the new Bills of Exchange on Spain & Holland

A Seal for Ship Papers of the United States

A Seal for the Board of Admiralty

The Borders, Ornaments & Checks for the new Continental Currency now in the Press,—a Work of considerable Length

A Great Seal for the United States of America, with a Reverse.

For these Services I have as yet made no Charge, nor received any Recompense. I now submit it to your Honour's Consideration, whether a Quarter Cask of the public Wine, will not be a proper & a reasonable Reward for these Labours of Fancy and a suitable Encouragement to future Exertions of the like Nature.

I sincerely hope your Honours will be of this Opinion & am with great Respect

Gentlemen

Your very humble Serv^t

FRAS HOPKINSON"⁶

Hopkinson's letter is undated, but on May 25, 1780, John Brown, secretary of the Board of Admiralty, forwarded it to the President of Congress, with a request that it be laid before that body. In Congress, according to endorsements on Brown's letter, it was read on the day on which it was received, and referred to the Board of Treas-

5. Congress established the Board of Admiralty on October 28, 1779, and on December 8, 1779, passed a resolution "that all matters heretofore referred to the Marine Committee be transmitted to the Board of Admiralty." See "Journals," XV (1909), 1217-18, 1366.

6. The Library of Congress, Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 685.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND THE AMERICAN FLAG

ury, who, on June 5 tersely directed that Hopkinson "state his account and leave it with the Auditor."⁷

Hopkinson lost no time in obeying these instructions, for on June 6 he filed with James Milligan, the Auditor General, the following statement:

"Dr The United States of America to Francis Hopkinson
To sundry Devices, Drawings, Mottos & ca for public Use viz^t.
The great Naval Flag of the United States
Seven Devices with Mottos & ca for former Emissions of the Continental Currency.
The Seal of the Board of Admiralty.
A Seal for the Shipping Papers of the U:S:
Seal of the Board of Treasury.
Ornaments, Borders & Checks for the Loan Office Certificates.
Ditto for the Bills of Exchange on Spain & Holland.
Ditto for the Continental Currency now in the Press.
The Great Seal of the United States with a Reverse.
Devices & Ornaments for the Commissions in the Navy of the United States, now in Hand & not completed.
Philad^a June 6^o. 1780. £2700-0-0⁸

FRAS HOPKINSON"

In the Auditor General's office endorsements were added to Hopkinson's statement describing it as "Account Francis Hopkinson for sundry Devices, Drawings, Mottos & c Am^t 7200 Dollars,"⁹ and asserting that it was registered on "y^e 6th June 1780" and referred to the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts. The Commissioners on June 12 returned the account to the Auditor General, with a statement that they had examined it and were "of the opinion that the charge [was] reasonable and ought to be paid." James Milligan then, on June 13, forwarded all of the papers to the Board of Treasury, with a statement that he had examined the account, had "passed the same," and was now presenting it for allowance.¹⁰

After having his account approved by the Commissioners of Accounts and the Auditor General, Hopkinson, according to the usual

7. *Ibid.*, No. 37, fol. 243. Brown's letter is dated May 26, but May 25 is the date given in the endorsement and also in the "Journals," XVII (1910), 460, and XVIII (1910), 983-85.

8. Papers, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 671.

9. The Continental dollar contained ninety pence and hence was worth three-eighths of a pound. See "George Washington's Accounts . . .," ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), p. 141.

10. Papers, *op. cit.*, fol. 675.

D^r The United States 678
to Francis Hopkinson

To sundry Drawings & Devices vizt

The Naval Flag of the United States \$9.0.0

~~of the Board of the Treasury~~ ~~of the Treasury~~ 7.0.0

Seal of the Board of Treasury ----- 3.0.0

D^r of the Board of Admiralty ----- 3.0.0

D^r for Shipping Papers ----- 3.0.0

Drawings & Charges for Certificates ----- 2.0.0

D^r for Bills each ----- 3.0.0

D^r for the engraving in the Paper ----- 3.0.0

The Great Seal of the States } ----- 10.0.0

with a Ribbon ----- } ----- 143.0.0

\$45 in hand Money

at 60 for One is ----- \$2700-

Philad^a June 24th 1780

Francis Hopkinson

FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND THE AMERICAN FLAG

procedure, should have had nothing more to do but appear before the Board of Treasury and receive the £2700 or \$7,200 called for in his bill; but when he attempted to collect, he met with difficulties, for the board refused to honor the account because it was not accompanied by vouchers, and because the amount charged for each individual design was not named.¹¹ Hopkinson was unable to furnish vouchers showing that he was commissioned to make the designs, but he did furnish, on June 24, the following itemized account:

"D ^c The United States to Francis Hopkinson	
To sundry Drawings & Devices Viz.	
The Naval Flag of the States.....	£540-0-0
7 Devices for the Currency.....	420-0-0
Seal of the Board of Treasury.....	180-0-0
Ditto Board of Admiralty.....	180-0-0
Ditto for Shipping Papers.....	180-0-0
Checks & Devices for Certificates.....	120-0-0
Ditto for Bills of Exchange.....	180-0-0
Ditto for the new Currency now in the Press	300-0-0
The Great Seal of the States with a Reverse	600-0-0

£2700-0-0

Philad^a June 24^h 1780

FRAS HOPKINSON"¹²

Immediately after submitting the above account Hopkinson wrote the Board of Treasury a letter beginning as follows:

"GENTLEMEN.

Agreeable to the Expectations of the Board I this Morning exhibited an Account for certain Devices & c in which a charge was assigned to each particular Service. This Charge however was made in hard Money to be computed at 60 for One in Continental.

I have since recollected that your Honours might possibly object to the passing an Account in that form, & therefore beg leave to withdraw the said Acct. and substitute the enclosed in its place. . . . "

In this final account the individual charges are made in Continental currency and the total is given in both Continental currency and specie:

"D ^r the United States to Francis Hopkinson	
To sundry Drawings & Devices Viz ^t .	
The Naval Flag of the United States.....	£9-0-0

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 665-66.

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 681.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 674½.

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7 Devices with Mottos for the Currency.....	7-0-0
Seal of the Board of Treasury.....	3-0-0
D ^o of the Board of Admiralty.....	3-0-0
D ^o for Shipping Papers	3-0-0
Devices & Checks for Certificates.....	2-0-0
D ^o for Bills Exch ^e	3-0-0
D ^o for the new Currency in the Press.....	5-0-0
The Great Seal of the States with a Reverse..	10-0-0

£45-0-0

£45 in hard Money at 60 for One¹⁴ is... £27-0-0
 Philad^a June 24" 1780

FRAS HOPKINSON"¹⁵

Endorsements show that Hopkinson's final account was submitted to the Board of Treasury on June 24, and was referred by him to the Commissioners of Accounts on June 28. On June 29 they sent it back to him with a statement that their report of June 12 had not been recommitted, and that they therefore had no authority to take further action until the proper technicalities had been observed. On July 1 the Auditor General returned all the correspondence to the Board of Treasury with this note:

"As the winthin Report appears to be respecting form only, I beg leave to submit it entirely to the consideration of the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury."

On August 4 the Board of Treasury sent the account back to the Auditor General, "with special instructions" (which I have not been able to find), and he again sent it to the Commissioners of Accounts,¹⁶ who once more approved it, and on August 7 returned it to the Auditor General, with a statement that they had again examined the account and found there was due to Francis Hopkinson \$7,200.¹⁷ By this time the Board of Treasury had evidently exhausted their ingenuity in devising pretexts for referring Hopkinson's account to other divisions of the Treasury Department, and so they filed the

14. A pound in currency was worth six-tenths of a pound in specie.

15. Papers, *op. cit.*, fol. 673. In my biography of Hopkinson, fol. 681, is treated as the final account, since it is so listed in the files of the Library of Congress. A more careful reading of Hopkinson's somewhat ambiguous letter makes me think it more probable that fol. 673 is the last statement. Both were sent to the Commissioners of Accounts.

16. *Ibid.*, fol. 677.

17. *Ibid.*, fol. 683.

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correspondence away and took no further action on the matter for more than two months.

Exasperated by the difficulties he had encountered in trying to collect the money that he claimed as due to him, Hopkinson on June 26, 1780, two days after he had presented his final account, wrote to Charles Lee, Secretary of the Board of Treasury, a letter beginning with these spirited words:

"SIR.

Notwithstanding your positive Denial, on Saturday last, of having received from me any other Account to present to the Board of Treasury, excepting one on your File which you then exhibited, & which you knew was not satisfactory to the Board, I have the fullest Proof that you did receive from me, a Fortnight before, another Account stated agreeable to the Will of the Board, & which you thought proper to Suppress whereby my Business has been delayed. I can assign no other Motive for such Conduct but a desire to injure me."¹⁸

The rest of the letter is badly torn, but enough remains to inform the reader that Hopkinson threatened to send a complaint to Congress in case Lee did not give a satisfactory explanation of his conduct.

On June 27 Hopkinson added to the foregoing letter a memorandum stating that Lee had exonerated himself, but this he later retracted by scratching it out, and by sending to Congress on July 6 a list of charges against the Board of Treasury. These charges, five in number, may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) a haughty and insolent attitude toward other officers of the government; (2) shameful neglect and loss of public papers; (3) carelessness in carrying out official duties; (4) usurpation of authority; (5) tampering with official documents. In support of his second charge he made this statement about his own account:

"I had an Account lying before the Board for certain Services done. This Account went thro every Objection as to Form that Fancy could suggest. At length one only way of modelling the Account remained. This was done & the Account (as can be proved) laid on the Temporary Table. After a Fortnights Delay on Enquiry made, the Account had never been seen, it was mis laid (*sic*)—it was lost. The Deficiency was supplied—but alas too late the whole Affair had been crossed

¹⁸. A copy of this letter is among the papers of the late Edward Hopkinson, Esq., of Philadelphia.

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(?) out for want of Form, & the Fate of my Account remains undetermined."¹⁹

After receiving Hopkinson's complaint, Congress referred the whole matter to a committee, who on August 7 requested all officers of the Treasury Department to meet them on the following Thursday for a conference. The Commissioners of Accounts, the Auditor General, the Treasurer, the Paymaster General, and the Treasurer of Loans (Hopkinson) appeared at this conference, but the Board of Treasury ignored the request. After examining the officers who were present, the committee on August 25 submitted to Congress a report in which, after mentioning the failure of the Board of Treasury to attend the investigation, they substantiated at least two of Hopkinson's charges. This report brought out the fact that the Board of Treasury were hostile to other members of the department besides Hopkinson. They were not on speaking terms with the Commissioners of Accounts; they had attempted to dictate to the Treasurer; they had behaved to various people who had business with them in a manner that was "very reprehensible" and "extremely disgusting." Hopkinson, the Treasurer of Loans, they had treated "with unmerited indignity" on various occasions. Once when he came to them "upon public business," a member of the board had "shut the door in his face." They conducted their office in such a manner as to create "great uneasiness": for example they had "prohibited all access to themselves between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon"; and they compelled other officers of the Treasury Department to transact with them "the most trivial affairs in writing only." In conclusion, the committee recommended that Charles Lee, Ezekiel Forman, and John Gibson be dismissed from the board, and that new members be elected to take their places. Endorsements on the report show that it was read in Congress on September 7 and recommitted on September 9, 1780.²⁰

The Board of Treasury, stimulated by a Congressional investigation to take some action on Hopkinson's account, finally came to a decision, which they reported to Congress on October 27, 1780. Their

19. A copy of this manuscript is among the papers of the late Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Some of the early pages are lost. After listing his charges against the Board of Treasury, Hopkinson reviewed his own services to the government, the most conspicuous of which he described thus: "I have had the Honour, an Honour which the Mines of Peru should not purchase from me, of subscribing my Name to the original Declaration of Independence."

20. Papers, No. 19, Vol. III, fol. 177-78; see also "Journals," XVIII, 814.

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report, after giving a history of the case from the beginning, stated that, after receiving the report made by the Commissioners of Accounts on August 7,

"The Board proceeded to consider the said account, and on the 12th Instant rejected it for want of vouchers to support the Charges.

"The Board beg leave further to observe that they should not have thought themselves authorized to allow the said account, had the Treasurer of Loans produced vouchers of his having been employed about the several matters he charges for.

"1st because it is within the knowledge of one of the Members of the Board that with respect to the charges of the works incidental to the Treasury, the said Francis Hopkinson was not the only person consulted on these exhibitions of Fancy, and therefore cannot claim the sole merit of them and is not entitled in this respect to the full sum charged.

"2^{dly} Because the Board are of opinion that the public is entitled to these little assistances, given by gentlemen who enjoy a very considerable Salary under Congress without Fee or further reward; and lastly because it appears to the Board by a relation of a conversation that passed between the said Treasurer of Loans and one of the Members of the Board just after the said Treasurer had wrote to the Admiralty Letter N^o 1 that he viewed the success of his application for the wine as very uncertain, and considered it in the light of a compliment due to him for these Works of Fancy."²¹

After having their report recommitted on September 9, the committee appointed by Congress to investigate the charges made by Hopkinson against the Board of Treasury called another meeting of the contending parties, at which Forman and Gibson appeared. That the attitude of these gentlemen was far from being conciliatory is amusingly suggested by the following paragraph in the committee's final report:

" . . . Your Committee has met with great difficulties in the course of this Enquiry: The Commiss^{rs} of the Treasury having in sundry instances attempted to dictate to them the manner in which the Enquiry should be made, which has laid your Committee under the Necessity of repeatedly enjoining the said Commiss^{rs} to forbear that attempt & to permit the Comm^{tees} to exercise their own Judgment in the case referred to them."

Among the papers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are some rough notes jotted down at the investigation. These notes were

21. Papers, No. 136, Vol. IV, fol. 665, (71-85; "Journals," XVIII, 983-85.

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so hastily written in the first place and are now so worn as to be almost illegible, and they are so fragmentary that much of the contents is unintelligible, but they nevertheless throw some light on the nature of the investigation. They show that five charges were brought against the Board of Treasury: (1) neglect of duty, (2) indolence, (3) inattention to the public interest, (4) incapacity, and (5) partiality. Defending themselves against the last of these charges, the Board cited their demand that Hopkinson produce vouchers showing that he had been commissioned by Congress to make the designs for which he asked pay, as evidence of their impartiality.

"Do not they [the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts] require Certificates and Vouchers from Printers Tradesmen & C to establish their Charges? They do, and a poor Man's account will remain with them neglected until he furnishes the necessary vouchers. . . . Why then are these Requisites dispensed with in the Honourable Mr. Hopkinson's Case?"

The final report of the committee, delivered to Congress on November 24, 1780, after describing the insolent behavior of the Board of Treasury, went on to say that the difficulties of the committee had been further increased by the great "Jealousies and Animositities [that had] arisen amongst the Officers of the Treasury Department." The committee declined to take sides in the quarrels between the Board of Treasury and other officials of the Treasury Department, but expressed the opinion that all the differences "might have been readily adjusted, without the least injury to the Public, had not the Demon of Discord pervaded the whole Department." They offered no suggestions about the settlement of Hopkinson's account. In conclusion, they declared that it was the opinion of the committee that "the Treasury should be under the Direction of a single Officer, accountable to Congress for the Conduct of his Department."²²

The rebuke administered by the investigating committee seems to have had little effect on the quarrels in the Treasury Department. On July 23, 1781, Hopkinson sent to the President of Congress a letter in which he resigned the office of Treasurer of Loans, and gave as his reason for doing so the unhappy differences that had too long subsisted between him and the Board of Treasury. Congress accepted the resignation on the day on which they received it.²³ On the same

22. Papers, No. 19, Vol. III, fol. 179-82; "Journals," XVIII, 1092.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 78, Vol. XII, fol. 171; "Journals," XXI (1912), 783.

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day Robert Morris, the Financier-General, also wrote to the President of Congress, approving Hopkinson's resignation, but describing him as "a Gentleman of unblemished Honour & Integrity, a faithful & attentive Servant of the Public and steadily attached to the American Cause."²⁴ Ezekiel Forman, one of his chief opponents on the Board of Treasury, resigned on July 24.²⁵

On August 23, 1781, Congress passed a resolution "That the report relative to the fancy-work of Francis Hopkinson ought not to be acted on."²⁶

To anyone who has followed the history of Hopkinson's attempt to collect pay for his "fancy work" certain facts are clearly evident. Francis Hopkinson in four written statements, which are still in existence, asserted that he was the author of certain devices, drawings, mottoes, etc. The Board of Admiralty, by submitting his original statement to Congress, indicated that they considered his assertion worthy of consideration. The Commissioners of Accounts and the Auditor General, by repeatedly approving his account and directing the Board of Treasury to pay him the amount called for in his bill, showed that they not only believed that he had made the designs in question, but also considered his charge a reasonable one. The Board of Treasury, on the other hand, displayed from the beginning a definite determination not to pay him. They employed ingenious devices to delay the settlement of his account and finally submitted a report which influenced Congress to refuse his application for remuneration.

It should be remembered, however, that during the time when Hopkinson's account was under consideration, the Board of Treasury was carrying on with other officers of the Treasury Department a general war in which the Hopkinson affair was only a minor engagement. Yet this board, who were so hostile to Hopkinson that they shut the door in his face when he came to see them about official business, never disputed that he had made the designs for which he asked pay, but rejected his account (1) because it was not accompanied by vouchers, (2) because one member of the board asserted that Hopkinson "was not the only person consulted on these exhibitions of Fancy," (3) because the board believed that an official receiving a salary from the Government should not charge a fee for "little assist-

24. Papers, No. 137, Vol. I, fol. 89.

25. "Journals," XXI, 784.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 899.

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ances" like these, and (4) because a member of the board asserted that Hopkinson had confessed to him that he "viewed the success of his application for the wine as very uncertain."

The very fact that Hopkinson wrote the letter to the Board of Admiralty and later submitted the bills is in itself the strongest evidence that he had made the designs. No man of sense would submit a bill for work that he had not done, to a body of intelligent men, some of whom were already familiar with the facts of the case, and all of whom were able to inform themselves immediately whether or not his statements were true. It is therefore practically certain that Francis Hopkinson submitted to Congress "sundry drawings, devices, and mottoes" that were accepted and used by the new government. This fact, moreover, is important because two items in his account raise the question whether or not he designed the seal and the flag that were adopted as the emblems of the United States.

For designing the Great Seal, which was adopted by Congress on June 20, 1782, the late Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, gives credit to Charles Thomson and William Barton.²⁷ Since Hopkinson's account was presented two years before this date, and since his design has not been found, we have at present no means of determining whether or not any of his ideas were carried out in the seal finally chosen. The flag, on the other hand, had been adopted three years before Hopkinson wrote his letter to the Board of Admiralty, asserting that he had in the past exerted his abilities for the public service, to the satisfaction, as he believed, of those whom he wished to please. This statement, if it has any meaning at all, indicates that his designs had been accepted, and therefore identifies "the flag of the United States of America" mentioned in his letter of May 25, 1780, with the flag adopted by Congress on June 14, 1777.

It was not until 1870—ninety-three years after the adoption of the national ensign—that the honor of having designed the flag or any part of it was claimed by anyone except Francis Hopkinson. On March 14 of that year William J. Canby, of Philadelphia, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a paper in which he asserted that "his maternal grandmother, Mrs. John Ross, was the first

27. "The History of the Seal of the United States" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), pp. 33-40.

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maker and partial designer of the stars and stripes.”²⁸ According to Canby’s statement, a committee of Congress consisting of General Washington, Colonel George Ross and Robert Morris, in June, 1776, waited upon Mrs. Ross, who was in the upholstering business in Philadelphia, and asked her to make them a flag from a rather roughly drawn design which they had brought with them. After examining the sketch, she made some suggestions, the most important of which were (1) that the flag, which in the drawing was square, “should be one third longer than its width; (2) that the stars which were scattered promiscuously over the field . . . should be in lines, or in some adopted form, as a circle or star”; and (3) that five-pointed stars (in heraldry, mullets or spur rowels) should be substituted for the six-pointed stars in the drawing. “The gentlemen agreed with her that five points would look better, but [suggested] that the six-pointed star would be easier to make. She then showed them how a five-pointed star could be made with a single clip of the scissors.”²⁹ According to Rear Admiral Hanford, William Canby said that his grandmother had told him this story when he was eleven years old, and that three of Mrs. Ross’ daughters and one of her nieces, all living in 1870, had confirmed it.³⁰ Dr. Balderston, on the other hand, asserts that William Canby’s account was dictated to him by his Aunt Clarissa Sidney Wilson, the eldest daughter of Betsy Ross and her successor in the upholstering business, and that it was supported by the affidavits of Betsy Ross’ daughter, Rachel Fletcher, her granddaughter, Sophia Hildebrandt, and her niece, Margaret Boggs, all of whom had heard the story from Betsy Ross herself.³¹

28. Rear Admiral Franklin Hanford (1844-1928), “Did Betsy Ross Design the Flag of the United States of America?” (Scottsdale, N. Y.: Privately printed by Stella Harmon, 1921), p. 8. This little study, which is documented and furnished with a bibliography, exposes some of the myths that have grown out of the Betsy Ross legend.

29. Lloyd Balderston, Ph. D., “The Evolution of the American Flag” (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1909), pp. 47-49, 103-12. Dr. Balderston, who died in 1933, was a nephew of William J. Canby. His book contains the evidence which the latter and his brother, George Canby, gathered in support of the Betsy Ross legend.

30. Hanford, *op. cit.*

31. Balderston, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-19. Dr. Balderston quotes the three affidavits mentioned above, and also the affidavits of ten other persons who had heard the story from witnesses who declared that they had heard it from Betsy Ross (pp. 123-30). I have not seen William J. Canby’s paper. Dr. Balderston was under the impression that it is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (p. 109), but the librarian, Mr. Julian P. Boyd, in a letter to me written on February 8, 1939, says, “Although our Manuscripts Department has made a search for it, we find that we do not possess the manuscript of the article and the address was never printed.” John L. Balderston, the eminent journalist and playwright, who is a son of Dr. Balderston, and who has most obligingly furnished me a number of interesting details of the Betsy Ross legend, informed me in a letter written on March 21, 1939, that William J. Canby’s paper is probably in his mother’s safety deposit vault in Wilmington, Delaware.

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Elizabeth Griscom, who was later to become the heroine of a famous legend and the subject of much controversy, was the daughter of Samuel and Rebecca James Griscom. She was born on January 1, 1752. In November, 1773, she married John Ross, of New Castle on the Delaware, who was a nephew of Colonel George Ross, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. George Ross furnished cannon balls and other military stores to the Continental Army. John Ross, who was a soldier in the militia, while guarding some of these stores, was killed by an explosion of gunpowder, on January 21, 1776.³²

John Ross was by trade an upholsterer, and after his marriage he opened a shop on Arch Street in Philadelphia. His widow continued in the upholstering business, even after her second marriage to Joseph Ashburn, in 1777, and her third to John Claypoole, in 1783. For fifty years she was known as an expert needle-woman, lace maker, and flag maker.³³ After her death in 1836, the business was conducted until 1857 by the eldest of her four daughters by John Claypoole,³⁴ Clarissa Sidney Wilson (1785-1864).³⁵

The original Betsy Ross story, then, is very simple. William J. Canby in 1870 asserted that his grandmother, in June, 1776, "shortly before the Declaration of Independence,"³⁶ made the first American flag, from a design submitted to her by a committee of Congress and changed in some particulars at her suggestion. In view of the fact that the making of flags was a branch of Mrs. Ross' business, her grandson's statement would be entirely credible had he not asserted that the event occurred in June, 1776, a year before the adoption of the flag and some days, at least, before the Declaration of Independ-

32. George H. Genzmer, "Betsy Ross," "Dictionary of American Biography," XVI (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), pp. 174-75.

33. Minutes of the Pennsylvania State Navy Board, published in the "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, I (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, State Printer, 1879), 164, record that on May 29, 1777, the Paymaster of the Pennsylvania Fleet was ordered to pay to Elizabeth Ross fourteen pounds, twelve shillings, and two pence, "for making Ship's Colours &c."

34. By her marriage with Joseph Ashburn Elizabeth Griscom had two daughters, one of whom lived to maturity (Lloyd Balderston, *op. cit.*, p. 105).

35. Hanford, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7; Lloyd Balderston, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-10. John L. Balderston, in the letter mentioned above, informs me that there is still some of Mrs. Wilson's bunting at his family homestead at Colora, Maryland, and that Admiral Byrd carried a piece of this bunting on one of his historic flights. "It was a tradition in our family," says Mr. Balderston, "that all children, as soon as they were old enough, were taught to cut a five-pointed star, in memory of old Betsy's story, and I remember being taught this, probably about 1893. . . . I knew George Canby as a boy and have heard him tell the story as he got it from Betsy Ross's daughter."

36. Lloyd Balderston, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

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ence; and were it not for the fact that the "Journals of Congress" make no mention of any committee appointed to supervise the making of a flag. These discrepancies and others which I cannot discuss here have caused historians to question practically every detail of William Canby's statement and have tended to discredit the whole story. On the other hand, the minutes of the Pennsylvania State Navy Board for May 29, 1777, establish the fact that Mrs. Ross did make flags; and since Pennsylvania had no State flag previous to 1799, the colors mentioned in these minutes may have included the national ensign.³⁷ It is therefore not improbable that she actually did make some of the first flags used in Philadelphia. The Betsy Ross legend, which has given scholars a problem that they have never solved to the complete satisfaction of anyone,³⁸ immediately fired the popular imagination. Many patriotic writers repeated the story and embellished it with details from their own imaginations. Thus they soon created a sentimental myth, which is every year repeated to the school children of this country, which is accepted by the majority of Americans almost as an article of religious faith, and which will probably be disseminated by patriotic societies until the end of time.³⁹

The Betsy Ross legend tends both to refute and support Hopkinson's assertion that he designed the flag. It is very improbable that a man who had studied art, who had designed seals, and who had even painted portraits⁴⁰ should have made a design so rough and clumsy as that described by William J. Canby. On the other hand, Elizabeth Ross has been frequently quoted as saying that the stars in the original design had six points; ⁴¹ on the Hopkinson coat-of-arms are three six-pointed stars.⁴²

Whoever may have been the designer of the national ensign, the evolution of the design itself can be pretty definitely traced. Before the Revolution the Colonies, of course, used the flag of the Mother Country, but after the Americans rose in armed rebellion against England, the use of the English flag by the army or navy became confusing and dangerous. Accordingly, other flags, such as the Bunker

37. Lloyd Balderston, *op. cit.*, p. 57; John L. Balderston, *op. cit.*, quoting "The Pennsylvania Manual" (Harrisburg: State Printing Office, 1929), p. 242.

38. For a conservative discussion of the problem see George H. Genzmer, *op. cit.*

39. See Hanford, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-19.

40. He made a very good copy of his own portrait by Robert E. Pine. See Hastings, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-66.

41. Lloyd Balderston, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 113-14, 116, 124.

42. Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

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Hill Flag,⁴³ the Rhode Island Flag, the Pine Tree Flag, and the Rattlesnake Flag were adopted by various colonies during the early days of the war.⁴⁴

Of all the flags that were in use before the adoption of the stars and stripes the one that came nearest to being a "national" banner was that hoisted by John Paul Jones on the "Alfred," on December 3, 1775, and by General Washington at Cambridge on January 2, 1776. This flag, variously known as the Congress Colors, the First Navy Ensign, the Grand Union Flag, and the Cambridge Flag, had thirteen stripes, possibly copied from the Merchant Ensign or "striped flag" used by American merchant vessels and privateers; and a blue canton, emblazoned with the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George like that in the British marine flag of the day.⁴⁵

After the Declaration of Independence, further use of the British flag became obviously improper, but it was not until nearly a year later, on June 14, 1777, that Congress passed the resolution providing that the flag adopted should contain thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and a union of thirteen white stars in a blue field. Congress did not direct a specific arrangement of the thirteen stars, but in the navy it became customary to arrange them in horizontal rows of 32323, thus outlining the crosses that they replaced.⁴⁶

The "Journals of Congress" contain no specific information about the origin of the flag resolution, but we have reason to believe that it came from some one connected with the navy. Since the colors are a part of the necessary equipment of a ship, it seems probable that the naval branch of the service would be the first to feel the need of a new ensign and would take steps to secure one. That the resolution came from this department is strongly indicated by the fact that in the "Journals of Congress" it is preceded by one and followed by three resolutions reported by the Marine Committee.⁴⁷ When we remember that Francis Hopkinson, who three years later asserted that he had designed "the flag of the United States of America," was on June 14, 1777, chairman of the Navy Board acting under the Marine Committee, the position of the flag resolution in the midst of resolutions

43. McCandless, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 344.

44. R. C. Ballard Thruston, "The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), pp. 1-8.

45. McCandless, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-89, 295, 338-39, 344, 352; Thruston, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

46. McCandless, *op. cit.*, pp. 306, 310.

47. The fourth of these five resolutions provides that Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the Continental ship of war, the "Ranger."

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reported by the Marine Committee becomes doubly significant. Moreover, it should be remembered that Hopkinson's letter of May 25, 1780, was addressed to the Board of Admiralty. Finally the language of Hopkinson's various statements fixes the identity of the flag that he had designed and indicates the purpose for which he had designed it. In his letter of May 25 he called it "the flag of the United States of America"; in the statement submitted on June 6 he called it "The Great Naval Flag of the United States"; and in the two statements of June 24 he called it "The Naval Flag of the States," and "The Naval Flag of the United States." The first letter shows clearly that the national ensign is meant; the three accounts indicate that the flag was first designed for the navy.

One more fact may be cited as further evidence of the authenticity of Hopkinson's claim. His letter of May 25, 1780, begins, "It is with great Pleasure that I understand that my last Device of a Seal for the Board of Admiralty has met with your Honours Approbation." This seal, which was adopted on March 4, 1780, is described as having "thirteen bars mutually supporting each other, alternate red and white, in a blue field and surmounting an anchor proper."⁴⁸


In conclusion, I wish to emphasize strongly one point that has already been made. Of all the persons who have been named as possible designers of the flag, Francis Hopkinson is the only one who himself asserted, in documents now in existence and accessible to everyone, that he designed it. This assertion he made to men to whom the facts were known or by whom they were easily ascertainable. Some members of the Board of Treasury doubtless objected to his receiving pay for his work because they were hostile to him; some may have conscientiously believed that no charges should be made for artistic labors, which they called "fancy work"; some may have thought that an officer drawing a salary from the government should not be paid special fees. None of them objected to his receiving payment because they believed that he had not made the designs mentioned in his statements. And so I am convinced that, in the light of the evidence discovered so far, the credit for having designed the Stars and Stripes must be awarded to Francis Hopkinson.

⁴⁸. "Journals," XVI (1910), 412. I have found in the "Journals of Congress" little information about the other devices mentioned by Hopkinson. On September 26, 1778, a resolution was passed that a committee be appointed "to prepare seals for the treasury and for the navy," and on February 24, 1779, it was ordered that the Marine Committee be instructed to report . . . "forms of proper commissions, ship papers, and the like"; but what designs were chosen and when they were adopted I have been unable to learn. See "Journals," XII (1908), 961, and XIII (1909), 246.

Voyage of the Ship "Packet" To South America and China, 1817

(From the Journal of Captain Samuel Hill, Written at Sea)

EDITED BY JAMES WILBERT SNYDER, JR., NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

HE manuscript from which the following account is transcribed may be found in the New York Public Library, together with the author's earlier journal of the "Ophelia" and his autobiography. All three are important documents concerning the old China trade, since Captain Hill served not only as master of the "Packet" but also as her supercargo. A native of Washington County, Maine, he had sailed every sea known to commerce, and at the time of this venture has just returned to Boston from an eighteen months' voyage to Canton.¹

In the journal Captain Hill describes the voyage and also the manner of carrying on trade, both in South America and in Canton. It illustrates well an early phase of the Latin America trade. The voyage took five years and included additional trips between Canton and South American ports before returning by the Cape of Good Hope. Circumnavigating the earth was merely an incident in the business at hand. The owner's instructions were necessarily broad and left much to the discretion of the captain. He was warned to avoid danger of capture, and if asked, to give his destination as the Northwest Coast. Ports of call were suggested, and the nature of the cargo, and the ship was to be "loaded so deep as to sink all the wales in the water but one." In the excerpts of the journal which follow much detail concerning navigation, and some other material such as description of South American political activities has been deleted as indicated. This was necessitated by lack of space; otherwise the journal is presented as he left it.

Introductory Remarks—Ever since my departure from Valparaiso de Chili, I had determined to undertake another voyage to that coun-

1. A brief sketch of Captain Hill's life may be found in Mr. Snyder's introduction to the "Journal of the Ophelia," in the "New England Quarterly," for June, 1937.

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try provided a suitable ship & outfit, with a cargo adequate to the business could be obtained. . . .

About the beginning of May (1817) I obtained an interview with the Honorable Israel Thorndike,² who entertained a favorable opinion of the voyage and after some further conversation with me, he very honorably agreed to purchase and equip a suitable ship for the voyage in question, and also to furnish a capital of fifty to sixty thousand dollars, with proposals to receive on subscription a further sum to make up a cargo of one hundred and fifty or more thousand dollars. . . . Col. Thorndike purchased the ship "Packet" of Boston, and about the 28th of May I took charge of her. . . . A schedule of an agreement was drawn up and handed to different merchants for the subscription of stock for the cargo, which was soon obtained to a very considerable amount. The terms were as follows, to wit, The ship owners to furnish a suitable ship equipped, victualed, manned, and armed for a voyage of eighteen months in such manner as should be satisfactory to myself. The stock or goods subscribed by shippers, to be put on board at their account and risk, and invoiced at the fair and just cash price in the market, less the debenture on all goods entitled thereto, and at the true costs of importation on the original invoices of all goods on which the debentures were expired. Two and a half per cent. commissions for effecting sales in South America and two and a half per cent. on the investment in Canton, to be deducted, and all other incidental charges for effecting the business of sales and purchases abroad.

At the return of the property to the United States the goods to be sold at auction and the original amount of stock shipped, if sold for so much, and one half the net profits to belong to the shippers, and one half the net profits to belong to the owners of the ship in lieu of freight out and home.

On completing the cargo the amount of goods shipped by the Honorable Israel Thorndike amounted to One Hundred Thousand dollars, and the residue being that of the shippers goods to about

2. Israel Thorndike was formerly a partner in the firm of Brown & Thorndike, founded by Moses Brown in 1777. He continued the business alone after 1800. In addition to conducting his business with the East, which made him one of America's early millionaires, Colonel Thorndike was active socially and politically, serving many terms in the State Legislature. He was born in Beverly of parents who, though poor, were descended from the original settlers of Ipswich. His papers are in the Baker Library, Harvard University.

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seventy thousand dollars, making an aggregate of one hundred and seventy thousand dollars besides the ship and outfits being about twenty five thousand dollars more, which with private adventures made the whole exceed two hundred thousand dollars.

The ship "Packet" was built at Newburg in the State of Massachusetts in 1810 as per register. Her length on deck 95 feet one inch, breadth at the main beam 25 feet eleven inches. Depth of hold, 12 feet 11 inches, burthen two hundred eighty one tons 15/95ths. She was on the present occasion furnished with every necessary article of outfit, mounted eight guns, *viz.*, six long six pounders and two long nine pounders and manned with a complement of thirty-one officers and seamen. It had been one of my preliminary conditions with my owners that I should have the entire control and management of my business, or the business of the voyage from the commencement to its conclusion. . . .

The owners goods, as also the goods of the shippers which composed our cargo outward was wholly selected by myself agreeable to samples brought by me from South America and conformable to what I conceived to be the general style and taste of the inhabitants of Chili and Peru, and no one article of goods was received from the shippers, without first having been examined and approved by me.

The cargo³ being completed and stowed and the ship in other respects ready for sea, with the exception of the guns and implements belonging to them, the ship was hauled in the stream and moored on the 30th of June and at 4:00 P. M. of the first of July she was got under weigh with a pilot on board and proceeded to Nantasket Roads where she was moored. . . .

On Saturday the 5th July, nautical time, at 2:00 P. M., I embarked. . . . All hands were busily employed in clearing the decks and putting things in order for sea. . . .

The sixth . . . being the forty first anniversary of American Independence a full allowance of grog was served to all hands with fresh beef & pudding for dinner. At 5:00 A. M. we unmoored and got under weigh with a very light southwest wind and some fog. At 7:20 A. M. passed the light house, and set all close hauled sail at N. E. and N. E. B. N. . . .

3. Dry goods, jewelry, furniture, crockery, hats, iron, steel, brandy and other articles.

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Departure from Cape Ann, Passage of the North Atlantic—With pleasant weather and a fine breeze at south and south by east our course was held down the bay at East half South per compass. The sea was smooth and regular with a light haze near the horizon. At 2 hrs. 30 mins. P. M. Thachers Island lights bore north half East per compass dist. 4 or 5 miles. From this point our departure was taken. Latter part of the day we had some fog. No observation for the latitude. . . .

When we arrived near the Cape de Verde Islands the wind which for several days previous had been steady in the E. N. E. quarter, now veered to the N. E. and north where it continued until we reached the 12th degree of north latitude. . . . On the 12th at daylight a ship was observed about six miles astern of us directly in our wake, standing on in chase of us under a press of sail, the wind at S. S. W., a moderate top gallant breeze and we were standing close hauled on the western course. The ship evidently gained on us very considerably until 8:00 o'clock, when the guns were run aft to alter the trim of the ship and the sails well trimmed after which we soon left her and at noon she was fairly out of sight. . . . On the 31st strong breezes from S. E. and a heavy sea from the S. S. W. Many cape pigeons and some albatrosses hovering around the ship. . . .

Sept. 13th our route lay along that part of the Patagonian coast between Cape Corientes and the Gulf of St. George, and I cannot help remarking that during four several voyages towards Cape Horn, when passing this section of the coast I never escaped a series of heavy gales which invariably have abated when I arrived as far south as the Cabo de los Desvelos of the Spaniards. . . .

There are probably many deep Bays & Inlets on the above section of the coast, and I am strongly inclined to believe it is the finest part of the whole Southern coast. . . .

Sept. 24th We ranged along the coast of Tierra del Fuego at a distance of four to seven miles from the main land. . . . The coast of Tierra del Fuego, from the False Cape Horn to the Yorkminster Islands in the entrance of the Canal de Navidad, is composed of a chain of Rock Precipices indented with many coves, Inlets & Bays, of a considerable depth, some of which it is probable communicate with the Strait of Magellan. . . . On the whole I think I have not seen a section of any coast which presented a view quite so dreary

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and inhospitable, although I have seen most of the exposed Sea coasts on our globe between the Latitude of sixty north and 56 south. . . .

30th Sept. . . . the ship we saw last evening spoke us, proved the Beaver of New York, Richd. Cleveland, 89 days out. . . .

During the passage from Cape Horn to Valpo. I suffered severely from a violent attack of Inflammatory Sore throat which prevented me from making observations for the Longitude & variation most of the passage. . . .

Oct. 9 Steered a course to keep well to the westward of the coast for fear of falling in with Spanish Vessels which I had some apprehensions of. . . . Hauled up for the point of Angles until within 6 or 7 miles and brought the Bay of Valp° open with the church of Almíndral S. E. B. E. Nearly calm. A Brig standing out of port tow'd us induced me to haul off until her character was ascertained. She fired several shots at us but without effect, as we could evidently outsail her. The breeze freshened from the S. W. The patriot flag was plainly perceived to be flying on the Forts on shore and also on the Brig in chase of us. But as I had some suspicion of its being used as a deception I thought best to satisfy myself before I was in their power. We accordingly put everything in the best state for defense that we could and shotted our guns and being ready we tacked and stood towards her. She still kept firing shot at us. When I had got nearly within range of his shot I hauled up courses and rounded too. He came up and hailed us and sent his boat and informed that she was the Brig "Eagle" of the Patriot Gov't, and came out to reconoitre us suspecting us to be a Spanish Ship. On a nearer examination such was her force and equipment that I am confidently of opinion we could have beat her off and escaped with ease. The Commander Mr. Redmond Morris, however, apologized for having fired shot at us when we were standing towards him and on the whole behaved very civilly. We both made sail and stood in to port together where we arrived and anchored at midnight. Thus by the peculiar blessing of Divine Providence having arrived at our first port of destination in one hundred and five days from Nantasket Roads, Boston Harbour, all well on board, and having suffered no accident or casualty whatever.

At 10:00 A. M. the following morning we were visited by the Command^t of the Resguardos from the Aduana as is customary and

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several other persons from the shore. The visiting officer required agreeably to the laws that I should report my intention to unload and sell the cargo or otherwise within twenty four hours. But I informed him I should wait on the governor and request time to inform myself of the state of the market etc., before I could determine on future operations, and in order thereto I should wish to write to my friends in Santiago and advise with them before I could come to any conclusions respecting the discharge of my cargo here. . . . ⁴

On the 21st Mr. Solar arrived from Santiago and after a whole day's conference with him, I determined to unload my cargo and endeavor to effect a sale of it in Chili. Although the prices of goods was low, the duties imposed by the Government very high (34½ per cent) and from the large amount of goods lately thrown in to the market by the capture of the "Pearl," and the arrival of the "Lion" the prices might reasonably be expected to fall still lower than at present. These were weighty considerations to induce me to attempt a sale of my cargo on the coast of Peru. But on the other hand when I took into consideration the extreme danger of capture from the Spanish ships of war of which there were five in service on the coast, and two of them very fast sailors, and that my departure and destination would probably be known to them, as the Port of Valp° was blockaded by the Benganza Frigate on the 2^d day after my arrival, I concluded on the whole it would be the best and safest course to effect a sale the best manner I could in Chili. And after enquiring at Santiago and obtaining a promise from the Collector General that I should have the right to reship any part of my cargo which I should find on trial unsaleable, free of duties, I determined to unload in Valp°.

On the 27th commenced discharging cargo, and storing it in the custom house stores in Valp° and on the 30th finished discharging, made immediate arrangements for despatching the goods to Santiago on mules and carts. On the 6th of Nov. got it all on the road and departed on the 7th on horseback for Santiago accompanied by Mr. Robinson (Captain's Clerk). . . .

4. "Ships lying in the harbour were the Br. Frigate 'Amphion,' Com. Bowles, 18 months from home. Amer. Schr. 'Adeline,' Bush, of and from Philadelphia *via* Buenos Ayres with arms, ammunition etc. Amer. Ship 'Ida,' Dorr, of Boston, from Boston *via* Gibraltar with specie dollars. Patriot Gov't Brig 'Eagle,' Morris and English Brig name unknown. Also the Spanish Ship 'Perla' with a valuable cargo, prize to the Chilian Brig. 'Eagle.' (Oct. 20 arrived the Ship 'Lion,' Capt. Townsend, 104 days from Providence with a cargo of India and other goods.)"

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On the 25th received accounts of the capture of the "Beaver" and "Canton," by the Spanish Gov't. in Talcahuane, where it seems they entered voluntarily having been deceived by the Patriot Flag hoisted on the forts.

On the 29th arrived at Valp° the American ship "Bengal" of and from Philadelphia, Captain Ansley, Daniel W. Frost supercargo, dry goods, tobacco and crates, etc.

November 19. Made a sale of goods to Messrs. D. A. Barros, Balero and Beranella about 60,000 dollars, payable in 30 days. These men were considered among the best purchasers in the city for ability and punctuality in payment.

November 27. Sold to Ambrosio Aldunati goods amounting to 20,000 dollars.

On the 18th (December), I rode to Valparaiso in company with Messrs. Solar, Campbell and others, where I found that most of my ships crew had deserted and joined the several Privateers then fitting out under the Patriot flag, and such was the inducement offered to seamen that almost every ship in port had lost nearly all hands by desertion. Those ships who were about to sail for Rio Janerio and other places were under the necessity of giving most extravagant wages for seamen to man their ships.

May 29. Arrived the United States ship "Ontario," Captain Biddle.

June 16. Two citizens were murdered last evening in the Alameyda and the offenders were taken.

June 20. Five men were shot for robbery and murder.

June 23. J. Higginson Esquire, late Supercargo of the ship "Levant" of Boston has been appointed to command of the Chilian Frigate "Lantarro" (to replace Captain O'Brien, killed in Action).

From the 12th to the 14th (August) heavy rains, during this time I was occupied in closing my accounts and making preparations for my departure for Coquimbo and thence to Canton in China. Mr. Robinson was left in charge of the stores at Santiago and the store rent was fixed at 36 dollars per month having got my clearance for the ship I prepared to depart from Santiago. On the 21st August I left Santiago and arrived at Valparaiso on the 22d, where I found

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the ship "Packet" in forwardness for sea, and wanting little more than a crew of seamen to put her in readiness for sea. . . .

Departure from Valparaiso and Passage to Coquimbo—On Friday the 11th September at 8:00 A. M. we weighed anchor and stood out to sea from Valparaiso Bay. . . .

At 4:00 P. M. of the 14th we arrived and anchored in Coquimbo Harbour in 10 faths. on a bottom of sand and mud about $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile from the shore. . . . At Coquimbo I met Mr. Worthington, U. S. Consul, at the house of Mr. Daniel W. Frost and several other gentlemen whom I had known at Santiago. . . . This Port (Coquimbo) is the great mart of Chili for copper. . . . The inhabitants are estimated at six thousand. . . . The government here demand of every ship 25 dollars for anchorage, at Valparaiso it is but ten. . . .

At 3:00 P. M. on Saturday the 19th of September we weighed anchor from the Port of Coquimbo and stood to sea, bound to the Sandwich Islands distant 5680 miles on a course north $58^{\circ} 20'$ west. . . . On this passage we had generally fine weather and brisk South Easterly winds until we arrived near the Equinoctial line. . . . We took the regular Northeast trade wind which continued quite up to the Sandwich Islands. . . .

We arrived off Owhyee [Hawaii], near the East Point at 8:00 P. M. of the 23rd of October and the night being dark and squally stood under short sail until the morning when under a deluge of rain we crowded all sail round the Northeast side of the Island. . . .

Having obtained a supply of firewood and a few of the most miserable pigs which I ever saw at these Islands, and a quantity of vegetables etc. On Saturday November 7, at 6:00 P. M. we weighed and sailed from Woahoo [Oahu] and anchored in Whymea [Waimea] Bay, Atooi [Kauai] at noon of the same day. . . . went on shore and visited the King Tamooeru, and the principal chief who is an agent of Tamahahmahah⁵ and whose name is Tamahowrehernanch—Tamooeru who is now absolutely no more than 40 years of age, has every appearance of a man 70 years old and appears to be rapidly declining. He has led generally a very intemperate life by indulging to an excess in smoking tobacco, taking the ava, and keeping a number of females.

At the Island of Woahoo we left the following ships and vessels,

5. Kamehameha I, King of Hawaii from 1809 to his death in 1819.

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viz., Ship "Mentor" of Boston, Suter,⁶ just arrived from the coast of Northwest America with furs bound to Canton, has made a good voyage. . . .

Ship "Sultan"⁷ of Boston, Reynolds, late from the Marquesas, with sandalwood, bound on to Canton very soon. . . .

Lying up Brig "Forester," and ship hulk "Albatros," owned by Tamahamahah. Destination, to rot.

At the island of Atooi, Ship "Enterprise" of New York, Ebbets, taking in sandalwood, bound to Canton. Captain William Davis⁸ was at Woahoo, waiting hourly the arrival of the Brig "Cossock" from California, and ship "Eagle" and schooner "San Martin," from Sitka and Okotsk, and intends proceeding to Canton shortly.

Pigs and vegetables were scarce and dear at these Islands. Sandalwood plenty, nominal price 10 dollars per pecul 133 pounds.

Samuel Prince Jr. of Boston was residing at the Sandwich Islands in the capacity of Agent for William H. Davis, Esquire. . . .

Departure from Sandwich Islands to Canton—At 8:00 A. M. of Monday, November 9th, we weighed and stood out to Sea between Atooi and Oweehow [Niihau], bound to Canton. . . .

On the 8th (December) at daylight we were close in with Mendoza Island off Takai Point and steering W. S. W. Soon after saw the Tannary Islands. At 10:00 A. M. entered the Lima Passage and made all sail with a fine breeze, but at noon foggy weather and calms detained us near Rat Island. . . . On the 10th despatched Mr. Nowell and officer in a chinese boat to Macao for a Pilot for the River, while we were boating the ship over to the Nine Islands against a strong westerly gail, in order that we might lose no time in waiting for a pilot. . . . Soon after Mr. Nowell returned on board with a river pilot from Macao. While we were waiting the turn of the

6. Captain John Suter, one of the most successful of the "Nor'westmen," commanded such famous vessels as the "Pearl," "Atahualpa" and "Cleopatra's Barge." His connection with Bryant and Sturgis is indicated in the Bryant and Sturgis manuscripts, some of which are printed in S. E. Morison's "Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands," Massachusetts Historical Society "Proceedings," Vol. LIV. A sketch of him is given in S. E. Morison: "Maritime History of Massachusetts," pp. 70-73.

7. One account book of this ship is in the Baker Library.

8. William H. Davis was former commander of the ship "Isabella," owned by Boardman and Pope, of Boston. He was engaged in the sandalwood trade and remained in Hawaii himself for many years. He married the daughter of Oliver Holmes, Massachusetts shipmaster. Their son, William H. Davis, Jr., was born at Honolulu in 1822, and became a California pioneer. Morison, "Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands," *op. cit.*

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tide the ships "Canton" of Boston and "Lion" of Providence both passed us under full sail bound home to the United States on Monday the 14th at midnight arrived and anchored in Whampoa Roads. At 10:00 A. M. went up to Canton and hired a factory for the season I might remain in Canton, of Benjamin C. Wilcocks Esquire, American Consul at Canton at 500 dollars.

Immediately informed myself of the opinions of my owners by his letters received and of the state of the market and lost no time in issuing orders for silks wanted both for the home market and also for South America.

My contract for the manufacture of goods was made with Pagnan and Namching, and Pagnan secured the ship. On the 24th the goods for the Boston market were finished and ready for shipping and on the 28th were on board the "Ospray" of Salem, Captain Stephen Brown, bound to Boston. Freight for silk goods at 85 dollars per ton. But the goods wanted for Chili were not finished until the 28th of April 1819. The cause of this delay was it seems the difficulty of making the figured goods and although they had engaged to furnish them by the 10th of March at farthest, yet it seemed the merchants were disappointed by the weavers, and at the time when they informed me of their disappointment it was too late to remedy the business by ordering goods of another kind, I was obliged to determine either on leaving my goods, or wait and have them finished according to the patterns given. I determined on the latter, and the only consolation to be derived from this tedious delay, was that of having the wind and weather more favorable for my passage.

On Thursday the 6th of May at 5:00 P. M., I left Canton and proceeded to Whampoa, arrived on board at 9:00 P. M. . . . The wind was at E. N. E. moderate. At 10:00 A. M. worked down to Junk River and anchored. . . .

At daylight of the 7th of August we made a small low Island on the Lee Bord bearing south by west. . . . This Island which I believe to be the Whitsunday Isle of Cook, or Wallis is about three miles from north to south . . . covered with green bushes and one conspicuous tree directly on the Northwest point at the foot of the largest hill and near this is the residence of the Inhabitants. The rest of the Island is not more than 20 feet above the level of the sea or possibly 30 feet, is covered with bushes, except the beach which is

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a margin of white sand. The shores are formed of a line of coral reefs which appear like a perpendicular wall on all that side which came within my view. . . .

On the 5th of September at 8 in the evening the land was in sight on the Coast of Chili a few miles south of Point Couromilla at 3:00 P. M. (6 September) arrived and anchored in Valparaiso. . . . I commenced discharging cargo, but owing to the very unjust and illiberal conduct of the Governor of Valparaiso who seemed determined to throw every possible impediment in my way, and also the pernicious and destructive practice of the Customs House Officers in Valparaiso of opening and unpacking all goods landed in Valparaiso before they could be forwarded to Santiago I was under the absolute necessity of making a journey to Santiago where I procured an order from the Supreme Director to have my goods exempted from the Regulations on condition that I should pay a certain number of guards to accompany the wagons on which my goods were conducted to Santiago to prevent the goods from being smuggled on the road.

On the 20th of September the cargo was all dispatched on carts and on the Road to Santiago and I had discharged the ships crew with the exception of five or six men to take care of the ship with the officers. Having arranged everything in the most prudent manner I could devise at Valparaiso I set out for Santiago where I arrived the next day and made arrangements with the Customs House Officers for the Security of the duties, etc.

On the 8th of October, I got my goods despatched from the customs house stores in Santiago and stowed in my own stores ready for examination and sale, and from the demand on first opening the goods I calculated on a speedy and advantageous close of our sales. But the arrival of the Brig "Viper" from Providence, R. I., owned by E. Carrington and Company with a quantity of china and other goods produced a sensible stagnation in the market on the demand for our goods, of which a considerable quantity were yet on hand, besides a remnant of the former stock. After having duly considered the state of affairs in Chili, and finding that a considerable length of time would be requisite to close the sales of all our goods and collect payments, etc., I determined to collect all the funds which could be speedily realized and make another voyage to Canton and back to Chili while Mr. Robinson should remain to effect the sales of the

Pries in Canton Continued, Remarks &c.

1839.

		Sh. Co.	St. Co.
Buttons mostly from Butterfield p.	Pound	2. 30.	4. 4. 00.
Two other kinds averages of regular size	do.	30. 6.	35. 00.
Buttons Buttons	do.	75. 6.	1. 00. 00.
Buttons Buttons &c.	do.	5. 00.	6. 7. 00.
Teas of Good Shipping Opuntias			
Yunnan	Pound.	50.	
Imperial	do.	52.	
Green	do.	48.	Tiger brand in Boxes
Young Green	do.	38.	and 1 yd. 7. 50. Pm.
Green Skin	do.	20.	do. 2. 00. 7. 00. n
Green	do.	19.	Hips. & chin
do. Inferior	do.	18.	Chew Candy 14. 00. do
Peekin, Congo &c.	do.	12. a 12.	Coffee 11. 00. of market
Bank's Compound, Mass. &c. p' 100 p'.	do.	100. 00.	in Butterfield 25. 00. do
Short Green	do.	47. 00.	in Manila 28. 00.
Bank's Compound, P. & R. do. 1. & 2. 6th	do.	118. a 112.	in Europe 22.
Crop. Skin, Macao, p' 100 p' 19 3/4 25 Pm.	pieces	13. 50.	exactly at 40. a 40.
Wind Bankin } plain do. do. " "	do.	13. 00.	
p' 100 do. 20 Pm.	do.	9. 40.	
plain do. " " "	do.	9. 40.	
do. do. of 18 Pm.	do.	8. 80.	
Crop. Shaws } do. do.	do.	4. 50.	
do. do.	do.	6. 50.	
do. Embroid. p' 100	do.	7. 50.	
do. do. do.	do.	8. 50.	
White Silk Hops 20 in a piece fair p' 100	pieces	7. 00.	seam
p' 100 fancy do. 20 am	do.	8. 30.	do
White Linchairs of 30 yds.	do.	14. 50.	
do. do. do. do.	do.	18. 00.	
White Parsonets of 30 yds	do.	13. 40.	
do. Changeable " " "	do.	14. 50.	
do. Hops do. of 18 yds	do.	3. 75.	
White Parsonets " 15 yds.	do.	12. 50.	
do. Parsonets of 18 yds.	do.	20. 00.	
Light Lattices of 30 yds.	do.	19. a 20 dds	
Heavy do. White of 18 yds.	do.	18. 00.	
do. do. do. do.	do.	19. 00.	
do. do. do. do.	do.	20. 00.	Contin. to page

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residue of goods yet on hand, and collect the amount due, with a view to forward to the owners a remittance from Canton as quickly as possible.

On the 3rd of January, I departed from Santiago for Valparaiso to prepare the ship for sea and on the 19th of the same sailed for Coquimbo in order to collect a few thousand dollars due me at that place. Arrived at Coquimbo on the 23rd, collected the amount due then and sailed from thence on the 1st of February bound to Canton intending to touch at the Sandwich Islands for some firewood and a few pieces of timber &c for anchor stocks of which we stood much in need. . . .

The former king of these Islands Tamahahmahah died about 10 months since . . . sensible of his approaching dissolution to the last hour of his life and extremely unwilling to leave this world, having supported a system of the most unlimited tyranny ever known over the inhabitants of these Islands for more than twenty years. With him ceased the worship of images or Idols and that abominable system of Priestcraft and oppression the Taboo, which was the main prop and support of his Tyranny.

19 March, Having procured some timber for an anchor stock and two spare spars at Atooi, we sailed from thence and lay too off Owehow a few hours for some vegetables. At 6:30 P. M. of the 20th we bore up W. B. S. and made all sail for Canton. . . .

On the 27th at 10:30 A. M. anchored in Macao Roads and dispatched a Chinese boat with the first officer for a pilot. . . . On the 2nd of May we anchored at Whampoa having been obliged to wait 24 hours for a chop for the pilot at Macao. Immediately proceeded to town where I received a great number of letters, prices, current lists of sales, etc., from my owners and friends in the United States, and also letters from my children which were peculiarly gratifying. My enquiries were directed without loss of time to the nature of the goods and the quantities about to be shipped by Messrs. Jenks and Frost for Chili. . . . I was fully of opinion that it would be my best plan to load principally with Nankins and sugar and take such ready made silk goods as I might find in the market and depart for Chili without loss of time . . . hoping to arrive there somewhat sooner than either the "Flying Fish" or "Viper" and if possible effect a speedy sale of my goods and commence my homeward voyage. . . .

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On the 27th sent on board the last of my cargo, and on the 30th closed my letters and accounts and again embarked on board and immediately gave orders for dropping down the river. On the 1st of June arrived near Macao Roads having had light adverse winds in the River and at 4:00 P. M. of the 2nd June cleared away the Great Ladrone channel and hauled on a wind at S. E. B. E. Saw a ship standing in under Spanish colors, which appeared like the "Warren" of Lima. The Southwestern breeze blew strong with some squalls, the sea was rough and our ship was rather deeper in the water than I could have wished and required to be handled with care. Towards noon carried away the Fore topmast steering sail boom and split the lower steering sail. . . . On the 3rd we had squally unpleasant weather, the ship making 6 inches of water per hour and to add to our unpleasant feelings on this subject the pumps were found on examination to be in a very bad state being both cracked and decayed in sundry places in the cylinders. . . . Of the state of these pumps I confess I had been ignorant, as we had hitherto no occasion for them, the ship never having been very deeply laden and not having made any water worth mentioning, we however soon discovered that the leak was just above the water line near the sternpost and had escaped the carpenters notice, being under the edge of the upper rudder brace. . . . In smooth water we made no water at all. My unpleasant apprehensions were much relieved on this discovery as I feared the leak to have been in the bottom and produced by straining. . . .⁹

On the 6th (October) arrived and anchored in Valparaiso Bay at 3:00 P. M. All well after a voyage of eight months and twenty days from Valparaiso having been favored by divine Providence with success and safety and generally with health. . . .

Passage from South America to Canton—Received notice from Mr. Crocker at Valparaiso that my room was broken open and also the money chest. On examination afterward found I had lost \$1980.34. Early in February 1821, I turned all my attention to the effecting a close of my business in Chili, but such was the difficulty experienced in collecting suitable funds for the Canton market that I did not close the collection of outstanding debts until the month of

⁹. There follows here a description of an area of calm and fog, and directions how to avoid it.

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June when I returned to Valparaiso & immediately prepared the "Packet" for sea. On the 4th July 1821, we sailed from Valp° & touched at the ports of Coquimbo, Guasco and Copiapo, for the purpose of receiving some copper and other funds which were due to me at those places. This business having been satisfactorily closed we weighed and sailed from Copiapo on Saturday the 11th of August bound to Canton with intention to touch at the Sandwich Islands. . . . There can be little doubt from what I have observed of late that the best time to make a passage from South America through the Pacific ocean to the Northwest toward the Sandwich Islands, Canton or the Philippines, is when the sun is in the southern hemisphere. The prevailing winds and weather being then more uniform and steady quite over to the Marian Islands.

Nothing material occurred on our passage except a leak which was discovered in the Larboard bends under the sheathing by which a considerable quantity of bread was damaged in the bread room. The bread was taken out and the room dried by fires, and the Bends examined and caulked after our arrival at the Island of Woahoo. . . . Here we lay until the 10th of October and finished the several necessary jobs of work on our ship of which we stood in need. . . . On the 14th sailed from Atooi bound to Canton having letters on board from the Sandwich Island missionaries to the American Board in Boston. Soon after we got under weigh it fell calm and on the 15th at 4:40 P. M. we cleared away the little Island Tahooree which bore per compass S. B. E. one mile distant and from this position our departure was taken for China viz. Canton distant 5160 miles on a course No. 89° west. . . .

Nothing remarkable occurred on our passage . . . we arrived at Macao in 28 days from the Sandwich Islands without injury and all in tolerable health.

On the 16th arrived in Canton where I received letters from Colonel Thorndike and friends with New York and Boston catalogues of sales, schedules of Canton goods, price currents, etc. But although Colonel Thorndike in his letters made lengthy remarks on prices of goods, bad markets, etc., yet he gave me no positive directions respecting the kinds or qualities of goods he would have me invest for himself or the Gentlemen freighters nor did any of the freighters forward such direction excepting William Sturgis Esq. And here I

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cannot but remark how desirable it would be that owners and freighters when writing to their factors or agents abroad should endeavor to give them all the matter of fact information which they possess respecting prices, demand for particular goods, etc. After which either have them to decide on the spot for the investment of their funds or else give positive directions to invest specific kinds of goods naming qualities or prices. This would relieve the factor from much embarrassment. . . . I was rather inclined to ship a proportion of fair quality Tea, but a small quantity of Merchantable Teas had been shipped and at present none seemed likely to be. . . .

The late difficulties¹⁰ between English and American foreigners in Canton, and the Chinese government made it extremely difficult to commence any business in Canton with certainty, and it was some time before I could get my ship secured, and much longer before I could form a contract with any safe merchant for the manufacture of silk goods. However I at length succeeded in forming a contract with Namchong for the greater part of my silks, though at rather high prices. . . .

Landed the funds and proceeded to exhibit the Bullion to the Chinese money dealers, for sale. It was examined by all the principal banking companies or money house companies & the city and after holding out for the highest bidder full four weeks I sold the gold at \$19.40 per tale or \$14.55 per ounce. Silver \$16.32 per pound and copper at \$19.30 per pecul of 133½ pounds for cash in broken money at the customary weight on delivery. This was the best which could be done with it. . . .

On the 5th of February (1822) dropped the ship down to second bar and on the 6th I closed my accounts and went on board and immediately got under weigh and proceeded down the river. Cleared away the Great Ladrone Islands on the 8th and with brisk Eastern breezes and fair weather we stood to sea under all close hauled sail at South by East with a regular sea. Our ship was very crank on account of the great quantity of water, spare rigging, cables, anchors, etc., on deck, as we had not room for our lumber below, but by a close attention to the sails in squally weather I had no doubt of making a safe passage. Steered south by compass with a N. N. W. current until we

10. Probably the case of a Chinese woman who was allegedly murdered by an American sailor, F. R. Dulles, "Old China Trade," p. 132.

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cleared away the Eastermost of the Paracels *viz.* Lincoln Island, passed it about 11 or 12 miles distant by Chron. After which steered S. S. W. . . .

Our passage round the Cape of Good Hope was long and tedious, the Easterly breezes were light and of short continuance, while those from the West and W. S. S. to W. N. W. were long and violent, and frequent intervals at the shifting of the winds, of long calms and light flows with a disagreeable short head sea. . . .

Passed to the westward of St. Helena and had one day of squally weather and crossed the Equinoctial on the 7th May in longitude $22^{\circ} 53'$ west of Greenwich . . . did not take a regular trade wind until in latitude $3^{\circ} 30'$ north. . . . The N. E. trades commenced fresh and steady in 4° North and continued very regular up to latitude 26.30 North when it gradually lessened and veered to the E. S. E. . . . May 31 the eastermost isles of the Bermudas in sight . . . weather variable. . . .

June 9. 6:00 P. M. close in with Scituate Harbor, at 11:00 P. M. took a pilot and at 2:00 A. M. arrived in Nantasket Roads. At 10:00 A. M. arrived in town per the Hospital Island Boat with Dr. Welch in whom I recognized an old friend and who attended me to safe and comfortable Lodgings at the Exchange Coffee House. I was unable to help myself having had an ill turn just before I landed and did not come to the possession of my faculties until some time after I arrived at the Exchange Coffee House. Having taken a little broth I took my bundle of papers and called at Colonel Thorndike's house in Summer Street. . . . Thus after an absence of four years and eleven months and twenty-four days during which I had experienced much solicitude and various vicissitudes I was again permitted to visit my native country and home, my life mercifully continued to me through frequent scenes of extreme peril. . . .

Captain Alexander Fleming and Joyce, His Wife, Of "Westfalia," Rappahannock County, Virginia

BY LENORA HIGGINBOTHAM SWEENEY, ASTORIA, NEW YORK

"The FLEMINGS dwelt in FLANDERS where the argent rivers flow.
They crossed the sea with WILLIAM I a thousand years ago."



HE Flemings were originally a Germanic tribe. The name "Fleming" signifies a native of Flanders. In "Domesday Book" several tenants-in-chief are designated Flanderensis, or native of Flanders (land of the Flemings).

"The statue of an armed knight, with a *fret* upon his shield; hands elevated in a praying posture; sword by his side, and legs across, may be seen in Furness Abbey, Lancashire, England, an ancient burial place of the Fleming family. It was placed there generations ago in memory of Sir John Le Fleming, a Crusader."

The surname of this illustrious family, according to the sentiments of the most approved historians and antiquarians, was at first assumed from a person of distinction, who, in the days of King David I, a Fleming by nation, transplanted himself into Scotland, and took the surname Flanderensis, or Le Fleming, from the country of his origin.

Robert Le Fleming, the direct and immediate ancestor of the earls of Wigton, was one of the great barons of Scotland, under King Edward I of England.

It was this Sir Robert who repaired to the standard of Robert the Bruce, and, with a few trusty friends, all brave men, accompanied him, whom they thought their lawful sovereign, in adventure at Dumfries, where they killed Sir John Cumming, and never rested till they set the crown upon the head of the immortal monarch, on the Feast of Annunciation, A. D. 1306. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Malcolm Fleming, Lord of Fulwood, also in great favor with the king, who made him a grant of land in Wigtonshire, and also Governor of Dumbarton Castle and sheriff of the county.



*The Right Hon^{ble} The Earl of
Wigtown Lord Fleming and
Cumberland*

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

He was succeeded by his son, Sir Malcolm Fleming, who was a forwarder and assister of the right and title of David II Brucian line. He also was Governor of Dumbarton Castle, and discharged the trust with the utmost fidelity. During the whole of the usurpation of Baliol, this castle was a place to which the royalists did freely, and with great security, resort. Here Sir Malcolm had the honor to shelter and protect, in that evil time, Robert, Lord High Steward of Scotland, afterwards King Robert II. "His Highness was graciously pleased in reward of Sir Malcolm's signal loyalty and fidelity in his service, to create him Earl of Wigton. The good earl fell sick and died soon after." He left his estates and title to his grandson, Thomas Fleming, second Earl of Wigton, who sold the Earldom in 1371/2.¹

John, sixth Lord Fleming, born 1567, re-created Earl of Wigton, by James I at Whitehall, 19th March, 1606, the title "to last and continue to him and his heirs-male of lawful lineal descent in all time to come, on account of his distinguished services to the State and his personal affections to his Sovereign."* He married Lady Lilius Graham, only daughter of John, third Earl of Montrose, and died 1619. They had four sons: 1. John, second Earl of Wigton. 2. James. 3. Malcolm. 4. Alexander. The latter renounced his provision of 10,000 merks from land of Cumbernauld to his brother, John, second Earl of Wigton, in May, 1620.

It has been stated that the immigrant ancestor of the Flemings of Virginia was "Sir Thomas Fleming, second son of the Earl of Wigton in Scotland," that he married a Miss Tarleton in England, and came to Virginia in 1616. But this statement cannot be correct, as John, second Earl of Wigton (died 1650), who married in 1609, Lady Margaret Livingstone, second daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Linlithgow, had no son Thomas, but had three sons: 1. John, third Earl of Wigton. 2. *Alexander*. 3. William.

John, fourth Earl of Wigton and ninth Lord Fleming, died without male issue, and the title passed to his brother, William, fifth Earl of Wigton, who died 1681. The title became dormant with his son, Charles, seventh Earl of Wigton, and twelfth Lord Fleming, born about 1675 and who died unmarried at Cumbernauld, 16 May, 1747. The title was then assumed by Charles Ross Fleming, M. D., of Dub-

1. Seaver: "Fleming Family Records," p. 3. Teetor: "The Fleming Family," published in "The Great Divide," Chicago, Illinois, December, 1893.

*Fleming: "Flemish Influence in Britain," Vol. II, p. 268.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

lin, Ireland, who claimed descent through Alexander Fleming, fourth son of John, first Earl of Wigton. He, however, failed to furnish proof of his descent. He died in 1769, and in 1777, his son Hamilton Fleming, asserted his title to the Earldom, but in 1782 his claim was rejected by the House of Lords.²

The first Fleming of whom any record is found in Virginia, is Alexander Fleming, who came to Virginia in 1649-50, with other adherents of Charles I and who on August 6, 1655, purchased land in Lancaster County, Virginia, from William Moseley, a resident of that county. The conveyance was witnessed by George Rowles and recorded "ye iv day of 9^{ber} 1655 P^r me W^m Stanford," on page 214, "Lancaster County Deeds, &c., 1652-57."

As nothing further is known of the history of Alexander Fleming, second son of the Earl of Wigton, it is possible that he is identical with Alexander Fleming, the Virginian immigrant of 1649-50.

In 1658, Alexander Fleming was granted 250 acres of land on the north side of Rappahannock River, in Rappahannock County, Virginia, for transporting five persons into the Colony, and in 1662, Sir William Berkeley, Knt., granted him 400 acres of land lying between the south side of Silvester Thatcher's Creek and the "land whereon the sd. Fleming now liveth," for transporting eight persons into the Colony:

Jno. Wright	Wm. Taylour
Margarett Edderman	Eliz. Weekes
Finniell Danah (?)	Ann Stokes
Jno. Mill	Roger Reeves
Phillip Pascall	Roger Read
Tho. Stone	Wm. Jones ³
Jno. Mason	

March 18, 1662, he was granted 800 acres of land on the north side of Rappahannock River, Lancaster County. ("Patent Book 5," page 341.)

In March, 1664, "Captain" Alexander Fleming seems to have been granted his first land on the south side of Rappahannock River, lying on the "upper side of the Cove of the bay opposite to a poynt between Nanzemond and Nansatequond towne, adjoining upon the

2. "Scots Peerage," Vol. VIII, pp. 545-58. Hunter: "Biggar and The House of Fleming."

3. Nugent: "Cavaliers and Pioneers," Vol. I, pp. 384, 419.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

northwest with Cedars Creek, which divides this and land of John Gillet, &c., granted Clem^t. Herbert 21 April 1657, by him deserted and granted said Fleming upon petition, by order of the Governour and Council 28 March, 1664."

Subsequently he was granted the following land: 200 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River, January 25, 1666, for transporting four persons, by name Jno. Davis, Tho: Horton, Dorothy Hart and David Parker. ("Patent Book 6," page 23); April 17, 1667, 2,750 acres on the south side of Rappahannock River, for transporting fifty-five people:

Marg ^{tt} Rawlins	ffran. Jones
Geo: ?	W ^m Crofts
Sam ^{ll} Harford	Sam ^l Woke
Mary Hunt	Nick Spence
Dan ^{ll} Will ^{ms}	Elias Woodbridge
Dennis Sharpe	Jn ^o Worlock
Nich. Spenser	Jane Vatter
Math Hamer	Mary Wood
W ^m Thomson	Daniell Parker
Rob ^t Levin	Walter Williams
Rich. Palmer	Garheed Sparkes
Sam ^l Price	Jn ^o Hutchinson
Robt. fleming	Dennis Watkins
Jn ^o Greene	Mary Spruce
Tho: Wood	James Bruce
Richd. Parker	ffrancis Pye
ffrancis Willis	Martin Woodliffe
Henry Mills	Nicholas Wilks
Benjamin Daniell	Grace Andrews
Lawrence Meeker	Symon Gray
Michaell Wailler	Jn ^o Horton
Rob ^t Spurtin	Stephen Michael
Alice Potter	Jn ^o Miller
James Robins	Dan ^{ll} Diskins
Silves ^{tr} Thatcher	Hen. Vandulott
Dorothy Thatcher	Henry Sanders
An ^o Downe	(Illegible)
W ^m Hope	

("Patent Book 6," page 62.)

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

September 4, 1667, he patented 560 acres of land "in the ffreshes of Rappahannock County about two miles from y^e river" for transporting twelve persons whose names are given hereunder:

Lawe. fletcher	Marmaduke Harwar
James Bird	Sam ^l Briggs
Jno. Aster	An Smith
Joane Claydon	An Lon——
Alice Ayers	Ant. Champion
Eliz. Clayton	Henry Hoster

("Patent Book 6," page 183.)

To these patents he added continually by purchase until his holdings on the Rappahannock became extensive, and here he built the Mansion House, naming it "Westfalia," in memory of the Fatherland of his ancestors.

He married three widows (one at a time) and to his already large estate added their widows' dowers.

In the seventeenth century in Virginia, a lonely widow seldom remained one long, unless by choice. In many cases, the "loving friend" named by the deceased husband as executor of his estate, consoled his relict by proposing marriage, probably in some instances as a means of protecting the widow and her children from being scalped by the Indians, but more often it was the large estate left to her by her husband that they desired to add to their plantations which caused Cavaliers of Colonial Virginia to marry widows in preference to the maidens of that day.

Captain Alexander Fleming married, first, Ursula Browne, widow of John Browne, "late of Accomacke, Dec^d." ⁴ At what date he married her is not known, but she certainly was his wife by the 11th of August, 1659. In her widowhood she had purchased land of William Smart, Gent., 29 May, 1656, and on 11 August, 1659, Alexander Fleming and wife, Ursula, made an agreement with John Nuthall, of London, Merchant, attorney for Robert Ingram, executor of the will of Joseph Ingram, deceased:



THIS BILL BINDETH me Alexx Fleming of the County of Rapp^a. my heirs or assignes to pay or cause to be paid unto M^r John Nuthall

⁴ John Browne's will, dated August 20, 1654; proved January 20, 1655, in Accomac County, Virginia: Wife, Ursula; sons, John, Thomas, and Stephen Browne; daughters, Mary (under twelve years of age), Sarah, and Elizabeth Browne. ("Will Book 5.")

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

of London merchant for the use of M^r Robert Ingram or his heirs of St. Ives in Huntington Sheire Baker the full & just Sum of Six thousand four hundred pounds of good sound Bright merchantable Virginia Tobacco in Leaf with sufficient Cask to contain the same & pick^t & Culd according to act of Assembly this Tobacco being to be paid at the now dwelling plantation of Alex Fleming in the Freshes of Rappahannock upon the tenth day of November next which will be in the year of our Lord 1660 & for the better Security of payment of the aforesaid Debt or sum of Tobacco I the said Allexander Fleming with the Consent of my Loving wife Ursula Fleming do bind over our Land & plantation we now live on withall the houseing thereunto & upon belonging being a parcell of Land bought of M^r William Smart by my said wife Ursula Fleming & rendered up into the hands & possession of Alex Fleming & his heirs by me Ursula Fleming for Ever we the said Allexander Fleming & Ursula Fleming bind over the aforesaid Land with the said houseing & appurtenances thereunto belonging unto M^r John Nuthall for the use of M^r Robert Ingram & his heirs for the full terme of Ninety nine years more over I Ursula Fleming purely & freely bind over all my right & title of the Land aforesaid unto M^r John Nuthall & his heirs or order for the use of M^r Robert Ingram or his assignes for the full term of Ninety nine years from me & my heirs that is to say all my part as to Dower or thirds unto me belonging & to the true performance hereof we hereunto set our hands & seals jointly & Severally this 11th day of August 1659

Signed sealed & Delivered
in the presence of

JOHN   HUSS his mk
JOHN COOPER

ALEX FLEMING Scale
 Signum
URSULA V FLEMING Scale

I John Nuthall of Accomack gent. Att^r. of M^r Robert Ingram of St. Ives in huntingsheir do Constitute ordaine & appoint my Loving Friend M^r John Hall of Rappahannock merchant my true & Lawfull Attorney to arrest & implead to Judgment Mr Allexander Fleming of the County of Rappahannock late husband of Ursula Fleming the widdow of Mr. John Browne of Accomack & Ex^x to her said decd husband Mr John Browne of the County of Accomack for a debt due as may appear by Specialty under both their hands to the said Ingram & upon Composition with the said Fleming I do hereby authorise my said Attorney to resigne to & possesss the said Fleming his heirs Ex^{rs} & assignes with a parcell of Land being formerly bound over by the

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

said M^r Fleming & Ursula his wife for the said Debt for the terme of ninety nine years according to the said bill & what my said Attorney shall act or do in the premisses I do hereby ratify & Confirme to be as Authentique in Law as if I myself were personally present & did it myself In witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand & seale this 22^d of February 1660

Witness

JOHN NUTHALL Seale

EDMOND DOBSON

SIGNUM S T SILVESTER THACHER

Recordat the 23th of Aprill 1661 P me

Wa: Granger Cl Cur Rapp^a.

("Rappahannock County Deed Book 2," pp. 174-75.)

In 1664, Thomas Browne, of the County of Accomac, appointed his "loving friend" Thomas Mapes, his attorney to acknowledge his release of the above land to his stepfather, Captain Alexander Fleming:

KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents that I Thomas Browne of the County of Accomack in Virg^a for divers considerations me hereunto especially moving and in consideration of two Servants to me to be paid as is expressed by two bills bearing date with these presents do hereby give and grant all my right title and interest of a pattent of Six hundred & sixty acres of Land formerly William Yarrits and sold by the said William Yarrit to M^r. Smart & by him assigned to my loving Mother Ursula Brown alias Fleming as by y^e sd assignm^t may appear NOW KNOW YE that I Thomas Brown do deliver up all my right of the sd Land from me & my heirs unto my ffather in Law⁵ Cap^t. Alex Fleming & his heirs & assignes for ever wthall y^e. apptences of & belonging to the s^d. Land I say from me & my heirs In witness to the abovesaid premisses I hereunto set my hand & Seal this 14th day of february A^o. 1664.

Signed Sealed & Deliver'd

THOMAS BROWN Seal

in the presence of

ROB^t. MAPES

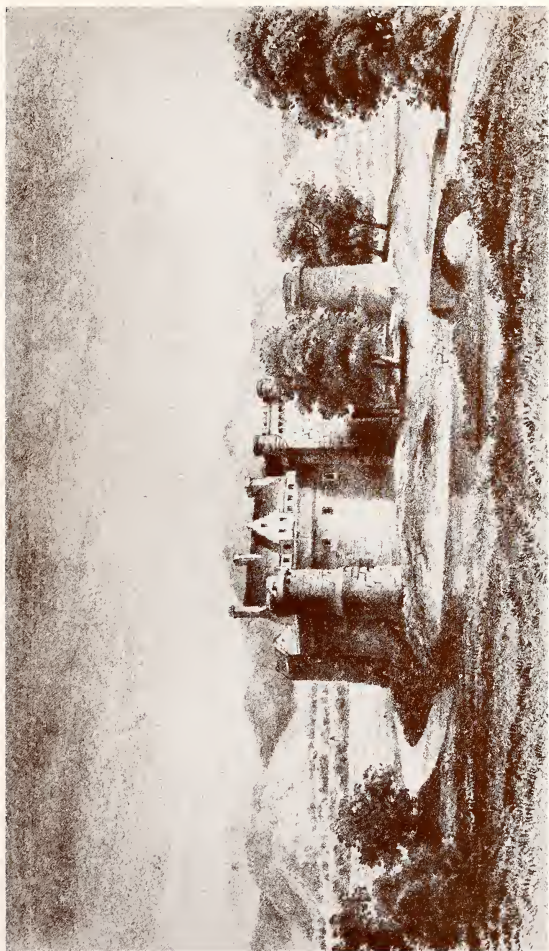
JOHN GAINES

WILL HOGGE

("Rappahannock County Wills, Deeds, &c., No. 1, 1665-77," pp. 83-84.)

April 19, 1660, Alexander Fleming and wife, Ursula, of Rappahannock County, acknowledge in court their deed of conveyance to

5. A term used in the seventeenth century for stepfather, a usage which has proved a stumbling block to many writers.



BOGHALL CASTLE, ANCIENT HOME OF THE LORDS FLEMING

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

William Wilson, of the same County. ("Rappahannock County, Deed Book 2," p. 126.)

Within less than a year after the recording of this deed, bereaved of his wife, Ursula, Alexander Fleming was seeking another bride, and found her in the person of Elizabeth Clapham, made a widow the second time by the death of her husband, William Clapham, Jr., of Lancaster County.

William Clapham, Jr., had married Elizabeth, the widow of Epaphroditus Lawson, who, in 1633, was living in Nansemond County, Virginia. His will, dated 31 March, and probated June, 1652, in Lancaster County, was recorded nearly one hundred years later, in Essex County, Virginia, "Will Book 6," page 420. In his will he makes provision for an unborn child, which proved to be a daughter, christened Elizabeth, who was an infant in arms when her mother married William Clapham, Jr.:

"At a Court holden for Lancaster at y^e house of M^r James Bagnell on y^e 6th of October 1652.

	M ^r Toby Smith	M ^r Andrew Gilson
Present	M ^r James Bagnell	M ^r Richard Loes
	M ^r David ffox	
	M ^r Geo: Taylor	

The Court hath ordered y^t accordinge to instructions under y^e hand of y^e Hon^{ble}, y^e Gouven^r y^t y^e Sheriff of this Countie doe deliv^r & put into y^e possession of W^m Clapham Juni^r who married y^e relict of Epaphroditus Lawson all such Estate or Estates in Lands Chattles Chattles (sic) or seruants as are specified in a morgage of sale made ouer Unto Rich: Benett Esq^r from y^e said Epapro: Lawson."

("Lancaster County Deeds, &c., 1652-57," pp. 15-16.)

In compliance with the foregoing order of the Court, Richard Bennett transferred the property to William Clapham, Jr., in the following words:

"Know all men by these p^rsents y^t I Richard Bennett of Virginia March^t doe hereby make over & Assigne unto W^m Clapham y^e Younger all y^e right tytyle & Interest y^t I have & w^{ch} to me belongs in an Estate of Land Seruants Cattle hogs & household goods and whatsoever else y^t is Exprest in a writinge of Mortgage Dated y^e 13th day of Aprill as 1651 by M^r Epapro: Lawson Deced for fortie Thousand pounds of tobacco & Caske as in & by y^e sd writinge may & doth appeare Exceptinge two thousand acres of Land upwards in Rapa-

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

hanock rive^r w^{ch} is to be disposed thus Viz one thousand acres thereof to Rich Lawson & his heirs for euer the other thousand Acres to be entered & recorded for Eliza: y^e Daughter of y^e afors^d Epaphroditus to her & her heirs in Case shee liue to fifteen Yeares of age but if shee liue not soe longe then y^t it shall belonge to him y^e aforesd W^m Clapham and his heirs

All w^{ch} Lands Seruants Cattle goods as mentioned in y^e aboue said writinge shall bee & come to y^e aforesd W^m Clapham his heires Execut^{rs} Admist^{rs} & Assignes for euer in Consideracion of thirtie Six thousand pounds of tobacco & Caske to be pd as followeth Six thousand thereof readie downe upon all demands & y^e other 30 thousand at 3 paym^{ts} y^e 3 ensueinge Yeares followinge after this Viz^t tenn thousand pounds Yearly.

In Witness whereof I haue heare Unto set my hand & seale y^e 12th day of 7^{ber} 1652.

RI: BENNETT

In p^sence of

the seale

RICHARD LAWSON

It is further Condicond & Agreed y^t if M^r Lawsons Pattent for 1000 acres of land Lyinge Lowermost in Rapahanock rive^r be not included in y^e Mortgage to me y^t then y^e same may be for y^e Child in lieu of y^e 1000 acres w^{ch} was reserved for her in his writinge & y^e sd 1000 Acres aboue to belonge to y^e sd W^m Clapham & his heirs for euer Witness my hand y^e 5th of 8^{ber} 1652

Witness JOHN SCAPEs

RI: BENNETT

Recogin^r in Curia 10th January

et Recordat 12^o die Janarij 1652 [1653] Teste Jo: Philips.

("Lancaster County Deeds, &c., No. 1, 1652-57," page 31.)

On July 15, 1658, William Clapham, Jr., and wife, Elizabeth, of Lancaster County, Virginia, appointed their friend Alexander Fleming, of Rappahannock County, their attorney to acknowledge in court a deed of conveyance to Captain William Underwood, of Rappahannock County, to one tract of land lying on the north side of the river, assigned to William Clapham, Jr., by William Smart. ("Rappahannock County Deed Book No. 2," page 42.)

William Clapham, Jr., in his will dated January 16, 1659, bequeaths to his son, William Clapham, 200 acres of land on Fleet's Bay, and all other estate to be divided between his wife Elizabeth, son William, daughter Anne and "my other little infant that my sd. wife goes with." He made his wife, Elizabeth Clapham, and his "brother-in-law," Thomas Madestard, executrix and executor of his will, which was proved in Lancaster County, June 16, 1660, and recorded in "Book of Deeds, &c., 1654-66," page 75.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

February 5, 1660-61, Alexander Fleming, of Rappahannock County, made an agreement with John Barrow, to sell 643 acres of land in Rappahannock County, which formerly had been granted to Walter Dickenson, 6 September, 1655, adjoining land now in the tenor of Alexander Fleming, and "he did warrant the same free from the dower of his wife, Elizabeth Fleming." ("Rappahannock County Deed Book 2," pages 176, 268.)

September 9, 1661, Alexander Fleming was one of the Coroner's Jury impaneled to inquire into the deaths of several persons "lately murdered at the house of Richard White in the freshes of Rappahannock County." ("Rappahannock County Deed Book 2," pages 201-02.)

July 10, 1662, Alexander Fleming, Gent., and Elizabeth, his wife, of Rappahannock County, deed 200 acres of land in said county to Mr. Francis Doughty, Clerk, for a consideration of 3,000 pounds of tobacco. ("Rappahannock County Book of Wills, Deeds, &c., No. 1," page 254.)

There is a power of attorney recorded in Rappahannock County, dated January 1, 1666, by which Captain Juniper Plover appoints Captain Alexander Fleming his attorney to acknowledge a deed to Henry Reeves, heir-at-law of Mr. Robert Sharp.

From the following document it appears that by July 3, 1666, Captain Alexander Fleming had lost his second wife, Elizabeth:

WHEREAS I, Wm Harper of the County of Rappa. hath in my possession and keeping two Cows and two Cow Calves belonging pply to my Daughter Eliza. Harper being the Increase of one Cow given to her formerly by her God Mother Mrs. Eliza. Clapham, and the Late Wife of Mr. Alex. Fleming the marks of the sd Cattle being mrked as Vizt: Cropt on both Eares wth two slitts in ye Right Eares and a half moone in the left the two Cows going by the Name of Patch and Nancey the one a Browne Cow & wt. Flank and the other a Blacke Cow wch. said Cattle aforesd. I desire may be Recorded for the ppr Use and Accompt of my Daughter Elizabeth aforesd to wch End I Wm. Harper by these pnts have Constituted Ordained & appoynted in my place and steed my trusty and Loveing Friend John Ryman my true and Lawfull Attorney to Acknowledge & surrendr: up in Court for my Use the aforemenconed Catle wth. all the Increase to and for the Use and pp^r. Accompt of my Daughter Eliza Radifying & Confirming Allowing wt. my sd Attorney shall doe or Cause to be Done in the Execucon of the Premises as if my selfe were personally

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

psent in Testimony whereof I have sett my hand and seale this 3d day
of July 1666

Signed Sealed
& Deliv'd in pts of Us

EDWARD ROWZEE

RICHARD GOODE

Recognits. in Cur Com Rappa. 4 Die July Anno. Domi. 1666

Recordat X^o Die Ejus Mensis Ano. Supsd.

Test

Exa

ROBT: DAVIES Cl Cur Sd

A Copy—Teste:

A. D. LATANE, Clerk.

("Rappahannock County Book of Deeds, &c., No. 3," page 63.)

Captain Alexander Fleming married, as his third wife, at some time between July, 1666, and September, 1667, Joyce Hoskins, apparently a daughter of Captain William Jones, and the rich and attractive widow of Anthony Hoskins, of Accomac County, who came to Virginia in the "George," 1635,⁶ aged 22 years, and, therefore, born *circa* 1613. Anthony Hoskins was granted 700 acres of land in Northampton County, in 1652, for transporting himself, Alice Hoskins, and twelve other persons into the Colony of Virginia.⁷ In the same year he was a member of the General Assembly for Northampton County. In his will, dated 19 July, 1665, and probated 16 August, 1665, he makes his eldest daughter Elizabeth (under age of 16), his sole heir: daughter, Ann; wife, Joyce, executrix, and wished her to have the use of his plantation for life; . . . ; Father, Captain William Jones, and friend, Lt. Col. William Waters, Supervisors of his will. That the testator was not without anxiety about leaving his wife and daughters alone in this savage country, is shown by the following pathetic plea to the Supervisors of his Will: "I desire them for God sake to assist my wife & Children."⁸

As a matter of fact, they were soon relieved of the responsibility for the two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Hoskins, went to live with their mother, Joyce, at "Westfalia," Rappahannock County, Virginia. Here they found ample protection. Captain Alexander Fleming was prominently identified with the affairs of the country; a Justice of the

6. Hotten, p. 124, who gives his name as "Ant^o Hodgskins."

7. Nugent: "Cavaliers and Pioneers," Vol. I, p. 264.

8. Nottingham: "Wills & Administrations, Accomac Co., Va., 1663-1800," Vol. I, p. 1, who gives his name as "Anthony Hodgkins."

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

Peace, Captain of the Militia and a member of the Vestry for Sittingbourne Parish.

A deed of gift made by Robert Payne, Sr., in 1668, to Captain Alexander Fleming's daughters, Alexia and Elizabeth Fleming, shows by that date they had a daughter christened—Elizabeth Fleming.

KNOW ALL MEN by these pnts that I Robt. Payne of the County of RAPP^A. IN VIRGINIA out of the verry true Love and Harty affection wh. I Bare unto Alexia Fleming Daughter of Capt. Alex: & Elizabeth Fleming of the same County doe for me my heires Executors. & admsrs. freely give Deliver assigne Over firmly Clearly & absolutely into the Hands of Capt. Alex: Fleming for the use of Alexia Fleming as her pper Estate One Wall Eyed mare Filly with. all her future increase called By the Naime of Pyball (Vizt.) to her the said Alexia Fleming her heires and ass's or Order for Evmore shee the said Alexia allowing and granting to her Father Capt. Alex: Fleming all the male increase that shall come of the sd. mare filly PyBall till Alexia shall attaine to the Aige of twelve yeares and that then as aforesaid shee shall enjoy all Both male and Femaile to her and her heirs for Evmore But in case it should so please Almighty God that the said Alexia should Depart this life Before shee Come to Be twelve yeares of aige or Before Marriage that then I give the sd. mare with. increase unto Elizabeth the now Daughter of Alex: and Joyce Fleming to her and her Heires &c as amply and Freely as if Alexia had lived or may Be Collected out of the abovesd. grant to Alexia her heires &c. from me Robt. Payne my heires and assignes &c for Evmore But in case that the said Elizabeth Fleming should alsoe Depart this Life Before shee attaine to the aige of twelve yeares or marriage then I Order the aforesd. mare & increase to be at full power and Disposing By Sale guift or otherwise of the Chiefe Parent then Liveing as they then shall thinke meete alwayes pvided their Be noe heire apparent to Alexia nor Elizabeth Fleming and for the more Fuller confirmacon of this Deed and Guift I hereunto Subscribe my hand and Seale this first Day of September ano. 1668.

Signed Sealed and
Deliv'd in ptns of Us

ROBERT MAPES

Signe

JOHN B BARROW

Recognitt. in Cur Com Rappa. 3^o Die 7bris 1668

Recordat^r X^o. Die Ejus Mensis Ano. Suped.

RO. PAYNE Seale

Test RO PAYNE Cl Cur

A Copy—Teste:

A. D. LATANE, Clerk.

("Rappahannock County Book of Deeds, &c., No. 3," pp. 504-05.)

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

The same day, Captain Alexander Fleming, Gent., of Rappahannock County, "out of the Love and Singular true affection wch. I Bare unto my Godson Rob^t. Payne Junior, sone of Rob^t. Payne Senn^r. of the same County Doe for me my heires Executors & Admrs. freely Absolutely give grant and Assigne over and Deliver into the Hands of Rob^t. Payne Junior as his owne P^p. Estate one mare Filly called Rose, &c." ("Rappahannock County Book of Deeds, &c., No. 3," pp. 503-04.)

The above Robert Payne, Sr., under the assumed name of Robert Davis, married, prior to September 11, 1666, Elizabeth Lawson, born 1652, the daughter of Epaphroditus Lawson and wife, Elizabeth.

On September 20, 1666, Robert Payne, Sr., came into Court and after declaring that he had lived under the name of Robert Davis for the past five years, during which period he had married a wife, transacted business and had also acted as a public officer in the Court of Rappahannock County, that now "desiring to undeceive the world," asked to be allowed to resume his true surname of Payne. The Court being satisfied with the reasons he gave for assuming the name of Davis, granted his request, and ordered "that the right and true surname of the sd person hitherto called Davis and of his wife and issue (when he shall have any) is and shall be from henceforth called, accepted and taken to be Payne."⁹

The following year, as we learn from a document of record dated May 15, 1667, Captain Alexander Fleming conveys to Robert Payne, Sr., Clerk of the Court of Rappahannock County, one-half part of 2,750 acres of land "in the Freshes of Rappa. River & on the Backe of Portobacco Indian Lyne." ("Rappahannock County Deeds, &c., No. 3," pp. 399-400.)

The will of Robert Payne, Sr., Gent., of Rappahannock County, dated March 21, 1671, and recorded on page 187 of "Will Book No. 1," November 4, 1675, stipulates that if his wife, Elizabeth Payne, should die without heirs other than their son, Robert Payne, Jr., and should he die without lawful issue, "my will is that William Clapham Alexia Fleming and Mary Clapham enjoy all and singular my lands equally to be divided between them and their heirs forever."

9. "William & Mary College Quarterly," Second Series, Vol. XIII, No. 4, p. 249.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

To attempt to correct the statement made by so accomplished a genealogist as Mr. C. A. Hoppin, that Robert Payne, Sr., married Elizabeth Fleming, daughter of Alexander Fleming, might render the writer liable to the criticism that—"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." But it is not possible that Robert Payne, Sr., could have married Elizabeth, the daughter of Captain Alexander Fleming and wife, Joyce, as at that date (1666) she had not been born. But he *did* marry the stepdaughter of Captain Alexander Fleming—Elizabeth Lawson—as is shown by a deed dated 2 February, 1667, and recorded on pages 407-12, "Deed Book No. 3," Rappahannock County, Virginia, which states that the wife of Robert Payne was a daughter of Epaphroditus Lawson.¹⁰

The following power of attorney reveals the fact that Captain Alexander Fleming was alive in the latter part of the year 1668:

November 3, 1668, Elizabeth Chetwood, wife of Thomas Chetwood, of Lancaster County, Virginia, appoints her friend Captain Alexander Fleming of Rappahannock County her attorney to sell 800 acres of land assigned to her husband by William Ball, Gent., of Lancaster County, being formerly patented between said Chetwood and William Ball. ("Rappahannock County Deeds, &c., No. 3," p. 526.)

In those days of constancy and fidelity, Joyce remained the wife of Captain Alexander Fleming until his death, which occurred at some time between the third day of November, 1668, and the thirtieth day of March, 1668/9;¹¹ therefore it does not seem probable

10. Mr. Hoppin also states in "The Washington Ancestry," Vol. I, p. 136, that the will of "Robert Payne, Gentleman, Senior, of Rappahannock (now Essex) County, Virginia, dated March 21, 1671, proved November 4, 1675, reveals that his sister Mary and his relative Joyce were then married, for he provides that if his wife Elizabeth (daughter of Alexander Fleming) dies, and their son Robert, Junior, dies without lawful issue, 'my will is that William Clapham, Alexia Fleming & Mary Clapham enjoy all and singular my lands,' etc." There is nothing in the will that "reveals" that Joyce was a relative. Of all those whose writings I have consulted, none seems to have known that Joyce Fleming was the widow of Anthony Hoskins, of Accomac County, when she married Captain Alexander Fleming. Nor was Mary Clapham the *sister* of Robert Payne, Sr. She was his wife's *half-sister*; a deed of gift made October 4, 1667, by Robert Payne, Gent. Sr., of Rappahannock County, "for love and affection I Bare unto Mary y^e daughter of Mr. William Clapham, Jun^r, Dec^d," proves that the unborn "little infant" mentioned in the will of William Clapham, Jr., was christened—Mary Clapham. ("Rappahannock County Deeds, &c., No. 3," p. 274.)

Colonel Brooke Payne, in "The Payne Family of Virginia," says that William Clapham, born 1653, son of William Clapham, Jr., and wife Elizabeth, married Mary, daughter of Silvester Thatcher. This statement sounds plausible, but I have not verified it; Silvester Thatcher lived neighbor to Captain Alexander Fleming, stepfather of William Clapham.

11. The approximate date of the death of Captain Alexander Fleming is given in a quaintly worded deed of gift from the Rev. Francis Doughty, to his wife, Ann. ("Virginia Magazine of History," Vol. V, pp. 289-90.)

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

that she could have been married to Captain Lawrence Washington in 1667/8, as stated by the Reverend Horace Hayden, in his "Virginia Genealogies," page 518.)

From a deed of record in Rappahannock County, Virginia, we learn that Captain Alexander Fleming died testate. The writer has been unable to locate his will. He left "Westfalia" to his wife, Joyce Fleming, to dispose of as she pleased. The following deed reveals that Joyce with this large estate did not long remain a widow. She married, as her *third* husband, Captain Lawrence Washington, who emigrated from England to Virginia with his brother, John Washington, *circa* 1657.¹² Later, he returned to England, where he married, January 26, 1660, Mary, daughter of Edward Jones, of Luton, Gent. After her death, leaving his daughter, Mary, to the care of her grandparents, Lawrence Washington returned to Virginia,¹³ before March 23, 1664/5, being claimed as a head-right at this time, by Colonel Gerrard Fowke and Richard Haiberd.¹⁴

FEBRUARY 6, 1671/2.

I Lawrence Washington of the County of Rappahannock, Gent., have with the consent of Joyce my wife and for the consideration of two thousand four hundred pounds of good sound merchantable Tobacco and Cask paid by Samuel Morris of the same county conveys to him all our Right title and Interest of Two hundred acres of land formerly Captain Alexander Fleming's and by him sold and assigned to John Thomizine and from him assigned to me the said Lawrence Washington as the records of this County may make appear w^{ch} is one-half of four hundred Acres of Land assigned as aforesaid . . . unto Samuel Morris . . . the said two hundred acres being part of a greater tract of Two thousand seven hundred and Fifty acres lying in the ffishes of Rapp^a. on the South Side, the said land being called Westfalia

LAWRENCE WASHINGTON seal

Witness:

Signum

CORNELIUS WOOD
WILLIAM CLAPHAM

JOYCE ⚭ WASHINGTON seal

Know all men that I Joyce Washington of Rapp^a County do make ordaine Constitute and appoint my loving friend Robert Payne of

12. Sparks: "Life of Washington," p. 505.

13. Hayden: "Virginia Genealogies," p. 518. Waters: "Genealogical Gleanings in England," p. 409.

14. Nugent: "Cavaliers and Pioneers," p. 446.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

the same county my True and Lawful Att^y. for me and in my name to acknowledge a Certain Parcell of Land as by deed may more at Large appear unto Samuel Morris of the same Place to him and his heirs and assigns for ever. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 6th of May 1673.

Witness:

CORNELIUS WOOD
ENOCH DOUGHTY

Signum

JOYCE # WASHINGTON

("Rappahannock County Deed Book 5, 1672-75," pp. 142-44.)

Elizabeth Hoskins, daughter of Anthony and Joyce (Jones?) Hoskins, and stepdaughter of Captain Lawrence Washington, married Cornelius Wood,¹⁵ not later than October 7, 1673, for at that date, as his wife, she joined with him in a deed of conveyance to Lewis Loyd, to which Lawrence Washington was a witness. On March 4, 1673, she gave a power of attorney to "my loving father-in-law [stepfather] Lawrence Washington," to acknowledge her release of dower in the land sold by her husband, Cornelius Wood. This land was part of 560 acres that Elizabeth Hoskins had patented in Rappahannock County and deserted and was granted to Lt.-Col. John Washington, of Westmoreland County, who sold same to Cornelius Wood, as the following transcripts of the records disclose:

"Be it known unto all men by These presents that I John Washington of Washington parish in Westmoreland county Gent. do make ordaine Constitute and appoint my loving friend George Jones¹⁶ of Sittingbourne parish Rapp^a. County my True and Lawful Attorney for to acknowledge a parcell of land containing five hundred and Sixty acres lying and being in the Freshes of Rapp^a County w^{ch} I lately petitioned for to the Right Hon^{ble} S^r William Berkeley, Kn^t. and Governour of Virginia and was by him granted unto Elizabeth Hoskins daughter of Anthony Hoskins late of Accomacke deceased to her and her heirs forever as witness my hand this 27th of Decm^b 1671—

Witnesses:

JOHN WATTS
his mark

JOHN WASHINGTON seal

JAMES X FUELLIN"

("Rappahannock County Deed Book, No. 5," p. 15.)

15. Mr. C. A. Hoppin erroneously states in "The Washington Ancestry," Vol. I, p. 162, that "Cornelius Wood was the husband of Elizabeth (Fleming) Wood, daughter of Alexander Fleming, then deceased, whose widow Joyce (—) Fleming was then the wife of Lawrence, the brother of John Washington."

16. George Jones married Honoria, widow of Major John Weir. ("Rappahannock County Deed Book No. 5," p. 100.)

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

"To all to whom &c. now know y^e &c. That I S^r W^m Berkeley Kn^t. &c. do with the consent & advice of the Council &c. give & grant unto L^t Coll^o John Washington five hundred and sixty acres of Land in the Freshes of Rapp^a. about two miles from the River side beginning at a white oake neare a branch side of a Creeke Called Coghill thence running into the woods for length by a line of Trees that parts this land and the Lands of Bath^o Gilson neare Land of M^r Robert Payne thence the said Land being due to said Washington as followeth Viz^t. being formerly granted to Capt. Alexander Fleming by patent dated the fourth of September 1667 and by the said Fleming sold to Elizabeth Hoskins and by hir deserted & is now granted by order of the Gen^l Court dated the 2^d of October 1671 and is further due by Transporting of Eleven persons into this Colony . . . whose names are on the Records mentioned underneath this Pattent To have and to hold the said Land wth his due Share of all mines & minerals therein Contained wth all—Rights and priveledges of hawking hunting fishing & fouling wth all woods waters Rivers wth all profitts Commodities & hereditaments whatsoever to the said Land belonging to him the said Washington his heirs and assigns forever in as Large & ample manner to all intents & purposes as is Exprest in a Charter of orders from the Late Treasurer & Company dated 15th of 9^{ber} 1618 or by Consequence may be justly Collected out of the same or out of the Letters Pattented whereon they are granted to be held of our Sovereign Lord the King his heirs & Successors as of his Manour of East Greenw^{ch} in free and Common Socage and not in Capite or by Knites Service yealding to our Sovereign Lord the King his heirs & Successors for every fifty acres of Land hereby granted yearly at the feast of S^t. Michael Arch-angle the fee rent of one shilling which payment is to be made yearly From yeare to yeare according to his Majesties Instructions of the 12th of September 1662 provided that if the s^d L^t Coll^o Washington doe not Seate or plant or Cause to be seated or planted on the said Land within three years next Ensuing then it Shall be Lawfull for any adventurer or planter to make Choice & plant on the same given under my hand & seale of the Collony the 3rd of Nov^r 1673

Test Cl W^m. BERKELEY seal

PHILL LUDWELL"

"Know all men by these presents that I L^t Coll^o John Washington of Westmoreland County for a Valuable Consideration Received of Cornelius Wood of Rapp^a. County doe assigne all my Rightes title and Interest of this Pattent and the land therein Contained unto the s^d Cornelius Wood his heirs and assigns forever and doe warrant the said Land from me my heirs Executor^s. Administ^{rs}. & Assigns forever from any Claime or Claimes by from or under me my heirs

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

Execur^r. Adminr^r. or Assignes In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seale this 4th of March An^o Domⁱ 1673.

Witness:

DANIEL GAINES

JOHN ROSIER"

JOHN WASHINGTON seal

("Rappahannock County Deed Book, No. 5," pp. 262, 264, 266.)

Apparently Cornelius Wood had died before the first of the year 1677/78, as on January 1, 1677/78, Elizabeth Wood, of Rappahannock County, made a deed of gift:

"To my beloved daughter, Cordelia Wood for love and affection I give all my interest in my estate on the South Side of Rappahannock River—380 acres—and a grey mare branded E by the name of Lamb and two heifers to her, her heirs, &c.

ELIZABETH E W WOOD Her Mark."

(Rappahannock County Loose Papers, Box 101—A—.)

Captain Lawrence Washington, husband of Joyce (Jones?-Hoskins-Fleming) Washington, died in 1677. His will, of record in Rappahannock County, reads as follows:

"In the Name of God Amen I Lawrence Washington of the County of Rapp^{ac}. being sick & weak in body but of sound and perfect memory do make and ordaine this my last will & testament hereby revoaking annulling & making void all former Wills and Codicills heretofore by me made either by word or writing & this only to be taken for my last will & testament Imp^{rs}. I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God hoping and trusting through the mercy of Jesus Christ my one Savio^r. and redeemer to receive full pardon & forgiveness of all my sinnes and my body to the earth to be buried in a comely & decent manner by my Executrix hereafter named & for my wordly (*sic*) goods I thus dispose them Item I give and bequeath unto my loving daughter Mary Washington my whole estate in England both reall & personall to her & the heirs of her body lawfully begotten for ever to be delivered into her possession immediately after my decease by my Executrix hereafter named. I give and bequeath unto my afores^d daughter Mary Washington my smallest stone ring and one Silver cup now in my possession to her and her heirs for ever to be delivered to her immediately after my decease. I give and bequeath unto my loving son John Washington all my bookes to him and his heirs for ever to be delivered to him when he shall come to the age of Twenty one yeares. I give and bequeath unto my Son John and Daughter Ann Washington all the rest of my

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

plate but what is before exprest to be equally divided between them and delivered into their possession when they come of age. Item my will is that all my debts which of right and Justice I owe to any man be Justly and truly paid as also my funerall expences after which my will is that all my whole estate both reall and personall be equally divided between my loving wife Jone [Joyce] Washington and the two children god hath given me by her Viz^t John and Ann Washington. I give and bequeath it all to them and the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten for ever, my sonnes part to be delivered to him when he comes of age, and my daughters part when she Comes of age or day of mariage which shall first happen. Item my will is that land which became due to me in right of my wife lying on the south side of the river formerly belonging to Cap^t Alexander Fleming and comonly known by the name of West ffalco [Westfalia] be sold by my Executrix hereafter named for the payment of my debts immediately after my decease. Item my will is that the land I have formerly entred with Cap^t W^m Mosely be forthwith after my decease surveyed and pattented by my Exec^s hereafter named and if it shall amount to the quantity of one thousand acres then I give and bequeath unto Alexander Barrow two hundred acres of the sd land to him and his heirs for ever the remainder I give and bequeath unto my loving wife afores^d and two Children to them and their heirs for ever to be equally divided between them. Item my will is that if it shall please God to take my daughter Mary out of this world before she comes of age or have heirs of hir body lawfully begotten then I give and bequeath my land in England which by my will I have given to her unto my son John Washington and his heires and the psonall estate which I have given to hir I give and bequeath the same unto my daughter Ann Washington and her heires for ever. Item I do hereby make and ordain my loving wife Jone [Joyce] Washington Executrix of this my last will and testament to see it performed and I do hereby make and appoint my dear and loving brother Coll^o John Washington and my loving friend Thomas Hawkins (in case of the death or neglect of my Executrix) to be the overseers and guardians of my Children untill they come of age to the truth whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seale this 27th of September 1675.

LAWRENCE WASHINGTON seale

Signed Sealed and declared
to be his last will & testam^t. in
the p^rsence of us

CORNELIUS WOOD

sign

JOHN B BARROW

HENRY TANDY JUN^R

A Codicill of the last will &
testament of Lawrence Washing-
ton annex to his will and made
Septemb^r 27th 1675 Item my will
is that my part of the land I now

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

live upon which became due to me by marriage of my wife, I leave it wholly & solely to her disposal after my decease as Witness my hand the day and year above written

LAWRENCE WASHINGTON seale

Signed, Sealed & declared
to be a Codicill of my last will & testam^t
in the p^rsence of us

CORNELIUS WOOD

HENRY TANDY JUN^R

The above named Henry Tandy jun^r aged 17 yeares or thereabouts sworn & examined saith that he did see the abovenamed Lawrence Washington Sign, Seale, & publish the above mentioned to be his last will & testament and that he was in perfect sence and memory at the Signing Sealing & publishing thereof to the best of your deponts Judgment

HENRY TANDY

Juratis est Henricus Tandy in Cur Com Rapp^{ae} Sexto die Junij An^o 1677 p Sacrum p^d probat et recordat^r.

Test EDM^o CRASKE Cl. Cur.

("Rappahannock County Book of Wills, Deeds, &c., No. 1," p. 219.)

On March 25, 1677, Joyce Washington appeared in Rappahannock Court and placed on record the mark of her son John Washington's cattle, which was a swallow fork on the right ear and a poplar leaf on the left ear. Recorded 18 July, 1677. ("Rappahannock County Book of Deeds, &c., No. 6," p. 7.)

At some time between March 25, 1677, and April 7, 1677, Joyce Washington married, as her fourth husband, James Yates, whom she apparently predeceased, as his will, dated January 9, 1685, and proved March 3, 1685, makes no mention of a wife:

"Know all men by these p^rsents that I James Yates of the County of Rapp^{ae} planter doe acknowledge my Selfe Justly to be indebted unto John Washington Jun^r of the Same County his heires or assignes in the Just Summe of one hundred pounds Sterling money of England, to be paid unto the said Washington his heires or assignes upon all demands. In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale this 7th day of Aprill 1677.

The Condition of this obligation is such that if the above s^d James Yates shall relinquish att his decease the right that he hath of one third part of the lands formerly belonging to Capt. Alexander fleming dec^d. & after to Ma^{jr} Lawrence Washington dec^d. & by them both given to Joyce Washington their wife to be by her disposed as she thinks

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fitt, the right he hath being now by marrying of her, & in case the above s^d James Yates shall relinquish his rights to his wife to be disposed of by her as she shall think fitt that then this pr^{snt} obligation to be Void or otherwise to Stand in full power force & Virtue. In testimony whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & Seal the day & yeare above written.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us JAMES YATES seal

CHRISTOPHER BLACKBOURNE

ROBERT PLEY

WILLIAM DACRES

Recordat^r 18^o die July An^o 1677

Test EDM^o CRASKE, Cl. Cur.

("Rappahannock County Book of Deeds, &c., No. 6," p. 7.)

In 1680, Anne Hoskins made a deed of gift to her half brother, John Washington:

"To all xpian people to whom these p'sents shall or may come Anne Hoskins of the County of Rapp^{ne} Spinster Sendeth greeting in our Lord God Everlasting Know Yee that I y^e sd Anne for diverse good Causes and Consideracons me hereunto Especially Moveing & for and in Consideracons of the naturall Love and affection I beare unto my Broth^r John Washington of the s^d County of Rapp^{ne}. have given granted & for ever Confirmed unto the sd John Washington one mare Colt lately fallen of the gray Mare belonging and of Right appertaining unto me the sd Anne branded with A:H: to have & to hold the sd Mare Colte wth all her Increase to y^e sd John Washington & his heires for ever Provided alwaies Notwithstanding this deed of gifte as aforesd that if it shall happen the sd John Washington to die within age & without Issue of his body Lawfully begotten or of full age & wthout Issue as aforesd that then the sd Mare Colt with all her Increase found at such his death shall Revert & Come back to y^e sd Anne her heires Ex^{trs}. admin^{rs}. they or any of them to be possessed in the same Estate as she the sd Anne was before ensealing & delivery of these p'sents In witness where of y^e sd Anne Hoskins hath hereunto sett her hand & Seale this 28th day of May 1680

ANNE A H HOSKINS Seale
her mrke

Test

W^m GANNOCK

ARTH^r SPICER

Recordat^r 3 die Junij an^o 1680

Test EDM^o CRASKE Cl. Cur.

("Rappahannock County Book of Deeds, &c., No. 6," p. 111.)

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FLEMING AND JOYCE, HIS WIFE

According to Dr. W. G. Stanard, John Washington, son of Major Lawrence Washington and Joyce Washington, was born April 2, 1671. He married, March 15, 1692, Mary, daughter of Robert Townshend, of Stafford County, and granddaughter of Richard Townshend, Esq^r., of York County, Member of the Council.¹⁷

Worthington C. Ford, in "Wills of George Washington, &c.," pages 25-26, says: "Among the *Washington Papers* I found a copy of a letter written by the son of Lawrence Washington, to his half-sister Mary, then residing in England. I give it in full:

VIRGINIA, June y^e 22^d 1699

DEAR & LOVING SISTER

I had the happiness to see a Letter which you sent to my Aunt Howard who died about a year and a half ago; I had heard of you by her before, but could not tell whether you were alive or not. It was truly great joy to hear that I had such a relation alive as yourself; not having any such a one by my Father's side as yourself. My Father had one Daughter by my Mother, who died when she was very young, before my remembrance. My Mother had three Daughters when my Father married her, one died last winter, and left four or five children, the other two are alive & married and have had several children. My Mother married another man after my Father, who spent all, so that I had not the value of twenty shillings of my Father's Estate, I being the youngest & therefore the weakest, which generally comes off short. But I thank God my Fortune has been pretty good since, as I have got a kind and loving wife by whom I have had three sons and a daughter, of which I have buried a daughter and one son. I am afraid I shall never have the happiness of seeing you, since it has pleased God to set us at such a distance, but hoping to hear from you by all opportunities, which you shall assuredly do from him that is,

Your ever loving Brother

till death

JN^O WASHINGTON

If you write to me direct yours to me in Stafford county, on Potomack River in Virginia. Vale.

To Mrs. Mary Gibson, living in Hawnes, in Bedf's. These sent with Care."

As regards the other children whose laughter and merriment rang through the halls of "Westfalia" in those dark and tragic days in Virginia:—

Ann Washington died in infancy.

17. "Virginia Magazine of History," XXIII, 97.

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Anne Hoskins may have been preparing for her wedding day when she made the deed of gift to her half-brother, John Washington.

Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Alexander Fleming and wife, Joyce, married Rowland Thornton, son of William Thornton, of Gloucester County. In May, 1701, the bond of Elizabeth Thornton, as administratrix of Rowland Thornton, of Richmond County, deceased, was recorded. They had a son, Francis Thornton, who died in King George County, in 1726, leaving a widow, Ann Thornton. ("William & Mary College Quarterly," First Series, IV, 90.)

Alexia, daughter of Captain Alexander and Elizabeth Fleming, married, not later than June 4, 1683, Thomas Pace, of Rappahannock County, for on that date she united with her husband in a deed to a plantation on the north side of Rappahannock River, then in the right of Thomas Pace and Alexia as part of Alexia's share of the estate of her deceased father, Captain Alexander Fleming, land given in his last will and testament to his daughter, Alexia, as also an equal part of 2,750 acres of land lying in the freshes of Rappahannock on the south side of the river, patented 17 April, 1667. ("Rappahannock County Deeds, &c., No. 7," p. 37.)

From the records of Richmond County is gleaned that Alexia Pace had died and on September 6, 1692, "Thomas Pace and Jane, his wife, and Rowland Thornton and Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters of Alexander Fleming—Alexia, late wife of Thomas Pace, being the other"—joined in a deed to Francis Thornton. ("William & Mary College Quarterly," First Series, XVII, 79.)

Alexander Fleming, who married Sarah, daughter of William Kenny, and was living in Richmond County, Virginia, January 3, 1692, may have been a son of Captain Alexander Fleming by his wife, Ursula, and perhaps there is a descendant and "heir-male of lineal descent," who could claim title to the Earldom of Wigton.



BOSTON AND ENVIRONS



THE HOUSE OF PAUL REVERE, BOSTON

Pioneers of the Rock-Bound Coast

BY GLEASON L. ARCHER, LL. D., BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
PRESIDENT, SUFFOLK UNIVERSITY

(PART V)

CHAPTER XVIII

AN IMPORTANT MEETING IN SALEM



OW that the last of the transport ships had sailed Governor Endicott was free to devote his entire attention to the great task of providing suitable houses for the homeless among the newcomers. The abundance of standing timber in the near vicinity of the settlement simplified the task to a certain extent, yet the process of transforming growing trees into beams and planks was time-consuming and difficult. Then, too, the need of seasoning the wood, lest the dampness of green lumber cause ill health to occupants of newly built houses, was additional reason for haste in manufacturing of building materials, that the houses might become dry and habitable before cold weather should come. The driving energy of the Governor, therefore, found vent in ways wholly beneficial to the Colony.

Difficulties of administration were continually manifesting themselves in Salem. The Council members brought many such to the meetings of the board, but the Governor himself was in daily contact with the human problems involved in the extraordinary system of oversight of family life. Every lapse of individuals from obedience to the stern discipline of the Colony called for appropriate action. Endicott was living up to the admonitions contained in his letters of instruction and was ever ready to make an example of every such delinquent, in order that others in the community might be constrained by fear from following evil courses.

Religion bulked large in the daily life of every soul in the plantation. Books were exceedingly few in those days. There were practically no intellectual diversions in the Colony, save those afforded by sermons and religious discourses. Since the colonists had been

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selected from the most zealous of the Puritans of England, it was natural that the church life of Salem should have assumed proportions quite incomprehensible to later generations. What newspapers, magazines, books, theatres, motoring and the endless diversions of the present day are to us, the Salem church services and the Holy Bible were to the colonists of 1629.

The election of a pastor and teacher had recently stirred the community. It had been at once a solemn religious pageant and an event of great importance in the secular life of the community. Church and State had thus become a reality in Salem. The church had indeed come into existence at that time, but it was not yet complete. The election of deacons and of a ruling elder had been set for August 6, 1629, at which time the entire male membership of the parish was to assemble for the adoption of a church constitution of their new Puritan church.

In anticipation of this great event an invitation was formally extended to the church at Plymouth to send delegates to attend the consecration service, thus to demonstrate the solidarity of the Christian Church in New England. This invitation met with hearty response on the part of the older Colony. In order that Plymouth Plantation might honor the occasion with the most noteworthy of its membership Governor William Bradford himself was one of those chosen to attend the Salem meeting. Assurances of Plymouth coöperation were returned by the Puritan messenger. Governor Endicott was, therefore, able to prepare in advance for the first official visit from the Governor of Plymouth Colony. To every soul in the northern settlement the expected coming of the now famous Governor Bradford was an event of major importance. Perchance he might bring the renowned Captain Standish as a member of his party!

The meeting had officially been called to elect a ruling elder and two deacons. The office of the deacon of a Protestant church is reasonably well known, since he is a lay assistant to the pastor in administering communion to the congregation as well as in regulating the affairs of the church. But the ruling elder was an even more important official of the early New England churches. In "A Platform of Church Discipline, Gathered out of the word of God," published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1649, we find the following:

The ruling elder's office is distinct from the office of pastor and teacher: The ruling elders are not so called to exclude the pastors

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and teachers from ruling, because ruling and governing is common to these, with the other; whereas attending to teach and preach the word is peculiar unto the former. The ruling elder's work is to join with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments committed to them, of which sort, these be as followeth: To open and shut the doors of God's house, by admission of members approved by the church, . . . to prepare matters in private, that in public they may be carried to an end, and with less trouble and more speedy dispatch; to be guides and leaders to the Church in all matters whatsoever pertaining to Church administrations and actions; to see that none in the Church live inordinately out of rank and place, without a calling, or idly in their calling; to prevent and heal such offenses in life or in doctrine as might corrupt the Church; and, as they shall be sent for, to visit and to pray over their sick brethren.

Thus it will be seen that the ruling elder was an official of great secular power. To elect a ruling elder in Salem was, therefore, second in importance only to the choosing of the pastor and teacher. August 6, 1629, had been appointed as a day of fasting and prayer in order that the people might be in a state of mind appropriate to the task in hand.

Governor Bradford and his fellow delegates set out from Plymouth on August fifth in full confidence that they would reach Salem in the early morning of the following day. But their shallop soon encountered contrary winds that rendered their progress up the coast difficult and dangerous. In navigating so small a craft it was, of course, needful to keep reasonably close to land, skirting the headlands and bays, and thus travelling many an extra mile as well as making numerous difficult turns in cross winds and tides.

When the hour arrived for the assembly to convene Governor John Endicott was distressed at the knowledge that the Bradford party had not yet arrived. Anxiously he and the members of his Council fixed their eyes upon the wind-whipped ocean for a last survey of the southern coast line along which the Plymouth craft must approach their harbor. There was not a sail in sight. Reluctantly, therefore, the Governor, the ministers and members of the governing board, turned away from the eminence on which they had gathered, to make their way in solemn procession to the grove where the congregation had already assembled. The meeting opened with a prayer

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service in which both clergymen participated. Sermons of extraordinary length, by each of the two ministers, consumed a good part of the day. In every pause in the services John Endicott turned his eyes anxiously to the water front. The non-appearance of the Plymouth delegation troubled him greatly. It was mid-afternoon before the main business of the day was reached. The Governor now rose to address the meeting.

"It will be remembered," declared Endicott impressively, "that on July 20th we did appoint our beloved friend and teacher, Master Higginson, to prepare for our consideration this day a confession of faith, and a covenant of membership. Have you, Master Higginson, brought with you to this meeting the results of your labors?"

"I have indeed, most worthy Governor. But it is, I fear, a feeble and insufficient declaration of our faith."

"Then in the name of this plantation I call upon you to read it aloud. He that hath ears let him hear the words of our brother."

Fortunately for posterity those words have been preserved. "We whose names are underwritten," intoned Higginson solemnly, "members of the present Church of Christ in Salem, having found by sad experience how dangerous it is to sit loose to the Covenant we make with our God; and how apt we are to wander into bypaths, even to losing our first aims in entering into Church fellowship; do therefore solemnly in the presence of the Eternal God, both for our own comfort and those that shall or may be joined unto us, renew that Church Covenant we find this Church bound unto at their first beginning."

"This, O Governor, and people, is the preamble that it seemeth to me should precede our articles of faith."

"Good people of Salem, you have heard the preamble to our proposed articles of faith. Are there any suggested changes or additions? I hear none, Master Higginson, and so I will ask you to proceed."

"That we covenant with the Lord and one another," continued the clergyman, "and do bind ourselves in the presence of God to walk together in all his ways, according as he has revealed himself unto us in his blessed word of truth. And do more explicitly in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth through the power and Grace of our Lord Jesus."

Continuing, Rev. Francis Higginson submitted nine articles of faith. The sixth article expressed the animating purpose of the

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founders of the Puritan Church in New England in the following language:

"We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard to those that are within, or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; nor laying a stumbling block before any, no not even the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse that we may avoid the very appearance of evil."

The eighth article was brief and intensely practical.

"We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of any state, nor will we deal hardly, or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards."

The nine articles were thereupon adopted, and the assembly at once proceeded to the task of electing a ruling elder. Governor Endicott's concern over the non-appearance of Governor Bradford and his fellow delegates from Plymouth had increased with every passing hour. Nor was this uneasiness confined to the Governor alone. Every person in the assembly shared the growing fears that some evil had befallen the Bradford party. The breeze that rendered the afternoon so delightful on shore had by this time raised great waves on the ocean. These waves might well have proven disastrous to a small sailing craft, beating its way up the irregular coast. At the beginning of the meeting both clergymen had included in their prayers special supplications for Divine protection of their expected guests. The cloud under which the Salem meeting had been laboring had assumed darker hues until the final business of the meeting was reached. All hope of the arrival of the Plymouth delegates had by this time been abandoned.

It is sometimes observed in real life, however, that when hope long deferred has given way to despair the event that had so earnestly been desired suddenly occurs. It so happened on this occasion. Governor Endicott was about to put before the assembly the last item of business on the program—the selection of a ruling elder and two deacons—when the lookout came hurrying to the rostrum for a low-spoken conference with the Governor. Even before the man left the Governor and hurried from the place the audience had guessed the truth—the Bradford shallop had at last hove in sight.

"God be praised," cried Endicott fervently, "for He hath preserved from the perils of the deep our brethren of Plymouth Planta-

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tion. They are even now in the outer harbor and will be with us anon. But as we wait with thankful hearts let us proceed to the election of a ruling elder, selecting one whom we love and trust in all ways, who will be a fitting instrument of God's will in this community."

It is quite probable that the two clergymen had previously indicated to leading men among the Salem colonists their judgment as to the man best fitted for that important post. Henry Houghton was nominated and as promptly elected to the office of ruling elder of the Salem church. With similar alacrity John Horne and Charles Gott were chosen as deacons, all of which was accomplished before the great moment arrived when the Plymouth delegates, headed by the Governor himself, came marching up from the wharf.

Governor Bradford's favorite nephew, Nathaniel Morton, then a youth of eighteen and perhaps a member of the party, later explained the delay of the delegates by declaring that they had been hindered by cross winds. Governor Bradford's arrival was a signal for one of the most significant demonstrations in the early history of Salem. The pious colonists were gathered for the soul-stirring event of the formal inauguration of their church. The coming of delegates from the First Church ever established in New England, especially after all hope of their arrival had been abandoned, was like an answer to prayer. The Salem colonists were ready to accept it as such and to accord to their visitors a most fervent welcome.

With one impulse they arose to greet the newcomers. While John Endicott and his associates in the government of the Colony clasped hands in turn with the Bradford party as they reached the platform yet every beholder thrilled with personal joy at the moving spectacle. It required only the fervent prayer of thanksgiving by Rev. Samuel Skelton to express in proper manner the emotions of the moment.

Governor William Bradford must have been amazed and overjoyed at this evidence of fraternal feeling. When he rose to speak in response to the address of welcome by Governor Endicott, his soul was uplifted in a manner that was strange to him.

"You honor us overmuch, my dear Governor and people," he declared earnestly. "We regret our long delay in reaching your harbor but the blessed God hath preserved us to this hour and brought us safely through the perils of the deep into your midst. We bring you the greetings and blessings of our brethren of Plymouth Planta-

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tion, nothing doubting that you will find in your church the self-same blessings and contentment that we have found in our own."

The Plymouth Governor then briefly outlined to the assembly something of the experience of his own flock in maintaining a church organization in which the members had complete authority to decide matters of policy and of faith, unhampered by governmental decrees and ancient rituals.

The ceremony of ordaining the newly-elected ruling elder and deacons now followed—a fitting climax to this momentous meeting. Morton's narrative declares that Governor Bradford, in behalf of the sister church in Plymouth Plantation, extended the right hand of fellowship to the officials of the Salem church, thus cementing the bond of friendship between the two churches that was destined to endure for more than half a century.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHARTER TO CROSS THE SEA

While the foregoing events were transpiring in New England the Massachusetts Bay Company in London was busily engaged in the task of preparing for the great migration that was scheduled to take place during the following year. A notable meeting was held July 28, 1629, at the house of Thomas Goffe, the London merchant, who was serving at the time as Deputy-Governor. The Company records disclose the names of the twenty-three members of the corporation who were present on that occasion. The first important matter to be presented by Matthew Cradock, the Governor, was the proposed purchase of a ship of four hundred tons then about to be sold in London.

"This is a goodly ship," he declared, "and is much needed by our Company. So favorable an opportunity to buy a vessel of this size may not present itself again."

"But Master Cradock," interposed George Harwood, the Treasurer of the Company, "our funds are scarce sufficient for our present needs. How may we hope to purchase so great a ship?"

"Truly the Company is not presently in funds, but, Master Harwood, we have men in our Company who may perchance be willing to adventure sums and buy shares in this good ship. The Company will have much need of ships and shipping. It will be constrained to hire many transport ships and pay roundly for their use. Should some of us own the vessel this money will come into our pockets to be used again for the advancement of our cause."

The idea found favor with those present. It was discussed at length. Cradock finally prepared a subscription paper and headed the list of purchasers of the ship by a subscription of one-eighth share in the venture. Thomas Adams and Nathaniel Wright signed for similar amounts. Four others took sixteenths, which together with subscriptions from two outsiders and from the Company itself completed the underwriting of the new venture.

The next item of business is thus set down in the Company records:¹

1. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," p. 83.

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"A letter of the 27th of May from Mr. John Endicott was now read; wherein, amongst other things, he complains of the profane and dissolute living of divers of our nation, former traders to those parts, and of their irregular trading with the Indians, contrary to his late Majesty's proclamation, desiring that the Company would take the same into their serious consideration, and to use some speedy means here for reformation thereof."

It is sufficiently evident that Endicott's letter had reference to Thomas Morton of Merrymount, whose dissolute manners of life had for years shocked and scandalized those colonists who had come to America for the sake of their religion. Morton's most dangerous activity, however, had been the selling of guns and munitions to the Indians. Other colonists realized all too well the grievous danger to their own safety that must inevitably arise from arming the natives with English weapons. Morton, as we know, had refused to heed all protests and had continued the custom. The fact that King James I, who had issued the proclamation in 1622 forbidding the sale of firearms to the Indians, was now dead had nullified the legal effect of the proclamation, a fact of which the astute Morton took undue advantage.

The record states that the proclamation of 1622 was read to the assembled members of the Massachusetts Bay Company. It was, thereupon voted to appoint a committee of four to wait upon the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and others close to the King, to petition for a new proclamation for the "reforming of great and insufferable abuses."

It is interesting to note that in compliance with this petition, sixteen months later, King Charles I was to issue a new proclamation forbidding "the disorderly trading with the savages in New England in America, especially the furnishing the natives in those and other parts of America by the English with weapons and habiliments of war."

The meeting of July 28, 1629, deliberated upon other matters of importance to the Puritan Colony, but the most significant of all was introduced by the Governor toward the close of the meeting.²

"For divers months past," he declared, "we of this Company have given much thought to the welfare of our plantation in New Eng-

2. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," p. 85.

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land. Large numbers have been added to Master Endicott's community, or should have long since arrived in New England. Under the blessings of God we hope to send a multitude thither at the beginning of another springtime. The matter of government of this multitude troubles me greatly."

"But Master Cradock," interposed one of the deputies, "we of this Company have set down rules and regulations for their guidance. All they need do is to follow those rules."

"You say truly that we have made rules for Master Endicott's guidance. I myself have toiled long hours in writing out letters of instruction. Yet we live a long way off. We are in London in a great city. These people live in the daily presence of dangers and of problems quite unknown to us. How may we hope to make wise rules under which a great multitude may there live in contentment and safety?"

"How else may we govern them, or control the affairs of our Company?"

"That indeed has troubled me much of late. Should we continue to govern them with a broad ocean between us, there must needs be much delay and much discontent. We have already given Master Endicott authority to form a council of advisers, but in my judgment that may not be enough. We are founding what may in God's Providence prove an empire beyond the sea. Why not transfer the government to New England?"

Had the Governor advanced a proposal of suicide for all present it could scarcely have produced more consternation in the assembly. The merchants and tradesmen who composed the board of directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company were financially interested in the management of the Colony. They still regarded it as a business venture from which they might, by wise administration, derive a profit. There was also the natural pride of power that men feel when occupying responsible positions. What wild idea was this, to make a voluntary surrender of their powers and their honors, and to permit others in New England to step into their places!

"You may indeed wonder at my suggestion," continued Cradock earnestly, "but I am confident that you are not unmindful of the main purpose of our venture—to provide an asylum for our brethren in the New World. Some of us may wish to join them there and thus

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to continue in the management of the plantation. Those who cannot leave England, if they can but see the reasons therefor, will no doubt be glad to surrender their places to others that can go or to those who may already be in America."

"Why are we not better fitted in London to manage this Company than they in New England? We must bargain for ships and for supplies. We must choose those who are to go thither."

"What you say is very true at present, but the time must needs come, and that shortly, when our tasks will be completed, when the plantation shall become a Colony instead of a business enterprise. Then, too, there are grave reasons why the government should be transferred to New England."

"Do you mean, Master Cradock, that we should send the Charter across the great sea, as well as the government itself?"

"Even so. We cannot tell the day nor the hour when our enemies may stir up His Majesty, the King, to demand the Charter from us."

"Do we have any reason to fear such action?" demanded one of the assistants. "Has the King already made threats?"

"Not at all, but it is well known to us that both he and his council are zealous to enforce conformity even of those in America. Any rashness among them or among us might be excuse enough for the recalling of our Charter. I am convinced that when the main body of our brethren go to New England next season they should take the government and the Charter with them."

"And does that mean, Master Cradock, that you will resign your office that another in New England may take your place?"

"Even so. Perchance at our next election we may choose one of our number who may be planning to go to America."

The self-abnegation of this offer made a profound impression upon the assembly. Cradock thereupon pointed out that if the government itself were to be transferred to New England, it would serve to encourage persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and their families thither. The minutes of the meeting of July 28, 1629, contain the following significant language:

"This business occasioned some debate; but by reason of the many great and considerable consequences thereupon depending, it was not now resolved upon, but those present are desired privately and seriously to consider hereof, and to set down their particular reasons

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in writing *pro et contra*; and to produce the same at the next General Court; where they being reduced to heads, and maturely considered of, the Company may then proceed to a final resolution thereon. And in the meantime they are desired to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged."

The reason for secrecy was obvious. If the King and his advisers should learn of the plan they might take measures immediately to restrain the Company from transporting the Charter out of the Kingdom. This secrecy should not be construed as an act of bad faith on the part of the Puritan leaders. The fact is that in all previous charters for the laying down of colonies in America there had been a definite clause therein requiring the chief government of such Colony to be, and to remain, in England. Such clause was not inserted in the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It is clear, therefore, that the omission was to pave the way for a removal of the government to America.

We have the testimony of John Winthrop, one of the leaders of the movement, that the attention of the King and Council was called to the subject when the first draft of the Charter was made. Writing in 1644 Winthrop declared:

"The last clause (*i. e.*, of the charter) is for the governing of the inhabitants within the plantation. For it being the manner for such as procured patents for Virginia, Bermudas, and the West Indies to keep the chief government in the hands of the Company residing in England (and so this was intended and with much difficulty we got it absconded)."

King Charles I had, no doubt, reluctantly consented to the omission of the requirement that the government of the Colony remain within the realm of England. The King had already repudiated so many agreements, solemnly entered into, that the Puritan leaders were fully justified in fearing that he might do the like with their Charter if their intent to remove the government to America were openly avowed. Secrecy was, therefore, agreed upon by all of those present at the meeting of July 28, 1629.³

It was too much to expect that so radical a plan could hope to meet with universal favor. The company at once divided into two

3. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," p. 86. For Winthrop's 1644 dissertation, see "American Historical Documents," "Harvard Classics," Vol. XLIII, p. 93; "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," Vol. II, pp. 442-43.

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factions. The Governor was warmly supported by Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson and some other influential members; but there was an even larger group of directors who questioned the wisdom of the plan. Since the matter must be decided at the next General Court, one month hence, the advocates of the removal of the government to America set about the securing of the names of responsible persons who would agree to emigrate to Massachusetts in event of such removal of the government.

Sir Richard Saltonstall himself openly declared his intention of emigrating to the new dominions if they were to be self-governing. Isaac Johnson, who was a son-in-law of Thomas, the late powerful Earl of Lincoln, and brother-in-law of the present Earl, declared himself of same mind. In pursuance of their plan the enterprising leaders of the movement arranged for a meeting of prominent men to be held in Cambridge, England, on August 26, 1629, which was two days prior to the scheduled meeting of the General Court. In this notable gathering were men whose names are now inseparably linked with the history of New England. John Winthrop was there. Winthrop, be it known, had for years practiced law in England. The growing conflict between King Charles and the Puritan element of the Kingdom had so deeply involved John Winthrop that as early as June 22, 1629, he had either resigned his office as an attorney at law in London, or he had been ousted from the privileges of an attorney. His knowledge of and his sympathy for the colonizing movement had naturally attracted him to the Massachusetts Bay Company. He had held conferences with many of the leading men who were then actively promoting its interests.

Another notable recruit who was present at the Cambridge meeting was Thomas Dudley, a protégé in his youth of the Earl of Northampton and later a steward of the Earl of Lincoln. Dudley was now fifty-two years of age, a man of positive opinions whose presence in any meeting where contentious opinions were likely to be voiced, was quite certain to be known by the vigor of his expressions.

Saltonstall was apparently the person chiefly responsible for the meeting in Cambridge. His social rank alone entitled him to pre-eminence in such a gathering. We find him, therefore, laying before the assembly the views of the leaders of his faction of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

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"There is a division of opinion amongst us," he declared, "as to whether the colonists of Massachusetts Bay shall continue to be governed from London, or have their government transferred to them in America. These be, indeed, troublous times in England. The King inclines his ear to evil advisers. We cannot know when open strife may break out in this Kingdom. Many persons who desire as I do to transport thmselves to America hesitate to go thither unless their government there can be free from the danger of turmoils in England."

"And do you mean, Sir Richard, that the Charter itself be carried to America?"

"Such, indeed, is our desire, but there be those in our own Company who resist such a plan. If we who favor it can prove that influential and worth while persons who would not otherwise go will nevertheless pledge to remove themselves thither if the seat of government be removed to America then it may be possible to persuade all that this plan is wise."

"I have long meditated upon the evil conditions in this Kingdom," spoke up John Winthrop, "and my heart inclines me toward the new land across the sea. If we may there hope to enjoy a larger liberty of conscience and there be free to govern ourselves as needs may appear, then I for one would be willing to go thither myself and to transport my family with me."

"These are heartening words, Master Winthrop," declared Isaac Johnson. "We need men like you for this new venture. The dissensions in our General Court over transferring the government to New England are largely due to fear that there be not enough men of ability going thither to administer so great a trust."

"That indeed is our chief stumbling block," added Sir Richard Saltonstall, "and that is the reason why we have bidden you gentlemen to meet with us today. Could we but have a few more such recruits as Master Winthrop we might assuredly convince our doubting brethren at the General Court."

All eyes were turned upon Thomas Dudley as he rose to speak.

"I have listened well to this discussion," he declared, "and I agree with Sir Richard and others who have spoken that if the Colony in America is to succeed it must needs have full authority to manage its own affairs. Relations with the Indians and the French are local problems that require local treatment. Traders along the coast must

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be dealt with from time to time. If we can be sure that we shall have our own government, then even at my age, I will venture to cross the sea."

In the midst of the applause that greeted this declaration Sir Richard Saltonstall produced a written paper.

"I have brought with me," he declared, "a sort of agreement that seemeth to us of the Company who favor the project a sufficient declaration, and I present it to you for signatures. By this agreement we would bind ourselves under penalty to embark for New England by next March provided the Company may presently agree to transfer the government to America. May I read it to you?"

"Read it; read it," cried members of the assembly eagerly.

The document proved to be of modest length, reciting that the subscribers thereto had weighed the consequences of emigrating to America and continuing: "Now for the better encouragement of ourselves and others that shall join with us in this action, and to the end that every man may without scruple dispose of his estate and affairs as may best fit his preparation for this voyage; it is fully and faithfully agreed amongst us . . . we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our several families as are to go with us, and such provisions as we are able conveniently to furnish ourselves withal, to embark for the said plantation by the first of March next, at such port or ports of this land as shall be agreed upon by the Company, to the end to pass the seas, (under God's protection) to inhabit and continue in New England."⁴

The exact wording of this historic document should be of extreme interest to students of American history. It throws a flood of light upon the mystery of why the Charter of Massachusetts was sent to America, in the first instance. It is not too much to say that had the Charter remained in England the whole course of modern history might have been changed. The fact that for fifty years the Colonists of Massachusetts successfully contended with Kings of England over its possession made Massachusetts a training ground for that spirit of independence that eventually led to the American Revolution, and to similar revolutions in other parts of the world.

There was one significant clause in the "agreement of Cambridge," as it is now called, that discloses the true purpose of the meeting, since the entire agreement was conditioned upon it:

4. Young's "Chronicles of New England," pp. 281-82.

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"Provided always, that before the last of September next, the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first, by an order of court (*i. e.*, the General Court or assembly of the Massachusetts Bay Company), legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said plantation."

The final clause of the document carries the following significant penalties:

"And we do further promise, every one for himself, that shall fail to be ready though his own default by the day appointed, to pay for every day's default the sum of £3, to the use of the rest of the Company who shall be ready by the same day and time."

The twelve signers of this agreement were: Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharpe, Increase Norwell, John Winthrop, William Pynchon, Kellam Browne, and William Colburn.

It subsequently developed that Nicholas West and Kellam Browne were the only members of the Company of signers who failed to make good their promises to emigrate to America.

Two days after this memorable meeting in Cambridge, the Directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company convened in General Court at the house of Thomas Goffe, the Deputy-Governor, in London. According to the minutes of the meeting which fortunately have been preserved to us, Thomas Goffe acted as presiding officer. He stated in opening the meeting that it was convened "to give answer to divers gentlemen, intending to go into New England, whether or no the chief government of the plantation, together with the patent, should be settled in New England or here."

The old division of opinion at once manifested itself, so the Company wisely voted to adjourn until the following day during which time the leaders of each faction should prepare arguments pro and con, to be presented at the adjourned session of the General Court. It is significant that the committee appointed to prepare arguments in favor of transferring the government to America consisted of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson and Captain John Venn.

At seven o'clock next morning, August 29, 1629, the committees met for a final discussion of their points of differences before presenting their respective arguments to the entire membership of the Com-

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pany. At nine o'clock the General Court assembled and the great debate began. Sir Richard Saltonstall and his associates argued with great earnestness in behalf of the proposal. Nathaniel Wright, who appears to have been a merchant and possibly influenced by self-interest to oppose the removal of the government of the Colony to America, was the leader of the opposition.

The minutes of the meeting thus make record of the epoch-marking action of the Company:⁵

"After a long debate, Mr. Deputy put it to the question as followeth:

"'As many of you as desire to have the patent and the government of the plantation to be transferred to New England, so it may be done legally, hold up your hands? So many as will not, hold up your hands.'

"When, by erection of hands, it appeared by the general consent of the Company, that the government and patent should be settled in New England, and accordingly an order was drawn up."

Thus the Massachusetts Bay Company definitely committed itself to the task of empire-building. It was no longer to be a commercial enterprise in which a group, made up chiefly of merchants, dictated from London the conditions of life under which men, women and children were to live in the forests of America. To the far-seeing wisdom of this action history itself has long since paid tribute. But it was a daring innovation at the time, a secret to be closely guarded until the precious Charter might be committed to the custody of the colonists in Massachusetts with an intervening ocean to protect it from the hands of King Charles I. Could their design be kept from the knowledge of enemies until the embarkation of the great fleet in March of the following year?

5. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 51. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," p. 88.

CHAPTER XX

ENDICOTT REJECTED AS GOVERNOR

It will be remembered that John and Samuel Brown, the two leaders of the Church of England wing of the Salem Colony, had been arrested by Governor Endicott and sent home to England for trial. They were men of wealth and prominence. Their alleged crime—to have read the Book of Common Prayer in public—was a right guaranteed to them by the laws of England and in fact a duty imposed upon all Englishmen for generations past. The Browns had gone to America a few weeks before, loyal Puritans who accepted the ritual of the Church of England as the outward symbol of their religion. Because they had remained faithful in the face of a successful radical religious movement that had cast off the Prayer Book and ritual of the Established Church they were now returning to England in disgrace—martyrs to religious duty. What a sensation their story might produce in England! How furious would be the anger of King Charles and his advisers when this news reached their ears!

The King was already fully embarked on his fatal attempt to enforce religious conformity throughout his Kingdom. To have the tables turned in so brazen a manner in the newly chartered Puritan Colony—Englishmen arrested as common malefactors for reading the Prayer Book—could not fail to infuriate the royal tyrant. The headstrong Colonial Governor had ignored all consequences in arresting the men; but there were those in Salem, as we have previously pointed out, who foresaw calamity from this rash action of their Governor.

The captain of the ship on which the brothers were sent back to England must have been well aware of the consequences to the Puritan Colony should the victims of Endicott's stern sense of duty be permitted to tell their story to the officials of the royal court! During the long return voyage to England he accordingly treated the brothers with every consideration due to their rank.

John Brown, the lawyer, had been ablaze with indignation at the outset of the voyage, but as the days passed and endless opportunity for reflection had presented itself his mood changed. His hatred of

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Endicott had not abated, but there were other angles to the case that one trained in the law could not well overlook.

"Surely the man is mad," he declared one day in conversation with the captain. "How else can we account for this outrage?"

"There is madness in his act," rejoined the other. "Captain Endicott has long been known as a rash and violent man."

"Then why did they ever send him as Governor of our Colony?"

"Thereby hangs a pretty tale," laughed the captain. "Know you not that John Endicott married a relative—a favorite cousin I believe—of Matthew Cradock, who is the chief adventurer in this enterprise? Since Cradock is the Governor-General of the Colony he could send whomsoever he pleased as Governor."

"Aha! So that is the way the wind blows. I never could abide nepotism. But hold! Endicott's wife is dead. She died last winter. Think you that when Cradock knows that his cousin is dead he will be so keen to keep this mad fellow in his place as Governor?"

"That is a thought, truly, and it may be that you and your brother need not go to the King after all. Why not lay the matter before the General Court of the Bay Company before going farther with the complaint?"

To a lawyer, thirsting for vindication, so mild a course of action was highly distasteful. The wrath of King Charles would assuredly cause the unseating of his enemy. Brown was by no means certain that the same result could be expected to flow from a private airing of the matter. John Endicott had powerful friends in the inner circle of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

"No," he declared at last, "I am resolved to take the matter direct to the King."

"A sad mistake, Master Brown. The King's wrath once kindled will not be satisfied by the punishment of one man. You must remember that the colonists voted overwhelmingly for the setting up of a new church and the casting aside of Prayer Book and ritual. The King might take revenge on the entire Colony and wreck all the gains thus far made."

"But I have suffered much and my brother also. We have sold our homes in England. We have gone to great expense to provide ourselves with goods needful in America. The charges for our voyage were heavy. Now we are seized upon and shipped out of the Colony

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for no offense whatever, leaving our goods unprotected there. Our rights as Englishmen have been trampled upon in outrageous manner."

"Even so, Master Brown, but can you not trust the high-minded and Godly men of the General Court to right your wrongs?"

"The King is a certain refuge in this matter. Why should I take chances, after all that I have suffered?"

Such was Brown's frame of mind as the ship on which he was being transported approached the English Channel. The captain had various reasons for solicitude in the matter. He was an ardent Puritan and in full sympathy with the colonizing movement. Then, too, he was a practical mariner who had entered upon a service that promised continued employment of a profitable nature. At his first contact with land, therefore, he secretly dispatched a messenger with instructions to proceed posthaste to London, with letters from Endicott and others, together with a private message from himself. His own letter set forth in detail his reasons for fear that the Brown expose would be fatal to the Company.

Even before the ship had docked Matthew Cradock had called his assistants together for a hurried conference. Thomas Goffe, the Deputy-Governor, was even more agitated than Cradock himself.

"This means ruin to all our plans," he declared passionately after the letters had been read to the assembly. "Endicott has exceeded his authority. He had no right to take such action without first consulting our General Court."

"It is no more than I could have told you would happen if we permit the planters to govern themselves. There will be more such madness, I daresay." The speaker was one of those who had opposed the transfer of the Charter and government to America.

"There is no time to revive old differences," declared Matthew Cradock impatiently. "We are faced with a great and vexing problem which if it reaches the ears of the King may prove our undoing. This letter from the Captain tells us in plain language that Master Brown is intent on appeal directly to the King himself. You have been summoned to devise plans, if we are able, to forestall such an event."

"John Brown, the lawyer, of all men!" exclaimed one of the Company. "He is an able man, a contentious man, one who can do much to injure us in the eyes of the King."



THE OLD STATE HOUSE, BOSTON



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT, CHARLESTOWN

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"Just when we require utmost secrecy lest our plans for next spring be known," cried Thomas Goffe, "our rash and intemperate agent in America must needs ruin all by a stupid quarrel with his betters!"

"Brethren, I pray you, let us face our present problem. John Brown may land tomorrow. No time is to be lost."

"Then why not appoint a committee to meet him," suggested John Winthrop, "and urge him to attend the General Court in person, he and his brother. If we show readiness to consider their differences with Governor Endicott they will surely come to us before going to the King. If that is done we will be at fault if we do not find a way to satisfy them both."

To this sensible and timely suggestion there was instant agreement. Several of John Brown's closest friends in the Council were thereupon appointed to wait upon the angry man when he should set foot upon the soil of England. Thus it transpired that the returning prisoners found themselves welcomed with every show of civility and invited to present their grievances directly to the General Court, which was scheduled to convene in London within the next few days.

Fortunately for us the minutes of that session have been preserved. The General Court was held at the house of Thomas Goffe in London on September 19, 1629, with Governor Cradock and his official family in attendance. The following description of the deliberations of the Puritan leaders suggests the nature of the stormy session of the General Court. It is evident that both Browns were present and at liberty to speak in defense of their own actions.

"At this Court," the minutes of the meeting ran, "letters were read from Captain Endicott and others from New England. And whereas a difference hath fallen out betwixt the Governor there and Mr. John and Samuel Brown, it was agreed by the Court, that for the determination of those differences, Mr. John and Samuel Brown might choose any three or four of the Company on their behalf, to hear the said differences, the Company choosing as many."

The fairness of this arrangement is at once apparent. It also has a very modern ring. Three centuries ago our ancestors had already adopted the system of arbitration of important disputes. "Whereupon," the record continues, "the said John and Samuel Brown made choice of Mr. Samuel Vassal and Mr. William Vassall, Mr. Simon

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Whitcomb and Mr. William Pynchon; and for the Company there were chosen Mr. John White, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Isaac Johnson and Mr. John Winthrop, who with the Governor or Deputy are to determine and end the business the first Tuesday in the next term."¹

When the next General Court convened ten days later, September 29, 1629, the Brown controversy was evidently no nearer a final settlement than before. In fact a further vexatious circumstance had developed. While on shipboard the two brothers had beguiled their time during the long voyage by writing numerous letters to their friends in England. The modern system of governmental delivery of mail had not then developed. Letters were generally delivered through the medium of private messengers, or by travellers who might perchance be journeying to the town where the person addressed resided.

Thus it transpired that the letters written by John and Samuel Brown had been in the possession of the captain of the ship when it docked in England. Because of the controversy then existing the ship captain had turned the letters over to the officials of the Massachusetts Bay Company to be disposed of by them. For more than ten days these officials had been in a quandry what to do with the letters. It was natural to suppose that the aggrieved brothers had freely vented their indignation against Endicott and the other colonists. Their correspondence, therefore, might prove highly damaging to the cause of Puritan colonization.

In view of the strained relations that already existed and the difficulty of keeping the Browns from carrying their grievances directly to the royal court it was a risky business to detain their letters further. The matter was accordingly one of the chief concerns of the September twenty-ninth meeting. The minutes of the meeting contain the following:

The next thing taken into consideration was the letters from Mr. John and Samuel Brown to divers of their private friends here in England, whether the same should be delivered or detained, and whether they should be opened and read or not. And for that it was to be doubted by probable circumstances, that they had defamed the country of New England, and the Governor and government there, it was thought fit that some of the said letters should be opened and

1. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," pp. 89-90.

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publicly read, which was done accordingly; and the rest to remain at Mr. Deputy's (*i. e.*, Mr. Goffe's) house and the parties to whom they were directed to have notice, and Mr. Governor, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Wright, or any two of them are entreated to be at the opening and reading thereof, to the end that the Company may have notice, if aught be inserted therein which may be prejudicial to their government or Plantation in New England. And it is also thought fit that none of the letters from Mr. Samuel Brown shall be delivered, but kept to be made use of against him as occasion shall be offered.²

This drastic action of retaining the letters of the two brothers is sufficient indication that matters were not progressing harmoniously between them and the Company. A further complication existed that property of considerable value belonging to the Browns had been left in Salem. The owners were already making clamorous demands for reimbursement. The letters would, of course, prove of great value to the Puritan leaders if it should become necessary to curb over-exacting demands.

This same meeting transacted other very important business. It seems that the legal soundness of the vote to transfer of the government to New England had been questioned. There were those who claimed that the Company had no legal right to transfer the government or the patent to New England. It was accordingly voted to employ a learned counsellor at law to investigate the matter and to report thereon.

Another action at this memorable meeting of September 29, 1629, should be of particular interest to students of history. All are no doubt familiar with the name of Governor Winthrop's flagship, the "Arbella." It appears that at that time the "Arbella" was known as the "Eagle." On the twenty-eighth of July, 1629, it had been agreed that a suitable ship be purchased for the use of the Colony and ten of the members of the Company had then severally subscribed money for that purpose. The Governor was now ready to report that he had secured an option to purchase the "Eagle." He recommended the ship as in all ways suitable for the purpose in hand.³ After some discussion the following action was taken:

"And Mr. Governor is desired to go on and conclude the bargain upon such terms as he can. And it was further thought fit and

2. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," pp. 91, 92.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.

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resolved on, that this ship being of good force, and bought for the safety and honor and benefit of the Plantation, shall always be preferred in that voyage before any other ships, and to have some consideration in her freight above other ships accordingly."

There was an element of business sagacity in this vote that should not be overlooked. The Governor, Matthew Cradock, the Deputy Governor, Thomas Goffe, and various others of the governing board had subscribed to buy the vessel on shares. They were virtually voting to give themselves a preference in freight rates over what they might be obliged to pay to outsiders. Thus it will be seen that even in this group of zealous Puritans human nature operated much as it is known to operate today among less godly brethren. They were not above giving themselves somewhat more favorable terms in dealing with their own Company than they would have accorded to strangers.

There is one other item of interest in connection with the purchase of the "Eagle," or the "Arbella," as it is known to history. The original vote had been that the Bay Company itself should purchase a one-eighth share in the craft. When it came to the actual transaction it was found that Company funds were low. At a meeting of the General Court held October 20, 1629, a vote was passed to permit this one-eighth share to be purchased by gentlemen who were to emigrate to America.

Returning to the meeting of September twenty-ninth we find that one of the last items of business had to do with the Brown controversy.

"Upon the desire of Mr. John and Samuel Brown," the minutes of the meeting read, "it is thought fit and ordered that they should have a copy of the accusation sent from New England against them, to the end that they may be the better prepared to make answer thereunto."

It will be remembered that when the original vote was passed to transfer the government to New England opposition had been encountered from merchants and others who had invested in the capital stock of the Company and who perhaps feared that their interests might suffer by the change. Evidently there had been some understanding not expressed in the original vote, for on October 16, 1629, we find the Bay Company earnestly debating the matter of reimbursement of the adventurers. If the government were to be surrendered by the

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stockholders in the enterprise some means must be found to make good to them financial losses that might otherwise accrue.

A favorite device of that period in England whereby the King or private individuals were authorized by Parliament to raise money without invading the public treasury was the granting of a monopoly of a given enterprise, such as the salt trade, or the exclusive right to handle this or that necessary commodity. Trade with the Indians, whose only valuable commodity for barter in New England was peltry, had for a generation or more attracted adventurous English traders to America. The Massachusetts Bay Charter naturally carried with it the right to regulate the trade in furs. What more natural action, therefore, than that the Company should now utilize a monopoly of fur trade in the Colony as a means of solving the vexed question of how the stockholders might be reimbursed for their investments? With this explanation we may the better understand the significance of the following passages from the official records of the meeting of October 15, 1629:

After a long debate, and sundry opinions given, and reasons why the joint stock (which had borne the brunt of the charge hitherto, and was likely to bear much more) should have certain commodities appropriate thereunto, for reimbursement and defrayment thereof, and divers objections being made to those reasons, all of which were largely discussed and well weighed, the court, in conclusion for accommodation of both parts, fell upon moderation (*i. e.*, compromise) as followeth, *viz*:

That the Company's joint stock shall have the trade of beaver and all other furs in those parts solely, for the term of seven years from this day for and in consideration of the charge that the joint stock hath undergone already, and is yet annually to bear, for the advancement of the Plantation.

It was also provided in this same vote that the cost of fortifications in the Colony should be borne, one-half by the joint stockholders and one-half by the planters. This cost, however, was not to include the manual labor, for it was expressly provided that all men in the Colony were to be drafted for service in equal proportion until necessary fortifications might be completed.

The expenses of maintaining public worship, the support of ministers and the building of churches, were to be borne jointly by the planters and the stockholders.

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At this same meeting an important step was taken looking toward the actual transfer of the government to the planters of New England. A committee was appointed: ten of the stockholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company who intended to remain in England, and eight of those who were to emigrate. This committee was to draw up articles of agreement under which the transfer might be made. Sir Richard Saltonstall headed the list of those representing the prospective planters. Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley were also members of this branch of the committee.

The joint committee was instructed to render a report at a meeting of the Court of Assistants that was scheduled for the following day. The minutes of the meeting of the Court of Assistants wherein the report of this committee was discussed, makes interesting reading:

This Court was appointed to treat and resolve, upon the transferring of the government to New England; what government shall be held at London, whereby the future charge of the joint stock may be cherished and preserved, and the body politic of the Company remain and increase;

What persons shall have the charge of the managing of the joint stock both at London and in New England; wherein it is conceived fit that Captain Endicott continue the government there, unless just cause to the contrary.

The last clause in these proposals is very significant. Up to this time it is apparent that John Endicott, the resident governor of the Colony at Salem had been regarded by his associates in England as deserving of reelection to that important office. Here for the first time an official doubt is expressed as to his eligibility for continued service. "Wherein it is conceived fit that Captain Endicott continue the government there, unless just cause to the contrary," is an expression that speaks volumes. Endicott's action in the Brown case had undoubtedly given the officials of the Company reasons for grave doubt as to his soundness of judgment. The persuasive John Brown himself, thirsting for vengeance, had no doubt made the most of his opportunity to destroy Endicott's continuance of power. Then, too, it is but human nature to neglect the absent candidate in favor of those who are present, and able to conduct a personal campaign of persuasion. There were candidates enough for the place as it soon developed. Sir Richard Saltonstall was known to be ambitious to become

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the ruler of the colony across the sea. Isaac Johnson, son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln, was an aspirant for the office. John Humphrey was a third candidate for Governor; but the most serious contender of all was the newcomer to the Council, the sage John Winthrop.

Winthrop had certain distinct advantages over the others. In the first place he had not been in their midst long enough to have aroused any of the animosities and rivalries that encumbered the other candidates. He was also a lawyer, more than forty years of age. His very countenance bespoke wisdom. Surely in him they had ready at hand a chief magistrate to whom the destinies of the future commonwealth might safely be entrusted.

In the four days that intervened between the meeting of October sixteenth, at which doubt was first expressed in the official records as to Endicott's fitness for office, and his actual rejection as Governor we may be sure that lively electioneering must have taken place. That the Browns bestirred themselves in a campaign against Endicott is an inevitable conclusion in view of later developments. Thus only may we explain the significant fact that the Browns did not carry the story of their wrongs to the King; and yet, so far as the company records disclose, no definite action was ever taken by the company to mollify the aggrieved brothers. It is more than probable, therefore, that a gentleman's agreement for the ousting of Endicott was the price unofficially paid for their silence. Thus in four days the stormy petrel of the Salem Colony was despoiled of his proud plumage and another was elevated to his place.

CHAPTER XXI

JOHN WINTHROP IS ELECTED GOVERNOR

The session of the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Company for October 20, 1629, had been officially designated as the meeting at which the new government for the Colony should be chosen. Before the election of officers, however, it was necessary to take formal action upon the Articles of Agreement that had been drawn up by the committee appointed for that purpose four days previously. These provisions were designed to settle the financial problems involved in the transfer of the government.

When the articles had been read and discussed at some length the assembly adopted them without further ado. It then proceeded to choose a joint committee to have charge of administration of the somewhat complicated business relations of those members of the Company who were to remain in England and those who were to emigrate to America.

Saltonstall, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson and Humphrey represented the colonists, whereas Cradock, Aldersey, Wright, Hutchins and Captain Venn were to act in behalf of the English stockholders. Cradock, it should be observed, had definitely decided to remain in England. He was a merchant of great wealth and extensive business interests. Life as a planter in the wilds of New England could have no charms for such as he. He was not averse, however, to owning an extensive plantation in America which he proposed to manage through a local representative. This in fact was a privilege accorded to each of the stockholders in the Bay Company. Matthew Cradock, moreover, was already assured of the very profitable concession of chief patronage of the Colony. To supply so great an expedition of colonists with goods needful for their voyage and their setting up in America was an opportunity that the greatest merchants in England might well have coveted. Thus it is to be seen that when Matthew Cradock retired as Governor of the Company, which he was now voluntarily about to do, there was no financial sacrifice involved. To a man ambitious for power the surrender of the office might well have involved regrets but, as before indicated, Cradock was a mer-

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chant of varied interests, and not politically minded. He was content that another should rule, provided a man could be found who possessed the requisite wisdom and force of character to manage the Colony wisely.

Several days before the meeting of October 20, 1629, Cradock had held a secret session or caucus at which a few of his trusted associates in the Company were present.

"This matter of selecting a Governor for our plantation," he declared when they had assembled, "is of great importance to us all. We have made trial of the sufficiency of Captain Endicott and are already involved in difficulties of a serious nature. He is my dear friend, but he has overmuch severity and rashness of judgment."

"I am right glad to hear you say this, Master Cradock," cried Thomas Goffe. "Endicott would have the whole plantation in mutiny. We must choose a more temperate man. Sir Richard Saltonstall might do."

"Sir Richard has qualities of mind that might be profitable to us in our government, but he has been bred a gentleman, and I fear greatly that he will not long remain in so barbarous a land as New England."

"Isaac Johnson would be a likely Governor," suggested another of the party. "He is a man of piety and wealth and Lady Arbella, his wife, is of the noble family of the Earls of Lincoln."

"That is true enough," rejoined Cradock, "but Master Johnson lacks training in governmental affairs. He is perhaps too gentle by nature to serve us well. What think you of Master Winthrop? Is he not the right man for the place?"

"A fine man indeed," declared Thomas Goffe, "but Master Winthrop has never mentioned to me in our conversations that he even desireth the task."

"Nor is it needful that he should. I have already sounded the man, and it is my conviction that he will serve us as Governor if the post comes to him unsought. Master Winthrop is bred to the law. His ancestors for some generations have been lawyers and men of wisdom. He has a comfortable fortune and is investing much of it in this New England enterprise. My heart inclines me to Master Winthrop."

The upshot of the caucus was that every man in the group pledged himself to work among his friends in the company to promote the

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candidacy of Winthrop. Thus without being aware of the fact when John Winthrop came to the meeting of the General Court of October 29, 1629, he was the proverbial "dark horse" of the forthcoming election.

It is unlikely that any of the three avowed candidates had personally electioneered in advance for the honor. Even if they had done so the Cradock group had prepared so great a surprise for them that after nominations were made there could have been little doubt as to the outcome of the vote.

Cradock, as presiding officer, had no sooner called for nominations for the office of Governor than one of the most influential and eloquent of the group, according to prearrangement, arose to place in nomination the newcomer to their Council who had made so favorable an impression upon them all. While John Winthrop undoubtedly knew that his name was being considered for Governor yet he was nevertheless unprepared for the fervor of the nominating speech or the acclaim that greeted its conclusion.

However disconcerting this speech must have been to other candidates, yet it was too late for last-minute conferences with their own supporters. Sir Richard Saltonstall was thereupon placed in nomination. Isaac Johnson and John Humphrey were also nominated. But when the four candidates were voted upon John Winthrop was elected by overwhelming vote.

In announcing the result of the election the presiding officer called upon Winthrop to address the gathering. The latter, although deeply moved by the unexpected honor and responsibility thus suddenly thrust upon him, responded briefly. We have no record of his exact words on that occasion, but we do have a letter written that very evening to his wife which was no doubt similar in thought to the address made by John Winthrop to his associates of the General Court.

"So it is that it hath pleased the Lord," he wrote, "to call me to a further trust in this business of the Plantation, than I expected to find myself fit for. . . . The only thing that I have comfort of in it is, that hereby I have assurance that my charge is of the Lord and that He hath called me to this work. Oh, that He would give me an heart now to answer His goodness to me and the expectation of His people."

It appears from the record that the newly elected Governor was immediately sworn into office, and he presumably assumed the chair,

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for by the terms of the vote his administration was to begin that very day. John Humphrey, one of the unsuccessful candidates for Governor, was thereupon elected to the post of Deputy-Governor. Under the Puritan plan of government the affairs of the plantation were to be conducted by a Governor, Deputy-Governor and a Board of Assistants, with occasional meetings of the stockholders in what was termed a General Court. It is significant that when the Assistants were elected the names of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson and Thomas Dudley preceded that of John Endicott, the former Governor of the Colony, who was fourth in the list of assistants. Eighteen men were chosen to this important board. Nearly all of them were then in England, but planning to go to America. Possibly the apparent slighting of the officials of the existing government in Salem was due to expediency. Much business must be transacted before departure from England, and it might have been fatal to the enterprise if the newly elected Governor had been handicapped by possible dissensions in his official family, or if many of his assistants had been across the ocean and consequently unable to vote upon matters of great moment.

In the light of history we may safely declare that the election of John Winthrop as Chief Executive of the Puritan Colony was little short of inspiration on the part of Cradock and his associates. Here was a man of tireless energy, steadfast to any cause to which he had committed himself. While his piety was equal to that of the somewhat fanatical Endicott yet he had a poise of judgment, influenced perhaps by his legal training, that rendered him the ideal leader of a great colonizing movement.

With characteristic zeal the new Governor undertook to solve the great and perplexing problems that had developed in the affairs of the Colony. It was already confronted by heavy financial obligations. Its treasury was nearly empty. Many persons who had subscribed for shares in the enterprise had defaulted on their promises. How much of this result was due to unsettled conditions in England, or to waning enthusiasm because of the dubious outlook for success of the Colony, we are unable even to conjecture.

Yet the election of John Winthrop was the signal for a new stirring of life in the Bay Colony. Efforts were immediately renewed for the arousing of interest among the Puritans of England in the

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hoped-for migration of the following spring. For the first time in history a new commonwealth was to be created and transported bodily across the seas. The government itself was already functioning in England. It would continue to function even while on shipboard during the weeks that the transport ships might require for the crossing. The Colony, with its government intact, would set itself down in Massachusetts Bay, superseding all previous beginnings of government in the territory covered by the royal Charter.

Upon the shoulders of the new Governor had descended a great burden of responsibility. Since London was the center of activity of the colonizing movement it became necessary for John Winthrop to spend the major part of his time in that city despite the fact that his wife and family were in Groton, at a distance of two days' journey over the bridle paths of the times.

The sifting and choosing of prospective colonists was a formidable task, since the church credentials of all applicants must be examined with care and the general fitness for pioneer life must also be determined before colonists could be booked for passage on one or another of the ships that were being chartered and made ready for the voyage. Governor Winthrop was not one who could trust these important details entirely to committees. He was himself a member of all committees and no business of importance went forward without his active supervision.

In the midst of his activities, however, he did not turn deaf ears to the domestic concerns of his own family. John Winthrop was essentially a family man. So much has been written about this remarkable personage in his public character, of his austerity, of his integrity, of his wisdom as a magistrate, that it may be well to explore a bit of the human side of the great Colonial Governor.

At the early age of eighteen John Winthrop had left Cambridge University, after more than two years of academic training, to marry. His bride was Mary Forth, and the marriage occurred April 28, 1605. Three sons and three daughters, two of the latter dying in infancy, were the fruits of this union. The marriage was terminated by death of Mary Winthrop ten years and two months after the wedding. John, Henry and Forth were the three sons and Mary, the surviving daughter. Three of Winthrop's children were destined to figure in the history of New England.

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In December, 1615, six months after the death of his first wife, John Winthrop married again, only to have his second wife die of childbirth fever one year later. Two years elapsed before the third marriage. Winthrop espoused Margaret Tyndal in April, 1618. That it was an exceedingly happy union is evident from the remarkable letters, now extant, that were written during the separation incident to Winthrop's election as Governor of the Bay Colony. After eleven years of wedlock and the birth of several children the couple were seemingly as devoted as young lovers. During his busy days in London John Winthrop still had the hope of occasional reunions at his home fireside, but the couple were looking forward with dread to the necessity of a separation that seemed endless. John Winthrop himself would go to New England, but Margaret, his wife, because of delicate health and the care of small children must remain in England until the Colony had established some semblance of civilization in Massachusetts Bay.

Thus there were many cares and worriments of a personal nature that beset the overworked Governor, clouding his days and even invading his dreams. His son Henry had married prior to Winthrop's election to office; and the marriage of a son or a daughter cannot fail to impress a parent with the realization that he is growing old. Henry had been born when his father was only twenty years of age, so Winthrop, at forty-three, had genuine reason for regarding himself as a patriarch in Israel. Pilgrims and Puritans, one will remember, from much study of the Bible, were prone to regard themselves as Israelites although they mortally hated Jews, blaming them still for the crucifixion of Christ. So they appropriated to themselves all the Biblical promises made to that rejected race. They named their children with Hebrew names and the custom continued in New England for many generations.

John Winthrop's prominence and his undoubted wisdom had by this time made him the family oracle. Even his aged father appealed to him for advice. His relatives relied upon his judgment and, like all relatives, felt free to call upon him whenever they were perplexed, however pressing and important the tasks upon which he was engaged at the time. In the midst of his strenuous labors in London in the weeks following his elevation to office two major crises in the Winthrop family arose to harass him.

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The first of these had to do with his sister Priscilla Fones. Like her brother she had married young. She was now a widow, with grown up children. At her last visit with her brother John, she had confided to him, with becoming delicacy, the important fact that a gentleman of clerical garb was calling upon her with every appearance of matrimonial design. She intimated that it was high time for her brother to investigate the wooer's condition in life in order to advise her whether to encourage the reverend gentleman or to bid him begone.

John Winthrop, however, was too deeply involved in weighty matters to devote very much attention to his sister's romance—possibly realizing that Priscilla would pay scant heed to any advice that did not agree with her own inclinations. At any rate the busy governor failed to investigate the Reverend Henry Painter. So it came to pass that on November 17, 1629, Priscilla sat down to write her brother a letter of reproach for his neglect of her. Priscilla could wield a pen with the best of her sex but the less said about her spelling the better, for her score of correctly spelled words was low indeed.

In this letter she plunged at once into her main purpose and thus reminded her brother of his negligence.

"As well as I could endure to speak of such business," she wrote, "I entreated your help to that end when I parted with you; but see my answer took not that effect which I did desire, which hath bred me much grief and trouble of mind, myself being very fearful to change my condition. All my friends persuade me it will be best for me to change, but myself hath no heart in it. In the man I see that which I chiefly aim at in a husband."

The infatuated widow then went on to paint the manifold excellencies of the Rev. Henry Painter. The moving portion of this "Macedonian call" was couched in the following language:

"Good brother, help with your prayers and best advice, for I have now cast myself upon you and my father (*i. e.*, Adam Winthrop) and Mr. White, to whom I pray make known this business and crave his council in it."

The Mr. White mentioned by the sister was none other than the celebrated clergyman of that name who had played so important a part in promoting the interests of the Salem Colony. But Priscilla

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Fones was not satisfied with mere inquiry as to the suitor's character and fitness. She desired that her brother John should meet the man and discuss the matter at length. This accounts for the following appeal:

"Good brother, I know your love to be such towards me that I shall not need to entreat your care in this, but now my request of you is that you would make all the haste home you can, for we all long for you."

Priscilla Winthrop had been married at least twice before this date. She had a grown-up daughter, Ursula Sherman, by a husband that had preceded the late lamented Fones. She should have been entirely competent to manage this Painter romance. In view of the extraordinary circumstances in which John Winthrop was enmeshed when this letter arrived he might not have quitted his post in London, even for a few days, had not a second letter, written on the self-same day by his own son, Forth Winthrop, made his return to Groton imperative.

Before explaining the second family crisis let us glance a moment at the tangle in the affairs of the Massachusetts Bay Company that was driving its new Governor almost to distraction. Three ships, the "Talbot," the "Four Sisters" and the now immortal "Mayflower" of the Pilgrims and Plymouth had returned from the New England voyage more than two months ago and the Company had thus far been unable to pay the wages of the mariners of the three ships. Quite naturally the men were clamoring for their pay. This debt was a much more serious matter than an ordinary indebtedness, since under the laws of England sailors who may have ventured their lives on the ocean always found special protection in the courts. How to meet this situation and to keep the unfortunate affair out of the courts was Winthrop's major problem. A public exposure of the virtual bankruptcy of the Bay Company might wreck any chances of attracting fresh capital, or of inducing desirable colonists to join the movement. Winthrop was working night and day to increase the financial resources of the Company.

Forth Winthrop's letter must have arrived by the same messenger that brought the letter from Priscilla Fones, since as previously indicated it was written on the same day and in the same town. Priscilla had been too much concerned with her own romance even to men-

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tion the domestic entanglement in which her brother's son found himself enmeshed. Yet it was, or should have been, fully as important to her as to her overburdened brother, since her own daughter was the lady in the case.

Priscilla's daughter, Ursula Sherman, despite the fact that Forth Winthrop was her first cousin, had found favor in his eyes as no other maiden had ever done. Just as Henry Painter had discerned in the mother qualities of womanhood that inspired adoration, so also young Winthrop had discovered in the daughter those ineffable charms that every true lover must needs find in his lady fair. The infatuated swain had progressed from unspoken admiration for his fair cousin to open confession that he found her society most enchanting. The maiden's blushes and obvious joy in his near presence soon brought to Forth Winthrop the disturbing knowledge that a mutual love had grown up between them.

The fact that Ursula was his first cousin was not, under the laws of England, an impediment to marriage. The custom, however, was not looked upon with favor by society in general, since even in those days the danger to the children of the intermarriage of those closely related by ties of blood was clearly recognized.

Forth Winthrop, honorable son of an honorable father, at once took pen in hand to write to his absent parent of the dilemma in which he found himself. This then was the disturbing second letter that came to John Winthrop's hand in London the very eve of a critical meeting of the General Court.

"I would be loath so far to violate the laws of nature or infringe the precepts of nurture and education," wrote Forth Winthrop to his father, "as to undertake any enterprise of moment without your leave, knowledge, consent and license. That, therefore, I may have your counsel and direction I desire that from me you may understand that I do bear affection in such sort as God may approve, and with your agreement may in time bless with His holy ordinance of marriage, to my cousin, Ursula, my Aunt Fones' daughter, yet have I made no mention of any such thing, nor till I shall know your will, pleasure and advice herein will I. To your wisdom therefore do I most humbly submit myself, and earnestly desiring your prayers, that God may direct me for the best, I shall await the expectation of your counsel, instruction and direction, what best in your wisdom shall see most fitting for me to be done or left undone."



STATE HOUSE, BOSTON



FANEUIL HALL AND THE CUSTOM HOUSE TOWER BUILDING, BOSTON

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The feelings of John Winthrop upon receiving this remarkable letter may better be imagined than described. Little did he dream that his son Forth Winthrop, whom he intended for the ministry, was destined never to attain that goal nor even to wed the cousin whom he loved so dearly. The father's heart was moved to go to his son and his prospective daughter-in-law and discuss the matter of an engagement of marriage between them.

Under date of November 20, 1629, which must have been immediately after receiving Forth's letter, which was written on the seventeenth, John Winthrop dispatched a letter to his wife in Groton in which the following significant passage occurred:

"Let my horses be sent up on Saturday or Monday come seven night (*i. e.*, a week hence), except I write to the contrary in the meantime, for I will make what haste I can."

Again on November twenty-fourth he wrote to his wife:

"I know thou wilt consider how it is now with me in regard of business, which so takes up my time and thoughts, that I can noe more but let thee know that I have a desire still to be writing to thee, though I cannot express my love so largely to thee as I was wont to do. I hope (if God will) to be with thee the beginning of next week; therefore let John be here with my horses on Saturday."

Thus we see the heavily burdened John Winthrop, at his wits' end to cope with the great responsibilities of the office of Governor of the Bay Colony, ready nevertheless to respond to the call of home and family. His sons were very dear to him and surely any son who could write so manly and eloquent a letter as that from which we have quoted was a son in whom he might justly have taken pride.

The Governor indeed returned home in response to his promise. He renewed acquaintance with the Rev. Henry Painter and apparently became convinced that his sister would make no mistake in marrying the man. Thus Priscilla Fones attained the dignity of becoming a clergyman's wife—an honor indeed in those days when the Puritan clergy were held in great veneration by their loyal followers.

John Winthrop also took counsel with Ursula Sherman and his son, Forth, upon the all-important question of a marriage between them. Here again the verdict was in favor of matrimony and the young couple presently became engaged to be married. Forth Win-

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throp, however, within a year from this date, and before the wedding had taken place, fell ill and died, which as we shall see later was one of the sore trials that beset John Winthrop during his first term as Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

That other trials, none the less grievous, were to befall him in the coming months is well known to students of history. But of these crosses and misfortunes Winthrop was at this time happily unaware. Life was bearing him onward at full flood. The fate of a great Colony was in his hands and the welfare of thousands of his own religious faith was upon his heart.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BAY COMPANY AN INSOLVENT DEBTOR

The Massachusetts Bay Company, as already indicated, had been formed in response to the desire of certain Puritan leaders in England to establish an asylum beyond the sea for the oppressed adherents of their own faith. The preaching of the Reverend John White, of Dorchester, England, had done much to foster the idea of seeking religious freedom in America. The movement, therefore, sprang to life as a highly idealistic venture. Could it have been carried forward in that spirit alone there might have been less difficulty in the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony. But in order to reach Massachusetts there was a great ocean to cross, which meant the hiring of ships and of mariners for extended periods of time. Great quantities of supplies must be purchased. Staggering expenses were necessarily involved.

Thus it came to pass that the large sums that had been advanced by Matthew Cradock and other wealthy Puritans at the inception of the movement soon melted away. Within a year from the establishment of the Colony at Salem the Bay Company was virtually bankrupt. Since the backers of the enterprise had regarded it not as a mere philanthropy but as an opportunity for a profitable business venture, the appalling drain upon the Company treasury, with virtually no earnings to offset losses, caused many adventurers to draw back in alarm.

It will be remembered that Matthew Cradock, a wealthy London merchant, had been the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company during these disastrous developments. John Endicott, Cradock's relative by marriage, had been Governor of the Salem Colony. His severity as a ruler and the fact that he had arrested and sent home to England for trial two of the most prominent men in the Colony because they had insisted upon reading the English Book of Common Prayer in public, had completed the discomfiture of stockholders in the enterprise. They feared the wrath of King Charles, should the facts become known.

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In the election of John Winthrop as Governor, not only of the Bay Company itself but also of the Colony in America the leaders of the movement were risking all in a desperate attempt to revive a failing enterprise. Had John Winthrop been an ordinary business man he could not by possibility have succeeded in his task, because no profits were possible and none were ever paid to those who invested funds in the Company. Had he been a mere idealist he could not have accomplished much in the great task which fate had thrust upon him. But John Winthrop combined in his own person a certain amount of business sagacity, an idealism and faith in things unseen and a tenacity of purpose that could not brook defeat. Such then was the new leader of the Massachusetts Bay Company, elected to the office of Governor on October 20, 1629.

For a full month after his elevation to office Winthrop was busy night and day in a fruitless and disheartening attempt to raise money for the future needs of the Colony. As a lawyer he was well aware of the legal implications of the attempt. Should it fail he and his associates might be regarded as little short of swindlers for seeking to induce others to invest capital in a bankrupt enterprise. But an examination of the books of the Massachusetts Bay Company revealed the fact that there were enough pledges of capital to have liquidated the debts of the Company if these pledges had been redeemed. We may therefore appreciate the earnestness with which the new Governor pursued the task of persuading delinquent subscribers to make good on their promises. Not content with the efforts of others he undertook to make personal calls on some of the chief backsliders in the movement.

Thus it came to pass that on a November day in 1629 John Winthrop called at the London office of one of the prominent Puritan merchants. This man had formerly been very active in the affairs of the Company. It was not easy to gain admittance because notices of Winthrop's election as Governor had been sent out to all shareholders with a previously written appeal for the payment of pledges. Winthrop's call was therefore about as welcome as the advent of a bill collector. But there was a bond of fellowship among Puritans that forbade actual discourtesy to so eminent a layman as John Winthrop. To the great merchant's presence the anxious Governor was eventually conducted.

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"We have a great project afoot," asserted Winthrop when the usual greetings and salutations had been exchanged, "a project which under the blessings of God may yield much fruit for His Kingdom."

"I have heard as much," responded the other, "and if I may be so bold as to venture an opinion, it seems to me a plan that cannot succeed, least of all in gaining the aid of investors in England."

"But these investors must needs look to the success of the Colony in America for those ample returns hoped for by all."

"Very true; but to give irresponsible colonists the right to manage their own affairs cannot fail to result disastrously to all concerned."

"In that sentiment I heartily concur," responded Winthrop evenly, "but you are mistaken in supposing that irresponsible colonists are to have any voice in the government or affairs of the Colony."

"Judging by the meetings that I attended and by the reports that have come to me since, that is exactly what we who have invested moneys in the Company must needs fear. Tell me, Mr. Governor, was it not voted to transfer the government from the hands of stockholders resident in England to those of colonists in New England?"

"There is no gainsaying that fact, but you forget that the transfer is being made to responsible stockholders who are going to America, such as Sir Richard Saltonstall and Isaac Johnson—"

"Sir Richard Saltonstall—bah! What does Sir Richard know about business matters? How long think you he will stay in America? The royal court and princely hall are necessary to one reared as he hath been."

"Time alone can answer that question. But there be many other God-fearing and capable men who have already agreed to sail for America at the beginning of spring. They may be depended upon to protect the interests of all concerned."

"I grant you, Mr. Governor, that they will do as well as weak and erring mortals can be expected to do, but even they must needs fail. When once they have crossed the great sea interest of self will prompt them to favor the Colony and forget those who have made the Colony possible."

"I am truly sorry for these doubts and fears, but since the responsibility is upon my head let me assure thee that the stockholders in England will never suffer for any such cause."

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"Well said, Mr. Governor; but governors are chosen every year and other colonists may not share your sentiments nor even continue you at the head of affairs."

Thus checkmated, John Winthrop could accomplish little in convincing so astute a business man that his investment was safe or that it would be wise to risk further sums in the enterprise. This experience was typical of the discouraging round of calls upon delinquent subscribers. Reports from other workers were alike disheartening.

In the meantime the Governor's lodgings were much frequented by anxious creditors, ship captains, sailors, tradesmen, each pressing his own claim for payment. To one and all Winthrop made the only answer that was possible under the circumstances—that moneys were due the company and that he and his associates were making every possible effort to raise money to discharge all the obligations of the Company.

Such was the state of affairs when the time arrived for the meeting of the first Court of Assistants of the Winthrop administration. Despite the fact that Thomas Goffe was no longer Deputy-Governor he continued to offer the hospitality of the parlor of his London house for the meetings of the Company. The Court of Assistants convened on Friday, November 20, 1629, with John Winthrop presiding.¹ No group of directors of an insolvent organization ever assembled with more doleful countenances than the fourteen men who gathered in the Goffe parlor on this occasion. Each of the men had a substantial investment in the Company at stake, but there was also the element of personal humiliation that an enterprise to which they had set their hands should fail.

John Winthrop was perhaps the exception to the rule of gloom. One of the latest comers to the Company councils he had consequently suffered less from the wearing down of spirit and courage than long months of perplexity had wrought in his companions.

"We must face the facts," he told his associates in the Court of Assistants, "and face them with frankness and courage. Truly our company is in sore straits, but this work is of the Lord and for the glory of His Kingdom. All things are possible with Him. I have faith to believe that somehow out of the maze in which we grope will come light to guide our footsteps. I have called you together to

1. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 60.

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seek your advice in some course that we may pursue for the bringing in of moneys for the payment of present debts."

"Would God that we could discover such a course!" ejaculated Matthew Cradock feelingly. "I have been so plagued and harassed by company debts this twelvemonth that I have advanced large sums from time to time out of my own purse to quiet the clamor of our creditors, and yet our debts seem endless."

"You have indeed earned the everlasting gratitude of this company, Master Cradock," declared John Winthrop as he turned himself to the speaker. "We must take measure to repay you and to pay all of our debts. Will you not therefore give us some estimate of what sums are owed to you and what is still due to the mariners for their latest voyage to New England?"

"Right willingly, Mr. Governor. I have paid out in the company's behalf the sums named in the statement of account which I now place in your hands. It totals £800. There is still due for mariners wages upon the ships "Talbot," "Mayflower" and "Four Sisters," and for the freight of those ships, £1200 and upwards, all of which is long since overdue."

"Then it appears that we must raise more than two thousand pounds before we can venture to make plans for next season's shipping. While this is indeed a grievous handicap, yet I have faith to believe that with the Lord of Hosts on our side we cannot fail if we will but acquit ourselves like men."

"The trouble is not with us, Master Winthrop," declared Thomas Dudley, "but with those craven fellows who have refused to pay the sums promised under their hands when they first joined this Company. Is there not some way to oblige them to pay?"

"Under the laws of England all those who sign a subscription paper become bound when action is taken upon their promises. It is clear that when ships were dispatched to America in reliance upon these subscriptions, the subscribers became legally liable."

"Then why not sue them, Master Winthrop?" The speaker was Thomas Goffe.

"We might in truth sue them in the courts, Master Goffe, but methinks it would be dangerous to drag our affairs into the courts. We would then advertise to the world the desperate straits in which we have fallen and thus furnish our chief enemies with weapons to

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be used against us. We have been in danger enough from the Brown controversy. No, in my judgment it were wiser to content ourselves with milder measures."

"I concur in that opinion," declared Matthew Cradock, "but the mischief is that those who have thus far refused to pay their subscriptions must needs know that we dare not sue them in the courts. If we are to pay our debts, and to provide for the future, we are put to it to devise other means of bringing moneys into our treasury."

"That we must, Master Cradock, and this is why I have summoned the court to meet with me today. There is one matter, however, that can and should be attended to at once. In examining the records of our Company I find that when Master Cradock was Governor he had express authority from this court to grant warrants for the payment of moneys due to creditors of the Massachusetts Bay Company. No such authority has yet been conferred upon me and I hesitate to act even upon small bills now in the hands of our Treasurer."

A motion was thereupon offered to confer upon Governor Winthrop the needed authority. This motion had no sooner been passed than a second motion was offered to give pending indebtedness first claim to sums that might come into the treasury.

"I agree with the spirit of this measure," declared George Harwood, the treasurer, "but it must be remembered that the large sums that are now due depend for their payment upon the success of this Company. If we are to refuse to pay the multitude of small charges that fall due from week to week . . . the pay of clerks and factors, bills for supplies and the like, and tell these people that they must wait until over £2000 of back bills are paid then we might as well disband at once, for the courts will presently be invoked by those who can ill-afford to wait and who perchance have no sympathy for our colonizing movement."

"Our Treasurer hath spoken truly," agreed Cradock ruefully. "My own advances, much as I need repayment, can better wait until moneys come into the treasury than to have current bills dishonored. To dishonor small bills is to lose credit immediately and thus to defeat all of our efforts to revive the prospects of the company."

The result of the discussion was that a measure was passed giving assurance to Cradock and other large creditors that except for the payment of current expenses no other large expenditures would

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be made from the treasury until the back indebtedness might be discharged in full. Since the meetings of the Court of Assistants were very informal in nature, Governor Winthrop at once sat down at a desk and drafted a warrant, directed to the Treasurer, for the payment of £800 to Matthew Cradock, "so soon as money shall come into his hand." When this warrant had been duly signed by the Governor and Deputy-Governor, it was delivered to Mr. Cradock and the proper memorandum of its official approval was made by the Treasurer, Mr. Harwood.

"There is another matter of moment to be considered at this meeting" declared Governor Winthrop, "and it has to do with the troublesome matter of the Browns, who lately came out of New England much against their will. They left behind them, as you know, sundry goods intended by them for their use in the plantation. A committee not long since undertook to appraise the value of these goods, that Master Cradock might purchase the same. It now appeareth that Master John and Samuel Brown are crying out against the fairness of that appraisal."

"They do indeed cry out," grumbled Thomas Dudley. "No later than this very morning Master John Brown told me that he had fallen among cutthroats and robbers who were despoiling him and his brother of lawful property at a ruinous rate."

"Yes, and a fair argument he makes of it," declared Sir Richard Saltonstall. "I for one am tired of this Brown controversy. Why not pay the men what they claim the property is worth and be rid of them?"

"A Solomon come to judgment!" exploded Matthew Cradock angrily. "Sir Richard hath become a philanthropist at my expense. I will never consent to purchase their paltry trash at any such figure, but Sir Richard is welcome to it at any price he may be pleased to pay."

"Nay, nay, Master Cradock. Methinks I was overhasty in my suggestion. You are a merchant and should understand the value of merchandise. I would not presume to criticise your judgment."

"Yet something must be done," insisted Thomas Dudley, "or these loose-tongued Browns may work us great harm. Why not agree to reappraise the property when the new government arrives in America?"

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"But that will not satisfy the Browns," asserted the Treasurer uneasily. "They are insisting that since they were arrested and sent home by the local Governor, the Bay Company should pay them the full value of their goods and pay them now. They will not wait for a year until a new appraisal can be heard from."

"Master Harwood is right," declared John Winthrop earnestly. "We cannot satisfy these men by any such delays in settling their just claims. With Master Cradock's permission we might agree that he do presently pay to the Browns the sums already fixed by the Committee and agree that if a reappraisal findeth that more money is justly due upon the goods that he will pay the same."

"More philanthropy at my expense," growled Cradock. "I have sacrificed quite enough for this Company without any such hare-brained agreement."

"Hare-brained agreement indeed," retorted Governor Winthrop, his dark eyes lighting with anger. "Master Cradock forgets that he is dealing with English gentlemen who would never consent to injustice to any man, either to these unfortunate adventurers or to himself."

"We must not lose our heads gentlemen," interposed Sir Richard Saltonstall. "It is very natural for Master Cradock to doubt the wisdom of so unusual a plan, but I am certain that he will presently see how fair and reasonable it truly is. His own agent in New England will be able to inspect the goods before they are delivered and surely no Committee of which Master Winthrop is Chairman will set a price above the true worth of the stuff. Master Cradock, on the other hand, would not desire to take advantage of the necessities of these men."

"If I have been hasty with my tongue I truly crave the indulgence of our Governor," rejoined Matthew Cradock. "Sir Richard has well stated the matter. I am content to leave the issue in the hands of the Government of the Colony when it shall have reached New England. If therefore the Browns are willing to abide by this arrangement I will cheerfully pay them at once the amount already fixed by the Committee and any future sum that may be assessed hereafter."

Another item of business to be brought before this meeting of November 20, 1629, discloses the care with which the officials of the Massachusetts Bay Company endeavored to safeguard their inter-

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ests against profiteers. A Mr. Beecher, master of the ship "Talbot," had presented a request to have an agreement, made by him with a surgeon named Pratt, ratified by the General Court. When it appeared that the agreement called for a payment of two shillings sixpence for every passenger on shipboard the question was raised by one of the Assistants whether the agreement could be deemed reasonable. In view of the fact that one hundred and twenty-five passengers were involved and also that the surgeon had already been retained by the Company on an annual salary, it was decided to summon the surgeon to appear and explain the matter.

Toward the close of the meeting a report was received from an accountant who had been engaged to examine the records of payments by the different subscribers to shares in the Bay Company. Thus the Court of Assistants had before it accurate information as to the grave state of delinquency that existed.

"It is small wonder that we find ourselves unable to pay our debts," cried Matthew Cradock bitterly. "I cannot understand why Christian men will regard their solemn promises so lightly."

"Some of these men were most active of all when the Company was newly formed," commented Thomas Goffe, frowning angrily. "The cowards know that we dare not sue them."

"I would not be too sure of that," interposed Governor Winthrop. "If they have consulted an attorney-at-law they know that they are liable on their promises. Why not proceed as if we were going to take action against them. Mayhap sundry of them may take alarm and pay their pledges."

"You mean, Master Winthrop, that we should threaten them?"

"Not exactly threaten them, but it is customary to send a final demand before taking action. Let us send them tickets, every one, with sums due from each and make no mention of what steps we propose to pursue."

"I am not overhopeful at this plan," declared Matthew Cradock, "but since we have no better plan, let us at once make trial of it and pray Heaven that it may be fruitful of results."

Other Assistants being of the same mind the plan was unanimously adopted. The meeting thereupon adjourned and a list of the delinquents was drawn up. Statements of indebtedness were prepared and sent out that very afternoon. It was on the evening of this day,

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November twentieth, that John Winthrop wrote to his wife asking her to send his horses so that he might go home for a brief visit. It will be remembered that he had just received a letter from his widowed sister, Priscilla, beseeching him to return and pass judgment upon the matrimonial desirability of a suitor of her own. Priscilla's own daughter and John's son, Forth Winthrop, had fallen madly in love with each other. There was reason enough for the anxious Governor to hasten home; but there were other meetings to be held before Winthrop could hope to absent himself from London.

CHAPTER XXIII

A PREACHER POINTS THE WAY

In the five days that intervened between the meeting last mentioned and the session of the General Court scheduled for November twenty-fifth, Governor Winthrop redoubled his activity in behalf of the Company. He had appointed a committee to wrestle with the problem of the joint stock and how money might be raised thereon. It did not seem likely to any of them that the old delinquents would respond to the demands that had been sent out for the payment of defaulted subscriptions. Some other way must be devised for money to be raised. Two plans were finally decided upon to be embodied in the report of the committee.

When the General Court convened on the day specified the first order of business is thus stated in the minutes of the session:

"A letter of the 5th of September from Mr. Endicott, the Governor and others in New England, was now read; as also Mr. Governor acquainted those present with certain testimonies sent over against one, William Rovell, Master of a ship of . . . , concerning some insolent and misbecoming speeches uttered by him in contempt of the Company's privileges and government; which is to be taken into further consideration, and be proceeded against, when other certificates are come, which are expected, concerning that business."¹

How much genuine indignation is involved in this entry in the Company records it is hard to say. John Endicott was a stickler for the defense of his dignity as Governor of the little Colony at Salem. The charge of "Contempt of the Company's privileges and government" was quite likely the outcome of a quarrel between the autocratic Governor and a choleric sea captain who swore round oaths and expressed his opinion freely concerning Endicott's administration. That the affair was passed over lightly by the Winthrop administration is evident from the fact that no further entry appears in the Company records concerning Captain Rowell, thus indicating that when the supplemental affidavits arrived they were not such as to arouse the wrath of the Puritan leaders.

1. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, pp. 61, 62.

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At this same meeting of the General Court, November 25, 1629, there was much cause for serious thought on the part of those in attendance. One ominous feature of the meeting was the small attendance.

This fact particularly incensed Sir Richard Saltonstall, who rose to speak directly after the letter from Endicott had been read and discussed, with the result above noted.

"This small attendance is amazing to me," cried the indignant Knight, glancing at the empty chairs. "Every man in our Company knows full well that our Charter appoints this last Wednesday in November as one of the four 'quarter days' of the year when we must then convene the Great and General Court for the transaction of important business. They know full well that we have grave problems to decide. Yet they chose to stay away."

"Even so do rats desert a sinking ship!" commented one of the members in disgust. But Governor Winthrop turned upon him a face of angry reproach. "Shame be upon you for such language, yea, even for such a thought. This is not a sinking ship but a project for the advancement of God's Kingdom on earth. Let us remember brethren that in old time the Lord separated and sifted Gideon's men until Gideon had a mere handful of tried and true men of war, yet with these few, under the blessings of God victory was achieved."

"Our Governor is indeed qualified to lead us to victory!" cried the Rev. John White exultantly. "We can and we will turn even this seeming defeat into victory."

"While we regret the small attendance of today," commented Matthew Cradock, "yet we must needs make a start with the weighty matters that confront us. Master Winthrop has a report to make. Let us hear it and if need be carry its discussion into a future day to which this meeting may adjourn. It may be that we can in the meantime shame our absent members into being present at the adjourned meeting."

When the applause that greeted this suggestion had spent itself John Winthrop arose to speak.

"A joint committee of Adventurers and Planters was appointed at the General Court on October 15th," he declared. "This Committee has held many sessions in an attempt to work out some plan whereby the selling of the joint stock of the Company may be

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arranged. Notwithstanding the harmony and concord that has existed betwixt us, we have nevertheless been unable to agree upon any one plan that we might present to this General Court. We have debated and argued much betwixt ourselves on two main propositions quite different in nature, but each looking to the clearing of our present indebtedness and the raising of money for future needs."

"Master Winthrop, before these two propositions be stated may we not have the accountant's report on our financial condition?"

"Most assuredly, Master Cradock. The accountant has made an estimate of the debts. He finds that the Company is at present owing some three thousand pounds. Could our brethren who have subscribed funds be induced to pay their pledges we would have toward that sum nineteen hundred pounds. There is also due to the Company between eight and nine hundred pounds on the freight of goods transported by the ships in the New England voyages. Could these sums be brought in, our debt would be reduced to a small figure."

"Think you there is any hope of bringing in the pledges now in default?"

"Very little hope. Time is pressing us to prepare for the going over to New England, so we cannot delay the raising of moneys."

"How much does your Committee consider is likely to be required for that purpose?"

"The Company as you know has servants in New England at heavy charges. Others must be sent over, so it appears that at least two thousand pounds will be needful to provide for the necessities of our servants. Then too we must needs spend another five hundred pounds to furnish our trading posts with merchandise for trade. It is needful also to supply artillery and munitions for such fortifications as will protect our settlements. These will cost at least five hundred pounds."

"Then are we to understand that for back debts and future needs we must straightway raise the large sum of six thousand pounds?"

"Yes, Sir Richard, we are indeed faced with that problem. Our Committee has been working on two general propositions. In order to raise this grievous sum the first plan provides that all former adventurers at once double their former subscriptions."

A stormy murmur of dissent greeted this proposal, causing John Winthrop to pause for a moment in distress.

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"Hear me through, I pray you. There is another portion of this first proposal that calls for the sale of all of the company's servants in America, of all cattle and merchandise of the Company. The proceeds of such sales would be paid in to the underwriters of stock that might be issued under this plan."

"Would not this course of action grievously handicap the Company in establishing settlements in New England?" demanded Sir Richard Saltonstall.

"There are those who think as you do, Sir Richard, but there are also others who feel that planters will build their own towns quite as well without the help of company servants, and thereby take more heed to the common welfare, having none but themselves to depend upon. The second proposition is that the old stock be put over into the hands of certain undertakers upon such conditions as can be agreed upon. These men would go on with the work of the company and manage the business, bear all charges and take their chances of profit or loss for seven years. At the end of seven years they would pay to the subscribers of stock the moneys paid in by them and retain for their own benefit any remaining sums."

"Why seven years, and how could a profit result to anyone from such a plan?"

"Hear me with patience, Master Nowell, and you will learn that the undertakers under this plan would for seven years have the following inducements: One half of the fur trade of the Colony; the sole making of salt in New England; the sole transportation of passengers but at reasonable rates. They would also be allowed a reasonable profit upon all such goods and provisions as they might provide in magazines or storehouses for the use and relief of the inhabitants."

"Think you, Master Winthrop, that persons of substance can be found who will undertake a venture so beset by danger of failure? There be ships to provide and great expenses to be met."

"Grave dangers and great risks are frequently encountered by English merchants and traders. In so worthy a cause I doubt not we shall find godly men whose hearts will be moved to undertake the venture, if indeed the company shall vote to adopt this second plan."

Sir Richard Saltonstall, as a member of the Committee who had favored the second plan, now launched into a speech in its behalf.

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Others joined in the discussion and it soon appeared that the members present were divided in their inclinations, just as the Committee had been. While Governor Winthrop would not have permitted the matter to go to a vote until a larger number of the members of the Company were present, yet he welcomed the lively discussion as a means of arousing interest in the adjourned meeting, to be held on the following Monday.

Then occurred one of those thrilling incidents, possible only with a deeply religious group, that sometimes comes to transform a contentious or discouraged assembly into one of faith and courage. However, these Puritan leaders may have relapsed into hard-headed business men whenever discussing business matters, yet there was burning in the heart of each of them a religious faith that amounted almost to fanaticism. They took the Bible literally. The God of the Bible was a jealous God who punished the Israelite of old for neglect and inattention. The Puritan clergy had long since claimed for their own people all the ancient promises made to the Jews in the Bible. They regarded themselves as Israelites and transfigured their unfortunate offspring with Hebrew names. There were Abrahams, Isaacs and Jacobs galore in the Puritan ranks, as well as Samuels, Ezras, Enochs, Eliases, Joshuas, Zachariahs and Jedediahs, with many less euphonious Jewish names. Thus we may glimpse the deep undercurrent of religious zeal that ordered their daily lives and understand how profoundly any group of Puritan leaders might be moved by a sudden alleged revelation of God's will concerning them. Puritan clergymen, in their eyes, were the anointed of the Lord—men who communed with Him on all occasions, like the prophets of old.

We have previously noted that the Rev. John White of Dorchester, England, was one of the most influential advocates of the movement to establish a Puritan Colony in America. Not only had he lent the power of his pulpit to the cause, but he had taken an intense personal interest in the Massachusetts Bay Company. He was frequently present at the meetings of the General Court. His presence at the meeting of November 25, 1629, has already been noted.

As the meeting was about to adjourn the Rev. John White arose suddenly to his feet, addressed the presiding officer, and, of course, received instant recognition.

"Brethren," he began impressively, "I have attended many meetings of this Company. I have witnessed with what earnestness you

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who are in temporal authority over this holy movement have striven to order its affairs aright. Ye be God-fearing and devoted men. I have long wondered why the Lord of Hosts hath not hitherto more bountifully blessed your undertaking. I have wrestled much in prayer for your cause and not until this very moment hath it been revealed to me why Heaven hath withheld its blessings from this Company. I now see it—I see it as clear as day. Our God is a jealous God. You have sought to go forward in your own strength and in reliance upon your own feeble understanding. Never once in these meetings has the Great Jehovah been called upon to bless and to sanctify your deliberations. That is why you have faltered and failed; that is why you wrangle among yourselves. I beseech you, therefore, brethren, before this meeting adjourns, to adopt an order that all future meetings be opened by prayer of some devoted man of God."

The effect of this speech was little short of magical. For a moment the members of the General Court sat in awed silence, like men who had seen a vision from on high. Then with one accord the leaders sprang to their feet, each eager to offer a motion that should forthwith correct their grievous error. Every man of them was stricken with remorse that they had so far forgotten the Most High as to incur His displeasure in such a fashion. Every man was convinced moreover that if they were thereafter to repair their error, the affairs of the Company must inevitably improve. The psychological impact of the idea was beyond estimation of value, since it had come at a moment when the Company was hopelessly divided.

From this meeting of the Massachusetts Bay Company, November 25, 1629, we may trace a custom that has continued to this day in American legislatures and in the National Congress: the custom of opening each session with prayer by a clergyman of some recognized religious denomination. To the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, who was destined never to behold the Puritan Commonwealth in America, may we give credit for an American custom that has continued for three centuries.²

The meeting had no sooner adjourned than those who had attended set about a zealous effort to reach absent members of the Company, to persuade them to attend the adjourned meeting scheduled for Monday, the thirtieth of November. The much-burdened

2. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 63.

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John Winthrop left the meeting place, deep in conversation with the clergyman who had pointed out the way to the victory that now seemed assured. In his eyes the Rev. John White was a prophet as truly as the prophets of Israel. It had never occurred to Winthrop to doubt the power of God to crown their efforts with success, but now that one of the anointed of the Lord had suddenly revealed the reason for their previous failures and the means of attaining divine aid, his heart was filled with rejoicing. So to his lodgings he repaired with the man of God, to question him on many things.

No doubt his own domestic problems, for after the Monday session he was to go home to advise his son and his sister upon their respective love entanglements, were laid before the wise clergyman for counsel and guidance. It is more than probable that Rev. John White tarried in London with Winthrop and other leaders during the five days that must elapse before the adjourned meeting. Dorchester was about one hundred and twenty miles distant from London. The clergyman could not have made the journey on horseback and have returned in time for the meeting. Yet, as we shall see, the Rev. John White played an important part in the adjourned meeting.

CHAPTER XXIV

A RELUCTANT DECISION

During the interval between the meeting of the General Court on November thirtieth the revival of enthusiasm for the cause of the Massachusetts Bay Company accomplished certain definite results. There were those who believed that if the old adventurers should double their holdings of joint stock the problems of the Company would be solved. Having convinced themselves of this truth they felt morally certain that all other investors must eventually come to the same conclusion. Without waiting for the matter to be settled by a formal vote of the General Court, sundry small investors now came forward with sums of money corresponding to their former investments. Mr. Harwood, the Treasurer of the Company, was thrilled at these unexpected accessions of wealth, but he was also puzzled as to his duty in the matter.

Thus it came to pass that he appeared in haste at the lodgings of Governor John Winthrop. The latter was deep in conference with some of the chief men of the Company.

"Our Treasurer is right welcome," cried the Governor heartily. "We were in fact discussing money matters and by your face, Master Harwood, I perceive that you are the bearer of good tidings."

"Good tidings, yes, but puzzling as well. Our meeting of Wednesday was scarcely over before certain of our Adventurers began to bring me moneys for additional joint stock."

"And you received it most gratefully, I warrant you," laughed Matthew Cradock from his place at the Governor's study table.

"In truth I received it and gave them the joint stock in exchange."

"Behold how the Lord works in the hearts of men!" exulted the Rev. John White.

"A most encouraging development, Master Harwood," declared Governor Winthrop. "Why are you puzzled; why distressed over such good fortune?"

"Only that these men believe that all other stockholders are to double their subscriptions in accordance with a plan suggested by your Committee at the recent meeting."

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"But there has been no vote upon the proposal," cried Matthew Cradock, aghast. "It is all very well for these small investors to double their stake in the Company's fortunes but for us who have large investments it is quite another matter."

"My dear brother in the Lord," expostulated the clergyman at his elbow, "you forget the story in the Blessed Book, of the widow's mite and how our Lord said that she had given more than those who had cast rich gifts into the treasury. She had given her all whereas they had given from their abundance."

"I know the story right well, Elder," grumbled Cradock uncomfortably, "but in praising the widow our Lord did not say that all others should do likewise. Men of substance who furnish employment for others, upon whom so many are dependent for a livelihood, cannot give away their all lest they starve and those others with them."

"Have you warned them, Master Harwood," queried John Winthrop, ignoring the discussion of the Biblical example, "that there is no certainty that the General Court will adopt the plan of doubling the subscriptions of the original Adventurers?"

"That I have, but they declare their conviction that it should be and will be adopted. They wish to set an example of faith."

"Praise the Lord that he hath chosen the simple to lead the way for the wise and mighty."

"Aye, Master White, but let us remember that the wise do not always follow the simple in rash and headlong action." Matthew Cradock was not in a subservient mood. He was one of those Puritan leaders who dared oppose his own business judgment to the more or less inspired opinions of the Puritan clergy. His faith was tempered by sage experience in worldly matters.

"If these men know full well that they are binding only themselves, that the Company may take other action, then we need not concern ourselves further," declared the Governor with finality. Thus the discussion ended and the Treasurer presently took his leave.

When the adjourned meeting was called to order on Monday, November 30, 1629, affairs of the Company had not materially changed. At this meeting, however, nearly half of the prominent men who had been present at the recent meeting were absent. Their places were taken in large part by others who were prominent enough

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to appear in the official records by name. But there was now a large attendance of the "generality," as the Secretary quaintly described them, noting after the word the figures "twenty-five." Since there were fourteen names recorded as of officers and assistants, it is probable that the twenty-five had reference to the numbers of small stockholders present, rather than to the entire attendance at the meeting.

After an especially fervent prayer by a visiting clergyman Governor Winthrop rose to explain to the assembly the two proposals that had been formulated by the Committee and informally discussed at the previous meeting.

"The debts of our joint stock," he declared finally, "now total the great sum of £2500. For present disbursements for the maintenance of Company servants now in New England, and for commodities for truck with the natives, and for munitions to protect our plantations there is presently needed another £1500. If all of our former adventurers should double their subscriptions then we might have enough moneys to carry our project to success. That in fact is the first proposal submitted by the Committee."

"But suppose some adventurers will double their subscriptions and others will not, can any vote of this General Court be binding upon them?" The questioner was himself a substantial supporter of the Company.

"No, I fear not," answered the Governor, with a dubious shake of his head. "We cannot compel men to invest their moneys. They must needs act of their own free will."

"Then if some of us should make this great sacrifice and others refuse to join us in it, will we not still lack the needful moneys for the purpose in hand?"

There was no gainsaying so obvious a truth and though the matter was urged by eloquent and forceful advocates yet when it was put to vote the proposition was rejected by a large majority.

"There now remains the second proposal of your Committee," announced John Winthrop, his face careworn from the anxiety under which he had long labored. The temper of the meeting was such that he gravely feared that no helpful action would be taken, thus leaving the Company in more direful straits than before.

"The second plan," he continued, "is that ten persons, let us say five of the stockholders who are to remain in England and five

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of the planters who are to settle in America, take over the joint stock of the Company. They will take upon themselves all present debts as well as the expenses of providing shipping and supplies for the expedition that we hope and pray may set forth from these shores next springtime. In return there shall be appropriated to the joint stock for seven years the following privileges:

"Half the trade of the beavers and all other furs."

"The sole making of salt for the plantation."

"The furnishing of magazines for the sale or barter of goods at profits to be set by vote of the Company."

"The sole transportation of passengers and goods at certain rates."

"How do we know that these supposed privileges may result in a profit to the undertakers," asked one of the Company dubiously.

"We cannot in truth be sure that the advantages will outweigh the costs of the undertaking, but this we know: At Plymouth Plantation a small group of undertakers are now trying the plan, and it is reported from reliable sources that the debts of the Colony are thus being liquidated."

"Master Winthrop, is it not true that the traders from Plymouth plantation are ranging the entire New England coast and that they have established trading posts in the most likely places for truck with the Indians?"

"That indeed is the current report, but the savages are numerous and the traders from Plymouth can scarcely have gained monopoly of the fur trade of New England."

"Then is it not true that with so great a debt our own undertakers may have grave difficulty to win a profit in the venture?"

"Quite true, Master Cradock, but since there is always a risk of failure in every undertaking, so is there also a possibility of success. I choose rather to look at the latter possibility. Surely with the favor of the Almighty we cannot fail."

"That I am willing to concede, Master Winthrop, but how are we to know the will of God in this matter? How are we to find men who are willing to hazard their fortunes in so great an undertaking?"

"With your leave, Master Winthrop, I will answer these questions," interposed the Rev. John White. "We all do know how God hath increased our numbers until all parts of England hath members

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of our faith. We know also how this land groaneth under the iniquity of persecution of non-conformists and how there is like to be strife and bloodshed except we find relief from oppression. The way hath been opened for an asylum for the faithful beyond the sea. Is this not clearly the leading of the Most High God?"

No one could dispute the logic of the saintly orator. Before the motion could be put, however, an amendment was offered that in taking over the joint stock the undertakers should pay only the present value of the stock, regardless of its original cost. With this amendment the motion was carried by an overwhelming vote.

The Governor thereupon appointed a Committee to appraise the value of the joint stock. The Rev. John White was named as Chairman. His associates were Thomas Goffe, Francis Webb and Increase Norwell. It was at once realized that this Committee could not possibly make a fair appraisal and render a report on the day of its appointment. It was accordingly voted to adjourn the meeting until the following day, at which time the report would be received and acted upon.

When the meeting had adjourned the leaders began to realize that the vote just taken might not mean anything after all. It was all very well for the General Court to decide that ten men were to take over the entire responsibility, but how might any ten men be persuaded to undertake so great a business hazard? The magnitude of the venture, if the hoped for migration was to occur, was little short of appalling to men of modest fortune. There were ships to charter for the voyage and the rates that could be charged for passage must necessarily be modest indeed. An unreasonable delay by adverse winds or storms after the embarkation might involve heavy expenses for board and care of passengers, extra wages for the crews and additional charges for the use of the chartered ships.

Governor John Winthrop was not the only member of the governing board to whom these reflections were disturbing. Thomas Dudley, although a newcomer to the councils of the Company, had already established himself in the estimation of his fellow assistants as a man with qualities of leadership. The fact that he was also a man of substance must inevitably raise a question in the minds of others as to the appropriateness of his inclusion in a list of five planters to undertake the venture. Thus it transpired that Thomas Dudley called at the lodgings of Governor Winthrop that very evening.

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When greetings were over Dudley came bluntly to the point.

"Master Winthrop," he declared, "I have called to discuss with you, if I may, what is likely to happen at tomorrow's meeting. Five men must be chosen from among those who are to become planters in New England, to undertake the expenses of the voyage and the settling up in America. While it does not concern me, being a poor man and already much burdened, yet I am curious to know whom you have in mind for this risky business."

"I am right glad you have called, Master Dudley, for I am deeply troubled and know not what to think of tomorrow's meeting. Surely the task will not be laid upon me of choosing five men to serve us. We must have volunteers. Sir Richard Saltonstall and Master Johnson will no doubt be glad to serve. I had hoped that you might be a third member."

"No, no, not to be considered for a moment. The risks involved are too great for my slender purse."

"But will you tell me what men of our Company are better endowed by natural talents, by experience and by wealth than yourself?"

"No, no, I am not a man of wealth. Nor do I dare risk what little I have in so great a hazard. Choose whomsoever you will but leave me out. With yourself, Sir Richard and Master Johnson, it should not be difficult to find two others, such as Master Norwell, Master Humphrey or Master Revell to serve in that capacity."

Dudley's words lingered in the mind and heart of the distressed Governor. Dudley had named Winthrop as one of three men whom all might look to as obligated to act on this important commission. If this were true then Winthrop's election as Governor had committed him to far greater obligations than he had realized.

John Winthrop was a devout man and somewhat of a mystic. He had written to his wife on the evening after his election as Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, his profound conviction that the Almighty had ordered the affair. The very difficulties which he had struggled so earnestly to solve in the five weeks that had elapsed since then had driven him to a state of greater reliance upon his religious faith.

The night of November thirtieth was therefore one of great searching of heart, of prayer without ceasing, but when morning came,

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John Winthrop had made his decision. If the Lord should place the burden upon his shoulders, he told himself, then he would know his duty in the matter and go forward in serene faith that it would all be for the best.

No doubt there were others among the Puritan leaders who experienced misgivings lest the burden be held out to them, but it is doubtful if any others went to the meeting with the same serenity of mind that John Winthrop possessed when he entered the Goffe residence on the fateful morning of December first.

With that tense eagerness the assembled Company awaited the report of the Committee that had been wrestling since adjournment with the task of appraising the present value of the joint stock. The Rev. John White was Chairman of the Committee.

"Our Committee has agreed," he declared, "that the sums already disbursed for the public good should not be charged to the ten undertakers, but should remain to the plantation itself. Under public good we understand should come the cost of transporting ministers and their families, the charges for ammunition and artillery furnished the plantation. Many servants also, transported at extraordinary charges to the joint stock, do not prove as useful as expected and so will not yield the undertakers much return.

"Through lack of experience in such matters much of the provisions and goods have been damaged or destroyed in transportation. Cattle have likewise perished or proved unprofitable. For these reasons our Committee finds that the present value of the joint stock is not above one-third part of the whole sum that hath been adventured from the beginning to the present day."

Had any other than the saintly clergyman, venerated by all, pronounced these words he would undoubtedly have been assailed by an angry murmur of voices.

As it was the company sat in stunned silence for a moment. Then one agitated stockholder rose to his feet and requested the indulgence of the chair to ask the speaker a question:

"Does this mean, Master White, that we who have adventured moneys in the joint stock have already lost two-thirds of our investment?"

"Not so, for our Committee will recommend, in lieu of the two-thirds apparently lost, that the holders thereof be granted additional

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land. In valuing the joint stock at one-third we have also considered the state of the present debts of the Company which the undertakers must needs assume."

Various speakers now voiced the opinion that to accept one-third in place of the moneys originally invested was too great a hardship to be borne. Others took an opposing view and so a long and acrimonious debate was soon in progress. It remained for Matthew Cradock, acknowledged by all to have the greatest investment in the joint stock, to voice the prevailing opinion when he declared, immediately before the vote was taken, that unless a true valuation of the present worth of the stock were set upon it no sane men could be found anywhere in England who would undertake the venture. Although the loss would fall most heavily upon himself he felt that it would be wiser to receive one-third of his investment than nothing at all. He concluded by pointing out that additional land was to be allotted to all stockholders as a recompense for their losses in this transaction.

The record of the meeting states that the valuation set by Mr. White's Committee, "upon due examination and long debate, was allowed by all the court."¹ The promised adjustment to the investors by way of additional land grants was then taken up. Under the original plan each investor was entitled to 200 acres of land in America for every £50 of investment in the joint stock of the Company. The official record of the new arrangement, as contained in the minutes of the meeting of December 1, 1629, reads as follows:

"Whereupon it was propounded and agreed by the whole Court, that the old Adventurers, (in lieu of this abatement of two-thirds of their adventures,) should have an addition of a double portion of land, according to the first proportion of two hundred acres for £50; and that they should be at liberty to put in what sums they pleased to be added to their former adventures, so as they subscribed the same before the first day of January now next following."

It should be noted that sums subscribed thereafter were to be considered at full value.

When these matters had been arranged and some incidental plans determined the critical question was reached of who should be included in the list of ten undertakers, as they were quaintly termed, to assume the debts now outstanding and to take upon their shoulders the heavy

1. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 64.

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burdens of the financial affairs of the Company. In announcing this important item of business Governor Winthrop set forth in eloquent language the opportunity of service to a great cause involved in membership in the Committee of Undertakers of the business of the Bay Company.

"The hand of the Lord is upon us this day," he declared. "We are being tried in the balance to determine whether we be worthy of a great trust. Our Holy faith is at stake. The asylum which we seek to perpetuate across the sea for members of our faith stands or falls according as we respond to this great opportunity. May the Lord of Hosts quicken within such of you as are able a firm resolve to volunteer for service on this board."

When he had finished speaking an ominous silence settled over the meeting. Men glanced at one another. A nervous cough here and there in the assembly gave evidence of the tense feelings of the moment. When silence had become distressing to all concerned the Rev. John White arose in his place and began to speak.

He painted in even more vivid colors than Governor Winthrop had done the needs of the Company; the nobility of the cause and the challenge to manhood that it presented.

"Surely there are those among you," he urged in conclusion, "who can stand up and answer, 'here am I.' Sacrifice it may be and risks out of the ordinary, but He whom you serve is able to protect and prosper your endeavors. Stand up, therefore, I pray you and pledge yourselves to this great undertaking."

Again there was silence, an uneasy silence as of men reluctant to refuse the eloquent appeal of the clergyman, yet firm in their decision to keep clear of a dangerous entanglement. In the midst of this second embarrassing period of silence a man arose in the rear of the room, an obscure stockholder of the Company and addressed the Governor:

"Master Winthrop, we must not go forth from this meeting and leave matters as they now are, else we shall ruin the cause to which we have given so much. Why not ask the Committee that has just served us so faithfully to suggest the names of ten men who are qualified to serve us in this great emergency?"

"But these men may not be willing to accept the burdens of the undertaking."

"True enough, Master Winthrop, but at least we may have names of men to whom we appeal and make humble supplication."

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The suggestion was immediately adopted. The Rev. John White and his Committee at once withdrew from the room. A buzz of excited and subdued conversation now swept over the gathering. Matthew Cradock advanced to the Governor's table and engaged him in earnest conversation. The wealthy merchant well knew that his name must inevitably head the list of ten nominees to this all-important Committee. That he did not relish the predicament in which he found himself was clearly apparent. John Winthrop was obviously pleading with Cradock when the door opened and the Committee filed solemnly back into the room.

Order having been restored the Governor called upon the Rev. John White as Chairman to report to the meeting the recommendations of the Committee.

"Under the terms fo our vote of yesterday," the clergyman began, "five Adventurers and five Planters are to be chosen as the undertakers of this great venture. Our Committee recommends this Court request the following Adventurers to serve us: Master Matthew Cradock, Master Nathaniel Wright, Master Theophilus Eaton, Master Thomas Goffe and Master James Young. Our Committee further suggests that the following men who are to go to New England may serve us as the other members of the Committee: Master John Winthrop, our Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Esquire, Master Thomas Dudley, and Master John Revell."

The nominations were greeted with applause of all persons present save the nominees themselves, who gazed at one another ruefully. Presently some of them began to make excuses and to urge reasons why they should not serve on the Committee of Ten. Not all of them, however, for Governor Winthrop, having already fought the battle of self-interest and duty arose to address the gathering.

"It ill beseems me whom you have honored with the office I now occupy to seek to evade the responsibility of this additional duty. If this indeed be the will of God, and I firmly believe it is, we have no cause to shrink from its dangers. If the others will serve, I am willing to go forward in the matter."

"And I also," cried Thomas Goffe, who had been a member of the nominating committee. "That is why I permitted my name to be included in the list. We be stewards of the Lord and must answer His call to labor."

The records of the meeting declare that the gentlemen named,

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"upon much entreaty of the Court, did accept of the said charge and accordingly were chosen to be undertakers, to have sole managing of the joint stock, with all things incident thereunto, for the space of seven years."²

This happy culmination of the long struggle to rehabilitate the Massachusetts Bay Company had no sooner occurred than the newly elected managers called upon the court for permission to fix charges for the transportation of passengers and of freight to New England.

It may be of interest to us of the present generation to know at what rates passengers were able to make transatlantic voyages three centuries ago. The records of the Massachusetts Bay Company for December, 1629, disclose the fact that the undertakers of the enterprise, by vote of the General Court, were to provide a sufficient number of ships for those who might desire to emigrate to the Puritan Colony at the rate of £5 a person. When we consider that a modern ocean liner makes the crossing in from five to seven days, whereas a sailing ship of 1630 required about two months to accomplish the crossing of the Atlantic, we find the contrast in charges amazing in the extreme. It was further stipulated by the General Court that a child at its mother's breast was to be transported free of charge. Children four years or under at one-third the adult rate; under eight, half rate; under twelve years, two-thirds rate. There was a provision also that a ship of two hundred tons should not carry more than one hundred and twenty passengers, and that this proportion of tonnage and passengers should be maintained in all other ships.

Freight rates were in the same modest proportion, being £4 per ton from England to America and £3 a ton for furs brought back on the return voyages, with £2 per ton for other commodities. Is it any wonder that the prudent merchant, Matthew Cradock, knowing the hazard to his own fortune, was extremely reluctant to undertake a venture so foredoomed to financial disaster?

Governor John Winthrop now felt that he had fully earned his long contemplated visit to his wife and family in the pleasant little village of Groton. His horses had arrived on December second, so he set forth from London, glad to be in the saddle once more, able to leave the bustle and squalor of the great city and to turn his horse's head into the highways of the English countryside.

2. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 65.

(To be concluded)

The Death of a Beautiful Woman

BY ETHEL LYON, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH, PARK COLLEGE,
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In his "Philosophy of Composition" and "The Poetic Principle" Poe states that a poem may have no other purpose than to give pleasure; "its object is the rhythmical creation of beauty in words." He says that beauty is the sole end and "beauty of whatever kind in its supreme development invariably excites the sensitive soul to tears. Melancholy is the most legitimate of all poetical tones. The most poetical topic in the whole world is the death of a beautiful woman, and the lips best suited for such a topic are those of a bereaved lover." It was never the concern of Poe to go beyond sensuous imagery in creating poetry. Philosophic speculation, didactic urges, and complex human relationships held no interest for him; his desire was to express beauty in a pattern of beauty.

Dr. Samuel Johnson commented in "Rasselas" that it is not the business of the poet to number the streaks of the tulip or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest. Poe agreed with him to the extent of saying that the poet need not imitate the exact colors of the tulip. And Poe more nearly practices according to his poetic theories than any poet who has used the English language.

Dante G. Rossetti remarked in writing "The Blessed Damozel" that Poe in "The Raven" "had done the utmost it was possible to do with the grief of the lover on earth," and so he had "determined to reverse the conditions, and give utterance to the yearning of the loved one in heaven."

Despite the fact that "The Blessed Damozel" is inspired by "The Raven," there is in my opinion a closer relationship between it and Poe's "The Sleeper." One is more aware of physical death in the last-named than in "The Blessed Damozel," to be sure, for Rossetti reveals physical beauty, but not the dissolution of it in death. Although the lovers are separated and although the maiden in heaven weeps so that one may hear her tears, the poem is not so deeply melancholy as

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Poe's. The death of the sleeper is a beautiful trance, deep and enduring. Once, however, Poe depicts the melancholy horror of the tomb in the manner of the graveyard school of England when he says, "Soft may the worms about her creep." No such unwholesome morbidity is associated with the blessed damosel. She is a beautiful young woman, possessed of all physical lineaments, dwelling in a materialistic heaven.

Similar pictorial qualities appear in both poems:

"Irene has come o'er far-off seas,
A wonder to these garden trees."

and

"The wonder was not yet quite gone
From that still look" of the blessed damosel.

Descriptions of golden thrones, heavenly ramparts, and golden-haired maidens are numerous. Some are sound pictures: golden notes, singing stars, and "opiate vapors dropping drop by drop." Thermic sensations are usual:

"And still she bowed herself and stooped
Out of the circling charm;
Until her bosom must have made
The bar she leaned on warm."
—*The Blessed Damosel*.

and

"Wrapping the fog about its breast,
The ruin molders into rest."
—*The Sleeper*.

Examples of consonance are multiplied: palls—funerals, holy—melancholy ("The Sleeper"), and hers—years, me—unity, garlanded—thread. ("The Blessed Damosel.")

More beautiful are the assonances of both poems, however:

"The souls mounting up to God
Went by her like thin flames."
—*The Blessed Damosel*.

"The bodiless airs, a wizard rout
Flit through thy chambers in and out."
—*The Sleeper*.

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. . . . "The autumn fall of leaves
The whole year sets apace."
—*The Blessed Damozel.*

"The rosemary nods upon the grave;
The lily lolls upon the wave."
—*The Sleeper.*

Carefully selected details appeal to the imagination. Color, rhythm, strangeness, melancholy are stressed in both poems.

These striking examples of similarity might lead one to believe that the two poems are not unlike in some regards. In metrical pattern, in length, and in consistency of tone differences are marked. "The Sleeper" falls well within the limits of Poe's requisite length of a lyric: one hundred lines. "The Blessed Damozel" is almost twice that length. In metrical design the smooth, regular tetrameter measures produce the pervasive melancholy mood which Poe believed to be best in depicting the death of a beautiful woman. The alternate tetrameter and trimeter lines of "The Blessed Damozel" give a lightness and buoyancy which Poe would never associate with death. The strange pallor, the strange dress, the solemn silentness contribute to this consistent tone of "The Sleeper." All contact with the world of the living has ceased. Her tomb is the repository of her body and heaven the realm of safety where she may sleep undisturbed forever.

But the blessed damozel has been transferred from earth to heaven in full possession of life and physical beauty. Unable to renounce the life she has enjoyed, she is not the solitary, inarticulate, detached soul that the "Sleeper" is but a living personality still interested in her lover on earth. She is not one of the angel-throng flying in the white light of heaven but a maiden praying and weeping for her lover and planning for his coming.

These interpretations similar in utterance and yet different in concept appeal to readers of all time. The death of a beautiful woman will continue to be of interest as long as there is a spark of romanticism alive in the world.

Edwin A. Robinson will not be the last to commemorate the death of a beautiful woman:

No more with overflowing light
Shall fill the eyes that now are faded,
Nor shall another's fringe with night
Their woman-hidden world as they did.

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No more shall quiver down the days
The flowing wonder of her ways,
Whereof no language may requite
The shifting and the many-shaded.

The grace, divine, definitive,
Clings only as a faint forestalling;
The laugh that love could not forgive
Is hushed, and answers to no calling;
The forehead and the little ears
Have gone where Saturn keeps the years;
The breast where roses could not live
Has done with rising and with falling.

The beauty, shattered by the laws
That have creation in their keeping,
No longer trembles at applause,
Or over children that are sleeping;
And we who delve in beauty's lore
Know all that we have known before
Of what inexorable cause
Makes Time so vicious in his reaping.

The Battle of the Kinquariones

BY JOHN J. BIRCH, Ps. D., VICE-PRESIDENT SCHENECTADY COUNTY
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N the north side of the Mohawk River at Hoffman's Ferry, about ten miles west of Schenectady, New York, there is a State marker calling attention to the historic fact that here was fought the "Last Battell between the Mohoakx and the North Indians."

The expression was first used in the Indian deed of July 3, 1672, for the township of Schenectady, the western boundary "endes at Hinguariones, where the Last Battell wass between the Mohoakx and the North Indians." The marker should not be interpreted to mean that as the "last battle" the fight was continued until the combatants were annihilated, but rather that this was the last battle in the vicinity of Schenectady prior to the signing of the deed. Later, when the French came from Canada with their red allies, and when Sir John Johnson, Butler and Brant menaced the Mohawk Valley there was a great deal of bloodshed.

A very interesting historical background led up to the encounter. When the white men first came to North America, the Indians in the northeastern part of the country were divided into two great groups: the Algonkians and the Iroquois. These larger groups in turn were composed of smaller tribes or "nations." The Massachusetts Indians, the Pequots, the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts and others comprised the Algonkians; while the Iroquois were made up of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas and Onondagas, collectively known as the Five Nations or "People of the Long House." Due, however, to an ancient feud the Algonkians and the Iroquois were continually at war with each other. The Mohawks were the most ferocious and particularly feared by the Algonkians, especially the Massachusetts Indians and the Mohicans or North River Indians, for they had been driven from their Mohawk River lands about the year 1600. Cadwallader Colden says:

THE BATTLE OF THE KINQUARIONES

I have been told by the old men of the Tribe who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in their country, their Indians raised a cry from hill to hill: A Mohawk! A Mohawk! upon which they fled like sheep before the wolves without attempting to make the least resistance.

So, when the French and Dutch came, their firearms were especially welcomed by the Indians as more effective instruments of warfare than they had heretofore possessed. With these possessions there commenced not only the rapid elevation, but absolute supremacy of the Iroquois over the other Indian nations. For three-quarters of a century—from 1625 to 1700—the Iroquois were involved in an almost uninterrupted warfare. After a number of sanguinary conquests the Hurons were overthrown and their power in Canada destroyed. In 1651 the Iroquois expelled the Neuter Nation from the Niagara Peninsula and established a permanent settlement at the mouth of that river. In 1654 they nearly exterminated the Eries, who occupied the south side of Lake Erie and from thence east to the Genesee and by so doing dominated the whole area of what is now the western part of New York and the northern part of Ohio. They had even penetrated into the Naragansetts' country and robbed them of wampum and stone implements for which they were renowned:

However, in 1666, the Mohawks received a severe check when De Tracy burned their three major villages or "castles" on the Mohawk River in the fall of that year. Nevertheless, they were not dismayed, for by 1670 they had completed the dispersion and subjection of the Adirondacks and acquired possession of the country between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario and the north bank of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Ottawa River near Montreal. They also made constant inroads upon the New England Indians who, after their partial decimation by the English, were unable to cope with the formidable Iroquois.

The enemies of the Iroquois very naturally made retaliation raids, and it was during one of these that the battle of the Kinquariones was fought. The attacking party was composed largely of Indians of the Massachusetts tribe, the most numerous and powerful of the principal nations then living in the area of what is now New England. Their objective was to attack the rebuilt Mohawk villages on the Mohawk River. They crossed the Hudson at the mouth of the Hoo-

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sic River and took an ancient cross-country trail to the Mohawk River. Very likely a large number of recruits were gathered along the way from among the Mohicans or North River Indians, who had pledged themselves with the French to war against the Iroquois. It is undoubtedly through these that the Dutch came to think the attack was carried on solely by the Hudson River tribes.

Major Daniel Gookin, Commissioner to the Indians of Massachusetts Bay, gives an excellent account of the departure of the invading band:

In the year 1669 the war having now continued between the Maquas and our Indians, about six years, divers Indians, our neighbors, united their forces together, and made an army of about six or seven hundred men, marched into the Maquas' country, to take revenge of them. This enterprise was contrived and undertaken without the privity, and contrary to the advice of their English friends. Mr. Eliot and myself, in particular, dissuaded them, and gave them several reasons against it, but they would not hear us. The chiefest general in this expedition was the principal sachem of Massachusetts, named Josiah, *alias* Chekatabutt, a wise and stout man, of middle age, but a very vicious person." (Chekatabutt was sometimes called Wampatak.—J. J. B.)

This party arrived at the Mohawk River at the foot of the rocky Kinquariones, now known locally as Touareuna Hill, at which place they undoubtedly rested prior to their advance up the river to Gandawague, the first castle of the Mohawks, which seems to have been their objective. This was a palisaded village of the Turtle Clan, situated on a high plateau known as the Sand Flats on the western bank of the Cayadutta Creek near the present village of Fonda, New York. The journey from the Kinquariones to the village was made doubtlessly during the night, for it is recorded that they appeared before the stockade before daybreak on the eighteenth of August, 1669, hoping thus to surprise their foe.

History is indebted to Father Pierron, a Jesuit stationed at Gandawague, for giving a lucid picture of the encounter. Quoting from the Jesuit "Relations":

By eight o'clock in the morning our warriors without confusion promptly arrayed themselves with all they have of greatest value, as is their custom in such encounters, and with no other leader than their own courage went out in full force against the enemy. I was with the

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first to go out to see if, amid the carnage about the palisades of the village, where so many unbelieving souls would perish, I might not be able to save some one. On our arrival we heard only cries of lamentation over the death of the bravest of the village. The enemy had retired after two hours of most obstinate fighting on both sides. There was but a single warrior of the Loups left on the ground, and I saw that a Barbarian, after cutting off his hands and feet had flayed him, and was stripping the flesh from the bones for a hateful repast.

Unsuccessful in their first assault, the invaders began a siege upon the palisaded village which lasted for several days. Finally, after their supply of ammunition was nearly depleted, they abandoned their futile offensive and started down the valley, evidently intent on returning home.

But in the meantime the Mohawks had dispatched runners to secure assistance from their other two villages on the south side of the river. Perhaps the Algonkians suspected this and planned to leave before they could arrive. The invaders retreated to the Kinquariones and turned into the little valley of the Chaughtanoonda Brook. They encamped for the night, undoubtedly expecting that once on the homeward trail they would not be pursued. But not so. The Mohawks, well knowing the route they would take, glided swiftly and silently down the river in their canoes and on foot, intent upon attacking the retreating foe. At the Kinquariones, under the direction of their great chief, Kryn, they divided into two parties. One party, according to Father Pierron, made a "wide detour" to the northern entrance of the defile and remained in ambush; the other climbed the western side of the rocks and descended upon the invaders' camp. Thus, between the Mohawks at the southern end of the valley and those in ambush at the north, the invaders were securely trapped, for the precipitous sides would make it impossible for them to leave the valley to the east or the west.

Early in the morning the invaders started up the narrow ravine. Near the end they encountered the first party of Mohawks who had detoured to their position. A few fell, but the majority turned down the ravine. Here, after a short time they confronted the other party of Mohawks who had climbed over the rocks. Now with their enemy both behind and ahead of them, a battle was inevitable.

There was little ammunition left on either side so that the combat soon became a desperate hand to hand struggle which lasted until

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nightfall made further fighting impossible. Some historians regard this battle as the greatest ever fought between the eastern tribes of which there is any authentic record.

Presumably the fight was to be continued the next day, but during the night the Algonkians eluded the Mohawk guards, if there were any, and escaped down the trail towards the Hudson River. There is no record of any pursuit, the Mohawks, according to Father Pierron, spent the day scalping the slain, tomahawking the wounded, and burying their own dead.

The Algonkians lost about fifty of their chief men and many others, but the most severe calamity was the loss of Josiah, who was killed after performing many feats of valor. Because of this death the Mohawks judged themselves victors.

What a triumphal party it must have been who returned to Gandawague! Father Pierron, learning of the battle, had left the village and journeyed to the Kinquariones. His word-picture of the return can be read in the Jesuit "Relations." He said:

We left two days after the combat in company with a large number, both those who had taken part in the fight and those who had come to look on. The victors bore the scalps well painted, at the end of long batons made to support their trophies. The captives, divided into several bands, marched with singing; and as I perceived that one of the women had a sick infant which she carried . . . I thought I would do well to baptize it, seeing it was about to die.

Undoubtedly Father Pierron was exceptionally proud of Kryn, for this battle had greatly enhanced his reputation. The Jesuit "Relations" says of him: "He was a chief of unusual ability and character who possessed great influence with his tribesmen." . . . He was converted to Christianity and "he commanded the Christian Iroquois who were with Denonville's Expedition in 1687 and was also prominent in the attack on Schenectady (1690). In the latter year he accompanied another French expedition against the English settlements and on their return journey was killed (June 5) near Lake Champlain."

The "Last Battell" now takes on a new significance, for a few years after the event (1672) the Dutch and English were able to negotiate a more or less permanent peace between the two warring Indian nations, which lasted as long as the Indians survived.

Skinner and Allied Families

BY HEROLD R. FINLEY, CRANSTON, RHODE ISLAND



SKINNER is an English family name which is derived from the occupation of dealing in skins. Robertus Skynner, *skynner*, and Willelmus de Parlyngton, *skynnar*, were recorded in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, in 1379. Henry le Skyniar was registered in the Hundred Rolls of the County of Oxford, A. D. 1273, Robert le Skynnere in the Writs of Parliament in 1302, and Robert le Skynnar in Kirby's Quest for Somersetshire in 1327.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Sable, a chevron or between three griffins' heads erased argent.

Crest—A griffin's head erased argent, holding in its mouth a dexter gauntlet.

Motto—*Nunquam non paratus.* (Never unprepared.)

(Arms in possession of the family.)

I. Thomas Skinner, of Bradfield, County Nottingham, England, married, in the Norton Parish Church, June 21, 1573, Elizabeth Hall. Children, baptized at Bradfield: 1. Elizabeth, baptized February 20, 1574-75. 2. John, baptized September 21, 1576. 3. Ann, baptized January 25, 1578-79; married, in the Norton Parish Church, June 24, 1605, Robert Kirkeby. 4. Roland, baptized November 19, 1581. 5. Ellen, baptized September 17, 1584. 6. Thomas, of Derby, baptized July 13, 1587, died at Ripon, Yorkshire. 7. John, of whom further. 8. Francis, baptized October 27, 1595. 9. Philip, baptized July 29, 1599.

(Norton Parish Registers. Bradfield Parish Registers.)

II. John Skinner, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Hall) Skinner, was baptized in Bradfield, County Nottingham, England, August 12, 1593, and was buried there December 24, 1656. He married and had children, baptized at Bradfield: 1. Ann, baptized March 7, 1629; married, May 5, 1656, John Ibbetson. 2. Thomas (2), of whom further. 3. Mary, baptized February 23, 1639.

(*Ibid.*)



Skinner

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III. Thomas (2) Skinner, son of John Skinner, was baptized at Bradfield, County Nottingham, England, March 17, 1632. He married Elizabeth Fox, and they had: 1. John (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. John (2) Skinner, son of Thomas (2) and Elizabeth (Fox) Skinner, was baptized at Norton, January 25, 1653. He married, at Sheffield Parish Church, June 13, 1699, Olive Shepperd, of Sheffield, and they had: 1. Thomas (3), of whom further.

(Norton Parish Registers. Sheffield Parish Registers.)

V. Thomas (3) Skinner, son of John (2) and Olive (Shepperd) Skinner, was baptized at Bingham, February 6, 1701-02. He married, at the Bingham Parish Church, October 26, 1728, Mary Little. Children, baptized at Bingham: 1. Richard, of whom further. 2. Mary, baptized April 14, 1735; married, May 14, 1770, Thomas Simpson, of Colton Bassett.

(Bingham Parish Registers.)

VI. Richard Skinner, son of Thomas (3) and Mary (Little) Skinner, was baptized at Bingham, October 10, 1735. He married, at Bingham Parish Church, July 12, 1762, Ann Barns. Children: 1. Thomas, baptized at Bingham, July 6, 1765, buried there, August 4, 1767. 2. John, baptized at Sheffield, September 14, 1771; probably the John, who married, January 4, 1798, Elizabeth Unwin. 3. Thomas, baptized at Sheffield, April 2, 1775; probably the Thomas who married, in September, 1803, Ann Fraunce (France). 4. William, of whom further. 5. Henry, baptized at Sheffield, June 11, 1782; married, at Rotherham Parish Church, June 6, 1824, Martha Slinn.

(Bingham Parish Registers. Sheffield Parish Registers. Rotherham Parish Registers.)

VII. William Skinner, son of Richard and Ann (Barns) Skinner, was baptized at Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, September 6, 1780. He married, at Rotherham Parish Church, February 2, 1801, Ann Daws. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Charles, baptized July 1, 1803; married, at Rotherham Parish Church, April 18, 1826, Ann Washington. 2. Thomas, baptized September 11, 1805. 3. Henry, baptized June 4, 1807. 4. William, baptized April 7, 1810. 5. John (3), of whom further.

(Sheffield Parish Registers. Rotherham Parish Registers.)

SKINNER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

VIII. John (3) Skinner, son of William and Ann (Daws) Skinner, was baptized in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, September 4, 1813, and died in Winchester, Connecticut, December 13, 1873. He was a scythe maker and followed his occupation in Torrington, Connecticut.

John (3) Skinner married, in Torrington, Connecticut, Catherine Collins. (Collins VIII.) One of their nine children was: 1. Henry, of whom further.

(Sheffield Parish Registers. Family data.)

IX. Colonel Henry Skinner, son of John (3) and Catherine (Collins) Skinner, was born in Winsted, Connecticut, February 27, 1844, and died there April 5, 1921. When his public school education was completed, Henry Skinner learned scythe making under his father and in the latter's shop engaged in that trade for several years. He was not yet of age, when, with two brothers, he enlisted in the Federal Army for service in the Civil War. He became a member of the 2d Connecticut Volunteer Heavy Artillery Company, known as the Litchfield County Regiment, and in September, 1862, he was promoted to sergeant. On March 24, 1864, he was promoted to second lieutenant, became a first lieutenant of Company G, August 22, 1864, and at the battle of Cedar Creek was captured while on picket duty. He was sent to Libby Prison, later was transferred to Danville Prison, and on February 28, 1865, was exchanged. A few weeks later, on April 16, he was promoted to captain of Company B, which he commanded until he was mustered out of service August 18, 1865. His military service continued after his return to civil life with his appointment as captain of Company I, 4th Regiment, Connecticut National Guard, and he was successively promoted to major, lieutenant-colonel, and finally to colonel of his regiment. He was always active in the affairs of the regiment and his interest in their welfare made him popular among his men. When the regiment was on duty at the Mexican border he personally interested himself in providing many comforts for those in his command.

Following his honorable discharge from the Federal Army he returned to Winsted and resumed his work, which he followed until the Winsted Gas Company, in 1888, appointed him superintendent of their plant. On January 17, 1888, he was chosen secretary and treasurer, succeeding Midian N. Griswold, and on January 8, 1889,



Henry Skinner



THE WINSTED GAS COMPANY, WINSTED, CONNECTICUT
OFFICE BUILDING

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he was appointed general manager in addition to his other executive post. His election to the office of president of the company, May 14, 1913, was accepted as the logical recognition of his distinguished services in extending and developing the Winsted Gas Company from a small independent unit to the expansive organization of today. While he was president of the company he retained the general managership and filled both positions in a manner that reflected great credit upon himself.

The Winsted Gas Company was organized October 15, 1869, with a capital stock of \$20,000, and a year later a small gas works was erected on Prospect Street, Winsted, where business was continued until 1874. In April of that year, the company was reorganized with a capital stock of \$60,000, and a new fireproof building built on Case Avenue. Joining the company in its early years, Colonel Skinner's efforts were largely responsible for extending and constructing new lines, notably the transmission line to Torrington and one of his last services was the establishment of the line to Robertsville. He was one of the first to appreciate the possibilities of electrical inventions in the public utilities field, and was one of the first to arrange for distribution of these inventions. His long association in the industry, his various executive positions and his abundant and intelligent wealth of information, drew the attention of others who regarded him as an authority on the gas production industry. He was widely known and had many friends both in the shops and plants and among executives in this field.

Politically a Republican, he supported his party but never sought public office, although he was influential in local party councils. He was greatly interested in community and civic affairs in Winsted and in the adjacent vicinity. His genuine kindliness and other personal qualities won the respect of all with whom he came in contact, and wherever he was known he was always welcome.

Colonel Henry Skinner married, at Winsted, Connecticut, July 4, 1867, Fannie Eliza Ryalls. (Ryalls VIII.) Child: 1. Besse M., of whom further.

(Family data.)

X. *Besse M. Skinner*, daughter of Colonel Henry and Fannie Eliza (Ryalls) Skinner, because of her father's desire that she continue the family connection with the Winsted Gas Company, thor-

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oughly learned the operation and management of the company under his direction, and from 1906 to 1921 held various responsible positions in the organization. In July, 1920, she was elected assistant secretary; in January, 1921, became secretary and, after the death of her father, was elected a member of the board of directors. To her goes the credit of modernizing and beautifying the offices of the plant, which, with its landscaped grounds and well cared for gardens, has for many years been one of the city's show places.

(Family data.)

(The Ryalls Line)

The old English family name of Ryalls has been variously spelled, common among the numerous variations being Ryhill, Ryles, Ryhall, Ryals, Royle. According to Lower's "Patronymica Britannica," the surname was derived from parishes in County Northumberland so-called. Harrison's "Surnames of the United Kingdom," however, derives the name from the old English *ryge*, meaning rye, and *h(e)al(h)*, a corner or nook, the whole word designating a dweller at the Rye-corner (Field).

The Ryalls, whose interesting lineage is traced herewith, were long established at Yorkshire, England, and for several generations were manufacturers of shears.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica." Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." Family data.)

I. *John Ryles*, of Sheffield, County York, England, was baptized in Sheffield, July 25, 1561, and was buried there, August 26, 1618. He married, at the Sheffield Parish Church, February 9, 1585-86, *Cecilia Dale*, who was buried at Sheffield, March 19, 1637-38, "widow." Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. *Thomas*, baptized August 16, 1586. 2. *John*, baptized February 16, 1588-89. 3. *Alice*, baptized August 20, 1592. 4. *Anna*, baptized May 1, 1594. 5. *John* (2), of whom further. 6. *Henry*, baptized December 26, 1597.

(Sheffield Parish Registers.)

II. *John* (2) *Ryles*, son of *John* and *Cecilia* (Dale) *Ryles*, was baptized in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, March 21, 1595. He married, at the Sheffield Parish Church, May 14, 1620, *Elizabeth Bad-*

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ger, who was buried at Sheffield, February 18, 1650-51. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. John, baptized October 27, 1622, buried there October 24, 1636. 2. William, baptized August 31, 1625. 3. Thomas, baptized January 13, 1626-27, buried March 4, 1655-56. 4. Nicholas, baptized June 7, 1629, buried June 13, 1635. 5. Hellena, baptized March 13, 1631-32. 6. Thomas, of whom further. 7. John, baptized August 20, 1637. 8. Elizabeth, baptized May 2, 1641, buried January 24, 1647-48.

(*Ibid.*)

III. *Thomas Ryles*, son of John (2) and Elizabeth (Badger) Ryles, was baptized at Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, February 26, 1633-34. He was a "Nallbladesmith." He married, at the Sheffield Parish Church, November 22, 1655, Ann Carr, of Sheffield, who was buried February 27, 1698-99. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Infant, buried at Sheffield, August 21, 1656. 2. Sara, baptized March 14, 1657-58. 3. Margaret, baptized January 4, 1662-1663. 4. Anna, baptized May 20, 1666. 5. Maria, baptized January 31, 1668-69. 6. Jonathan, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. *Jonathan Ryles*, son of Thomas and Ann (Carr) Ryles, was baptized at Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, December 14, 1679. He married, at the Sheffield Parish Church, May 6, 1704, Maria Booth. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. John (3), of whom further. 2. Jonathan, baptized April 24, 1715.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *John (3) Ryalls*, as he spelled the name, son of Jonathan and Maria (Booth) Ryles, was baptized at Sheffield, September 25, 1712. He was of the parish of Norton, County Derby, and later of Hemsworth, County York, England. He married Martha, who was buried at Norton, December 16, 1762. Children, baptized at Norton: 1. Mary, baptized March 6, 1741, buried March 25, 1742. 2. Betty, baptized September 7, 1743. 3. John, baptized November 6, 1745, buried July 24, 1756. 4. Mary, baptized October 18, 1747. 5. Martha, baptized September 30, 1749, buried July 24, 1750. 6. Jonathan, of whom further. 7. George, baptized October 14, 1753. 8. Sarah, baptized July 18, 1756, buried October 13, 1756. 9. Charles, baptized September 25, 1757.

(Norton Parish Registers.)

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VI. Jonathan Ryalls, son of John (3) and Martha Ryalls, was baptized at Norton, County Derby, England, June 23, 1751. He married, at Sheffield, Yorkshire, April 4, 1782, Fannie Morton. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Martha, baptized May 12, 1785. 2. John, baptized February 16, 1787, buried June 1, 1787. 3. Jonathan, baptized September 11, 1789. 4. Sara, buried July 6, 1792. 5. John, baptized February 4, 1795; was a solicitor. 6. Joseph, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Sheffield Parish Registers.)

VII. Joseph Ryalls, son of Jonathan and Fannie (Morton) Ryalls, was baptized at Sheffield, September 16, 1797, and died in America. According to family records, he sailed from Liverpool to America, April 1, 1846, and arrived on May 16 of that year, although Sheffield Parish Registers show the baptism of his son, Thomas, July 11, 1847. He located in Connecticut, where he lived in Lakeville, Terryville, Bristol, Collinsville and Norfolk. In these towns he engaged in the manufacture of shears and was known as an expert in this field.

Joseph Ryalls married, at Sheffield, England, July 4, 1839, Eliza Bullus (although family records give her name as Eliza Bulcroft). (Bullus VII.) Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Thomas, baptized September 11, 1841, buried February 6, 1842. 2. Joseph, baptized July 1, 1843, buried September 10, 1843. 3. Fannie Eliza, of whom further. 4. Thomas, baptized July 11, 1847, buried in Sheffield, July 15, 1847.

(Sheffield Parish Registers. Family data.)

VIII. Fannie Eliza Ryalls, daughter of Joseph and Eliza (Bullus) Ryalls, was baptized in Sheffield, August 5, 1846, and died in Winsted, Connecticut, February 22, 1912. She married Colonel Henry Skinner. (Skinner IX.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Bullus Line)

The origin of the family name Bullus (which according to family records was Bulcroft) is apparently obscure as neither form of the name appears in any of the surname books generally consulted for the etymological derivation of patronymics.

1. *George Bullus*, of Sheffield, County York, England, son of John Bullus, of Sheffield, was baptized in Sheffield, August 17, 1567, and

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was buried there September 11, 1612. He married, in the Sheffield Parish Church, July 15, 1582, Anna Bright, who was buried in Sheffield, May 26, 1615, a "widow." Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Anna, baptized May 31, 1583, buried in Sheffield, July 12, 1584. 2. John, baptized July 8, 1585, buried in Sheffield, July 23, 1585. 3. George, baptized July 10, 1586. 4. Nicholas, baptized July 12, 1587. 5. Jasper, baptized August 10, 1589. 6. Katherine, baptized February 20, 1591-92. 7. Bridget, baptized July 7, 1594. 8. Hellena, baptized July 7, 1596. 9. Thomas, baptized August 10, 1598, buried in Sheffield, August 31, 1600. 10. Gabriel, baptized October 10, 1601, buried in Sheffield, November 24, 1602. 11. Elizabeth, baptized December 31, 1603. 12. Anna, baptized August 18, 1605, buried in Sheffield, October 18, 1606. 13. Thomas, of whom further.

(Sheffield Parish Registers.)

II. Thomas Bullus, son of George and Anna (Bright) Bullus, was baptized in Sheffield, County York, England, July 10, 1608, and was buried there March 5, 1639-40. He married, in the Sheffield Parish Church, November 25, 1624, Maria Coole. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Elizabeth, baptized February 24, 1627-28. 2. Anna, baptized October 17, 1630. 3. Kathleen, baptized February 7, 1632-33. 4. Thomas (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

III. Thomas (2) Bullus, son of Thomas and Maria (Coole) Bullus, was baptized at Sheffield, County York, England, July 22, 1638. He married, in Sheffield Parish Church, March 26, 1662-63, Alice Woodhouse. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Thomas, baptized May 31, 1663. 2. Maria, baptized June 4, 1665. 3. Joshua, baptized June 30, 1667. 4. Martha, baptized October 20, 1669. 5. Hanna, baptized April 2, 1672, buried in Sheffield, February 3, 1677. 6. Joseph, of whom further. 7. Ruth, baptized March 14, 1679-80. 8. Benjamin, baptized December 30, 1681.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Joseph Bullus, son of Thomas (2) and Alice (Woodhouse) Bullus, was baptized in Sheffield, County York, England, December 9, 1675, and was a cutler there. He married, in the Sheffield Parish Church, May 6, 1703, Maria Booth. Children, baptized at Shef-

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field: 1. Joseph, baptized October 19, 1704. 2. Thomas, baptized January 4, 1705-06. 3. Martha, baptized January 2, 1707-08. 4. Sara, baptized August 24, 1709. 5. Mary, baptized September 20, 1711. 6. Sara, baptized November 19, 1712. 7. Joseph, baptized January 12, 1714-15. 8. George, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

V. *George Bullus*, son of Joseph and Maria (Booth) Bullus, was baptized at Sheffield, County York, England, April 2, 1716. He married, in Sheffield, September 14, 1752, Sara Hawke. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Joseph, baptized July 6, 1754. 2. George (2), of whom further. 3. Mary, baptized April 4, 1758.

(*Ibid.*)

VI. *George (2) Bullus*, son of George and Sara (Hawkes) Bullus, was baptized in Sheffield, County York, England, June 8, 1756-57. He is said to have been the son of a retired army officer, a man of wealth, who followed the sea during his active life.

George Bullus married, in Sheffield, February 4, 1793, Alatheia Newton. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. Thomas, baptized November 6, 1795; he spent his life at sea, against his father's wishes, not coming home until in his old age. 2. Lydia, baptized February 4, 1798. 3. Alatheia, baptized June 12, 1801. 4. Eliza, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. *Eliza Bullus*, daughter of George (2) and Alatheia (Newton) Bullus, was baptized in Sheffield, County York, England, February 6, 1803. She married Joseph Ryalls. (Ryalls VII.)

(*Ibid.*)

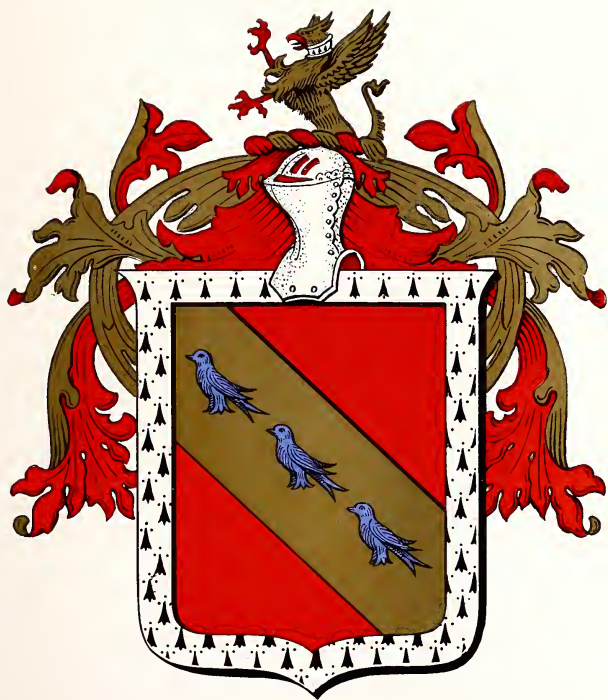
(The Collins Line)

Arms—Gules, on a bend or, three martlets azure, all within a bordure ermine.

Crest—A demi-griffin or, beaked and legged gules, collared ermine.

(Burke: "General Armory." Arms in possession of the family.)

Collins, the surname, also spelled Collin, Collis, Collings, Collinge, is of baptismal origin, from the son of Nicholas, from the nickname and diminutive Coll, Collin. In the Hundred Rolls, 1273 A. D., appears Colinus de Newill, County Lincoln; Alan Colin, County Norfolk; and John *fil.* Colini, County Suffolk. Other records of the name occur in Kirby's Quest, which mentions John Colyngs, and in



Collins

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the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, 1379, which mentions Johannes Colinson and Colin serviens Johann' Vest.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Thomas Collin, of Sheffield, married, in Sheffield Parish Church, Yorkshire, England, October 22, 1593, Elizabeth Clayton, who was buried in Sheffield, June 6, 1623. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. John, baptized March 23, 1594-95, buried April 9, 1597. 2. Thomas (2), of whom further. 3. Hellena, baptized December 3, 1599, buried in Norton, County Derby, England, June 29, 1631; married, in Sheffield Parish Church, February 11, 1621-22, Thomas Greene, of Heeley; children, baptized at Norton: i. Margaret, baptized June 24, 1626. ii. Thomas, baptized December 27, 1628. iii. John, baptized December 9, 1629.

(Sheffield Parish Registers. Norton Parish Registers.)

II. Thomas (2) Collin, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Clayton) Collin, was baptized in Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, October 19, 1596, and was buried there July 2, 1669. He married, at the Sheffield Parish Church, November 4, 1622, Marie Bate. Children, baptized at Sheffield: 1. John (1), of whom further. 2. William, baptized January 6, 1626-27. 3. Marie, baptized August 22, 1630, buried October 11, 1631.

(*Ibid.*)

III. John (1) Collin, son of Thomas (2) and Marie (Bate) Collin, was baptized at Sheffield, Yorkshire, England, July 27, 1623, and was buried there, June 12, 1703. He married and had children, baptized at Rotherham: 1. Thomas, baptized October 4, 1654. 2. John, buried at Rotherham, September 2, 1656. 3. John (2), of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Rotherham Parish Registers.)

IV. John (2) Collins, son of John (1) Collin, was baptized at Rotherham, September 12, 1659. He later was of Nottingham, where he was mayor in 1713, and sheriff in 1715. He married and was the father of: 1. John (3), of whom further.

(Rotherham Parish Registers.)

SKINNER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. John (2) Collins, son of John (1) Collin, was baptized at Sheffield, March 29, 1690. He was a cutler of Sheffield. He married, at the Rotherham Parish Church, May 15, 1721, Anna Rawlin, of Rotherham. Child: 1. Thomas (3), of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Sheffield Parish Registers.)

VI. Thomas (3) Collins, son of John (3) and Anna (Rawlin) Collins, had the following children, baptized at Rotherham: 1. Thomas, baptized January 17, 1761-62, married, at Rotherham Parish Church, by license dated February 14, 1795, Elizabeth Hirst, widow. 2. Peter, of whom further. 3. Mary, baptized July 11, 1770; married, at Rotherham Parish Church, May 27, 1816, James Clark Sewell.

(Rotherham Parish Registers.)

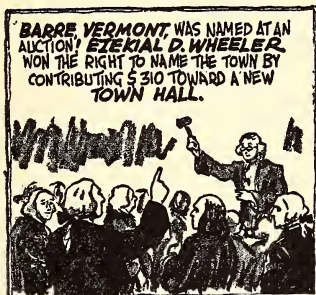
VII. Peter Collins, son of Thomas (3) Collins, was baptized at Rotherham, September 1, 1765. He married, at Rotherham Parish Church, January 10, 1816, Anne Mellor. They were the parents of: 1. Catherine, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

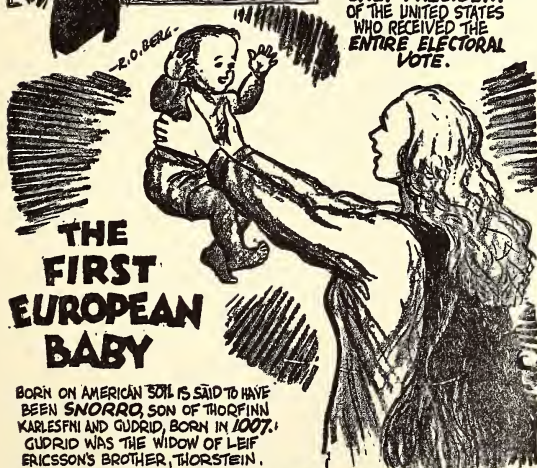
VIII. Catherine Collins, daughter of Peter and Anne (Mellor) Collins, was baptized at Rotherham, June 4, 1818, and died at Winchester, Connecticut, March 16, 1856. She married John (3) Skinner. (Skinner VIII.)

(*Ibid.*)

ODDITIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY



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AMERICANA


OCTOBER, 1939



Henry Adams and the Civil War

BY CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG, PH. D., NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

I

ENRY Adams arrived in England on May 13, 1861. Officially his position was that of private secretary to his father, the American Minister. Secretly, however, he had made up his mind to do far more for his country. If the family would not permit him to enlist, he could at least use his pen to good advantage. Faithfully he sent letters to the New York "Times," interpreting as well as reporting the issues, personalities, and events that chiefly concerned his countrymen. He discussed and shrewdly appraised the policy of the Ministry; he gauged the temper of Parliament and the shifting pressure of public opinion; he stressed the vital importance of keeping the blockade unbroken; he wrote warningly of the dangers of intervention, the possibility of a war with England, the crisis that would arise if a European power actually invaded Mexico; he deplored the criminal mistake made in seizing Mason and Slidell; he decried the insolent, aggressive tone of the New York press.

What his purpose and objectives were as a newspaper correspondent we can glean from the letters he sent to his brother, the only one in whom he confided. On July 2, 1861, he stated that his letters in the New York "Times" would convey all his views on the subject of politics. "They are very correctly printed; at least the three first which are all that have reached me."¹ Most of the English diplomats and statesmen, he points out, were laboring under the

¹ "A Cycle of Adams Letters," ed. W. C. Ford (Boston and New York, 1920), I, 16.

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illusion that the erring Southern States would eventually be allowed to depart in peace, and that this in the end would be the best policy. Yet he believes that the English are really favorably disposed towards the North. If the Ministry granted belligerent rights to the South, it was because they worked on the mistaken assumption that the splitting up of the Union was inevitable. Henry Adams therefore felt that it was extremely unwise for Americans to keep on criticizing England for the blunder she has committed—a blunder she has tried hard to atone for. Such attacks would certainly not help to advance the cause of the North, and he resolved to do all he could “to bring matters straight.”²

The strained diplomatic relations between England and America—these had to be adjusted first of all. The statesmen at home were tactless in their remarks, foolishly defiant in their management of foreign affairs. To the very end Henry Adams maintained that England could be kept officially neutral, if not friendly, so long as the Union army did not suffer a decisive defeat on the battlefield. The force of public opinion was unmistakably ranged against the Slave Power. Patience, tact, a spirit of compromise would succeed where bluster was bound to fail. His letters to the New York “Times” were a deliberate attempt to pour oil on troubled water, to create the basis for a friendly understanding between the two countries.

In his first letter he carefully analyzed the attitude of the English government and the people towards the North. The present Ministry was liberal, “but its liberality has no great exponent. Lord Palmerston is its head, but only because no one else has shown himself strong enough to combine the malcontents. There is no homogeneity, no warm union at the bottom of it. It is supported on the one side by the manufacturing interests of the great cities, of which Mr. Gladstone is one representative, and on the other by the old-fashioned Liberals of the country and elsewhere, who have formed the strength of the Anti-Slavery Party in England. The difficulty in treating the American question is that the Ministry in effectively aiding the North would offend their friends in the commercial interests, especially those of the “Manchester School,” with Mr. Gladstone at their head; while in encouraging the South they forfeit the support of their own wing, to which, in this matter, Mr. Bright belongs.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 17.

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*"If our Government forces the evil to a head by resenting the course the Ministry have taken, it will infallibly create trouble here; may even make a question on which the Ministry would divide and break up. They have no deep hold on the people, and no leader of force and position enough to hold his party together against so rude a shock, aggravated as it would be by the deep discontent among the middle and lower classes a (sic) the manner in which they have trifled with the great questions of reform."*³ There the parties stood divided: the Manchester people driven by economic interest to aid and protect the South, while the Liberals with a large following among the masses sided with the North and forced the hand of the Ministry.

But this political balance of power, Henry Adams shrewdly observed, made plain the path that the American government should pursue. If the United States sought causes for a quarrel, it would not have to look far. There was relief, however, in the thought that the American Minister "at least means to take no step without due care, for he has had at least one, possibly more than one, interview with Lord John Russell, and as yet nothing is heard of any difficulty. Nor is it indeed likely that he would be willing to take the responsibility of a quarrel with the Government at such a time. The stroke, if it comes at all, must come from Washington and the President without circumlocution, and our Minister here has only to obey orders and keep our interests as safe as he can until the time comes when higher interests demand that they should be thrown aside."⁴

In his next communication to the New York "Times," Henry Adams describes how the English Ministry circumvented the efforts of the Southern agents to secure recognition of the Confederacy. The propaganda of the Southern Commissioners had won the support of some members of the House of Commons. Nevertheless, the people as a whole are not in sympathy with the rebellion. "The best men in England grieve over the misfortune, and would gladly avert it. Lancashire and Yorkshire are powerful, but principle will over-

3. The New York "Times," June 7, 1861. The letter that appeared on June 3, 1861, was apparently not written by Henry Adams, since it mentions that he was in Paris a short time ago. There is no record that he visited Paris in 1861. For the same reason, the letter printed on June 17, 1861, by the same writer, has not been assigned to Adams.

4. *Ibid.* The American Minister, Charles Francis Adams, is frequently referred to in these letters. The devoted son lost no opportunity to support his father's policy. Significant, too, is the journalistic camouflage Henry Adams uses to disguise his source of information. What he knows at first hand is reported as if it were a rumor.

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balance the mere matter of money-making, and Britain will stand firm in her opposition to the usurpations of the slaveocracy. And another important movement will soon be developed, not only here but on the Continent. England and every other first rate Power in Europe will before long declare 'privateering' and 'piracy' synonymous. Let Congress provide for the acceptance of the Treaty of Paris,⁵ among the first acts after convening in July, and the penalty that awaits the 'sea rover' will follow in the wake of every private cruiser that steals out of a Southern port."⁶ He concludes his letter with patriotic assurance: "We have great faith in the united strength of Government and people, and believe that success will attend every stroke which the arm of loyalty wields in the defence of law, order and liberty."

Henry Adams sought by all means to dispel the notion that prevailed in America that the overthrow of the present English Ministry would be a good thing. "Certainly if there is to be a war, it will be one of the objects that we shall first gain, but if it is our wish, and it certainly is our interest, to keep England on our side, where she undoubtedly now stands, then the maintenance of the Liberal Cabinet ought to be our policy. Theirs is the party that for forty years has struggled with gradual success but against the most bitter and obstinate opposition, for the great principles of popular representation, free trade, and the overthrow of all the shackles that once bound commerce and National intercourse down—the corn laws, the navigation laws, and the many other illiberal and antiquated restrictions of all sorts that once were a source of poverty to themselves and irritation to us and to the rest of the world. Their statesmen, or at least their ideas, have been the means of protecting the advance of liberal opinions in Europe, and through them, more than in any other way, Europe is being brought into sympathy with those liberal views which may be called English now, if you like, but which belonged to America before their day. It is this liberal Cabinet, and the much abused Lord John Russell himself, who represent much more than any other party,

5. For a discussion by Henry Adams of the Treaty of Paris see his article on the subject in "Historical Essays" (New York, 1891) and his comments in "A Cycle of Adams Letters," I, 40-41.

6. The New York "Times," June 21, 1861. Two letters by different correspondents from London appear in this issue. The first, which quotes largely from speeches made in Parliament, is not by Henry Adams. The second, both in style and tone, is distinctly recognizable as his.

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certainly infinitely more than that of the Earl of Derby, the popular or democratic, and the old Whiggish sympathies with free institutions. If America wishes a war with England, France and Spain, then it is of little consequence what Ministry is to direct it. But if we truly want peace and sympathy, there is no use in flattering ourselves in finding it in the Earl of Derby, probably the man of all others in public affairs who most profoundly dislikes and distrusts republicanism in every form, nor in Mr. Disraeli, who loves it no more than his chief. Those are now, as they always must be, our real allies, who fought the battles of reform and won them in all the great branches of the constitution and of trade. . . . If then we really mean to remain on good terms with England, the very last means to do it is to declare hostility to the Liberals and tear down Lord John Russell to put the Earl of Malmesbury in his place."⁷

Nor was there any ground for believing that France would break her friendship with England if the latter became involved in a war with the United States. But more serious for the moment than speculations concerning Napoleon's probable policy was the news that a body of English troops was about to depart for Canada. The movement was associated with a rumor, originating in America, that the President and the Cabinet were bent on precipitating a foreign war. Hence the anxious, disturbed state of mind of the English government. "Still it seems strange that the Ministry should take such a step without very positive reasons, and if it really has them, what are they and where do they come from? If left alone, every one here knows that England will begin no war; it's not her interest nor the policy of the Government. What can her reason then be for taking, at such a critical moment, what will evidently be called by everyone a war step? Nothing definite is known here, that I can discover, except the one patent fact that this Government is uneasy about Canada. After the course things have taken here in our favor, there seems no fair reason for this fear, unless it really believes that Mr. Lincoln means to create a war; and if any such belief as this has influenced this Government, you in America are more likely to know the real state of the case and the reasons for the fear, than we on this side."⁸

7. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1861.

8. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1861.

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If any one in England labored zealously to create a friendly state of public opinion in England, it was the American Minister, and Henry Adams, whenever the occasion arose, would point with pride to the example set by his father. Unlike the Southern Commissioners who blundered badly in their propagandistic efforts, Charles Francis Adams knew when to keep silent, when to retire discreetly behind the scenes and let things take their natural course. The Southern Commissioners had left England for France, and to Henry Adams this was not a retreat but a rout. He crowed exultantly over their discomfiture. "They have failed in every single object that they tried for. They wished recognition, and they never were further from it than now. They wished agitation, but the House of Commons swept down on their poor champion, and overwhelmed him remorselessly. They wished to organize a fleet of privateers, and the British Government shut their ports in their faces. They wished to borrow money, and their bonds remain untaken."⁹

All signs pointed to a steadily improving state of affairs. If only the Morrill tariff were reduced, if some reasonable concessions were made, the lasting friendship of the English people could be secured. "If we have a great man to direct our country, he will neglect no opportunity of binding to our side the interests even more than the mere sympathies of every foreign nation for the present."¹⁰

Like a good reporter, Henry Adams kept his ears open and tracked every rumor down to its source. He did not believe that privateers stood a good chance of clearing from an English port. The American Consul and Charles Francis Adams, who had access to large sources of information, knew perfectly well what was going on and could be depended on to act with firmness when the time called for it. Moreover, the English seamen were strongly Union in their sympathies and would not consent to handle a cargo that was of a suspicious character.¹¹

But the Secessionists were resourceful and desperate. If they couldn't succeed in one way they would try another, and their next move would be an attempt to secure supplies by way of Mexico. That move had to be prevented at all costs. More alarming, however, was the depression that was settling over England. Once the

9. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1861.

10. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1861.

11. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1861.

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stock of cotton on hand became exhausted, Henry Adams predicted that an acute financial and industrial crisis would develop. Fortunately, England was too wealthy, possessed too large a reserve fund, to be easily shaken. "The efforts to obtain cotton from other regions than from our Cotton States have been great, and will probably be to a certain point successful; at least a supply may be obtained large enough to tide over the Winter, and by next Spring a portion of our cotton will probably find its way over here, even if we are not by that time in possession of the whole supply. By that time, too, we may expect a revival of the American trade which will be felt in England. In short, it seems likely that the shock of our civil war will be considerably softened by the time it reaches these shores, and if so, we may dismiss all fears of English interference with our blockade, while England will be only too glad to find herself next year independent of our cotton."¹² To offset this optimistic version of affairs, there was reason to believe that the Ministry, not dominated by a single will, was disintegrating, and no one could say in advance what changes would take place. Whatever happened, Henry Adams felt convinced that the fundamental policy of the English government towards the North would remain unaffected. It seemed to him that the credit of the Southern Confederacy was growing less and less every day. England would not recognize the Secessionists unless they won the war. "When she does recognize them, if she does it at all, it will only be in connection with France, and probably with Spain. She has no idea of doing it alone, for I do not believe that any Ministry could now stand for a week the schism and danger that such a recognition, or even the suspicion of such an intention, would cause here."¹³

As he watched the political contest raging in England, the clash of personalities, Henry Adams concluded that there was but one man who commanded his undivided respect, a politician who rose impressively about the general level of mediocrity. That man was John Bright. "Of all the eminent Englishmen—not excepting even his friend, Mr. Cobden—he is the only one who has stated our problem perfectly from an English point of view, and who appears to thoroughly comprehend the feeling of the Northern States on this mat-

12. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1861.

13. *Ibid.*, August 12, 1861.

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ter. You cannot persuade most Englishmen that we are united and in earnest. They think that the compromise feeling in the North will put an end to the war, and let the insurgents go; and they are so convinced that this must be the result, that they are hardly open to argument on the matter. "*Cui bono?*" is their one question. "What will you do with them after you've got them?" Just as though a man fighting for his life with a maniac would stop because it would be hard ultimately to hold and cure him after he was bound. Mr. Bright allows himself to be blinded by no such reasoning. He has spoken out in Manchester, right in the heart of the district which is worst inclined towards the Union; and he has told the cotton merchants that their only chance for cotton rests in the speedy and complete triumph of the North. He has told them, too, that interference with our blockade means war with America; a fact which it is right that they should fully appreciate."¹⁴

II

Then came the most staggering news of all: the Union army had been shamefully defeated at the battle of Bull Run. Henry Adams instantly perceived that this news was bound to have a bad effect on European nations, particularly on England. The English government would not, of course, hurriedly adopt a new policy. "Of recognition of the insurgents there seems no present danger, but it is not so certain that this check will not encourage the cotton interest to make an effort to set aside our blockade. After all, the action of England will depend on events. You on the other side of the water, will be able to predict it before we can, according as the war progresses well or otherwise. As yet, however, no one knows of any intention of this Government to interfere with the blockade. It is certain or as near certain as anything can be, that the British fleets are ordered to respect it faithfully and without cavil or quibble, any statement to the contrary notwithstanding, and if the time shall come when this rule will be broken through, the British Government will do it with its eyes open as to the consequences, and will hardly venture on the step without the assistance of France."¹⁵

14. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1861.

15. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1861. In this letter Henry Adams speaks of the consternation, "the sense of shame and mortification," with which the news of defeat was received by Northerners in England. For his personal reaction to the news of the battle of Bull Run, see "A Cycle of Adams Letters," I, 24-27; "The Education of Henry Adams" (Boston and New York, 1918), p. 118.

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Still, whatever desperate expedients the Southerners might resort to in their efforts to secure allies abroad, their tactics were doomed to failure if the blockade was strictly maintained. The history of the next two months would decide whether England would attempt to break the blockade. Roused to an awareness of the danger, Henry Adams, in an eloquent passage, exhorted his countrymen to view the situation realistically:

"You at home have your ears deafened and your eyes dazzled by the noise and parade of the armies, and you expect them to solve this question. We here see the struggle in a different light. It is of small consequence to our minds whether our armies advance or not, so long as they only maintain their ground. But it is of a vast consequence to us whether the blockade is so rigidly enforced as to exclude a possibility of England's declaring it ineffective. She will do so if we give her the chance. Of that we should be foolhardy to doubt; and if she does it we shall have sooner or later to give in.

"If we can reach the new year in safety, we shall have won the game. With the destruction of her great cotton monopoly, the Gordian knot is cut, and we may trust to our Armies and the slaves to do the rest. But we, in England, feel that it all rests there on that one point of the blockade. It must be effective, whatever our Armies are, or we may as well give up the fight. England is not to be trusted. She will get her cotton if we give her the shadow of an excuse."¹⁶

Contrary to expectations, the price of cotton did not rise in the market, although the supply was supposed to be near the point of exhaustion. How account for this economic paradox? Henry Adams explained it on the ground that the manufacturers felt confident the government would break down the blockade if conditions became intolerable. The whole issue, however, still remained in doubt. "What England means to do, England herself as yet does not know. It may be that events will take such a course as to make her interference with our blockade imminent. If so, we shall have no doubt sufficient warning of it, and then we have still our last and highest card, which will make the people of this country cry 'Hands off,' to any Ministry that offers to interfere; we must proclaim emancipation and place the struggle in its true light before the world. At that cry all

16. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1861.

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the nations of Europe will form a ring round us till the struggle is decided. Even cotton and the dread of famine will be powerless against the popular force of that word, and the people of England who refuse now to see in our contest anything more than a dispute about a tariff, will then at last end their foolish comments and wait in patience the end of the battle."¹⁷

Discouraging, indeed, were the effects of the defeat suffered at Bull Run. Another defeat might drive the British government to the step of granting recognition to the Southern Confederacy, but so far it had scrupulously adhered to its neutrality policy. But recognition and the maintenance of the blockade were two different matters. To interfere with the blockade was tantamount to a declaration of war, and the Ministry would not venture to go that far. In the meantime, storm clouds hovered over Mexico; armed intervention was being planned by the European powers. Exactly what England, France and Spain intended to do no one could say as yet, but an invasion of some kind was imminent.¹⁸

To make matters worse, the Northern statesmen and diplomats were lacking in adroitness and the elementary rules of diplomatic usage. Henry Adams complains bitterly: "Some one in our Government seems to want manners. This is not the first time that the complaint of rudeness has been made, and there is nothing so likely to prejudice foreign Governments against us as want of courtesy toward their representatives. I do not know where the impression came from, but I do know that there is a universal impression here that the American Government, to whatever party it belongs, is and remains under-bred. It works badly against us here. One such exhibition, for instance, as that of Mr. Clay, at Paris, does us almost as much harm among the governing classes as Bull Run itself. Now the English have an idea that Mr. Clay's rudeness and indiscretion are merely a type of the accepted code at Washington. They firmly believe that Mr. Seward calls Lord Lyons all the abusive epithets he can imagine every time they meet, and finishes every conversation by pointed allusions to Bunker's Hill and Saratoga, and the necessity for 'licking the Britishers again before they'll behave themselves;' and they believe no less firmly that Lord Lyons bears all these insults as

¹⁷. *Ibid.*

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1861.

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a well-bred man must, when he cannot escape from them. We have, in short, the reputation of being an ill-mannered people, and fond of insulting our neighbors. Is it really so, or is our Government belied?"¹⁹

In practically every letter that Henry Adams contributed to the New York "Times," the possibilities of interference with the blockade were anxiously weighed and considered. So much depended on how this issue was decided that it became almost an obsession with him. Both the English and French governments would respect the blockade so long as it was vigilantly maintained. The truth seems to be, he argued, "that the policy of Great Britain toward the United States has been shaky all along. The Ministry themselves were divided upon it. So far as non-intervention went, they were all tolerably well agreed, but when it came to the minutiae of non-intervention, there was a difference of opinion. One party sided with the South; another stood up for the North. Exactly who the Northerners and Southerners are seems to be a matter of some doubt. Lord Russell, at all events, is with us. . . . So long as Lord Russell is at the head of Foreign Affairs, I believe America may feel confident that no encouragement will be given to the Slave power."²⁰

By this time, Henry Adams began to fear that his identity as a newspaper correspondent would soon be discovered, and he resolved to throw some dust in the eyes of those who suspected him. "I don't know whether my last letters will appear or not, but if they do you can form some judgment as to my inventive powers. The truth is that I've lately told so much in that way which was not generally known, that my position began to be too hot and I thought I'd try a little wrong scent. The facts are all invented therefore, but the idea is carried out as faithfully as I could, of quoting the state of English opinion."²¹ His inventive powers are effectively used in the letter that appeared in the New York "Times" on October 13, 1861. It describes a visit he paid to Oxford, the ruins of Kenilworth, and

19. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1861.

20. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1861. This interpretation of Lord Russell's attitude towards the North stands in ironic contrast to the portrait of the man that is given in "The Education of Henry Adams": "Every act of Russell, from April, 1861, to November, 1862, showed the clearest determination to break up the Union. The only point in Russell's character about which the student thought no doubt to be possible was its want of good faith." (P. 163.)

21. "A Cycle of Adams Letters," I, 50-51.

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Warwick Castle, though it also discusses the prevailing state of opinion among Englishmen. In the next letter, he pretends that he has passed a week in Scotland and records his impressions: "Everywhere I have been met with bitter complaints of the state of the country. Industry is said to be coming to a stand-still. The factories of Sheffield are no longer a support, but a weight to the country. The looms of Manchester furnish already only a meager support to the swarms of their dependents, and are likely, before long, to furnish none at all. The cry of famine has already made itself heard in Ireland, and is echoed at Paris. People do not dare to estimate the number of laborers who will, within three months, be thrown wholly out of employ; for there is hardly a branch of industry that has not suffered, and there is hardly a person in the three kingdoms who is not seeking to retrench his expenses as much as he can. Nor do I believe the alarm to be unreasonable. If it were cotton alone that was wanted, the danger would not be so great; but the American troubles and last year's bad harvest have blighted every kind of industry here, and if cotton in any quantity were to come to-day, the evil and the danger would be hardly diminished. England might get on without great difficulty if it were merely American produce that she wanted; but to have the American market closed to her own industry also, is beginning to shake her to her very center."²²

Apathetic in their misery, the English masses were now actively longing and praying for peace. They wished to see the end of the conflict, no matter which side was the victor. The attitude of the English government, however, was visibly improving. A spirit of cordiality between the countries was growing. Some understanding regarding the Mexican affair must have been arranged between Seward and Lord Russell. Had not the American Ambassador passed a week in Scotland as the guest of Lord Russell?²³ "The very fact that this had been done and had not got into the papers, seemed to me to show a secrecy, or at least a privacy, that meant some-

22. The New York "Times," October 28, 1861.

23. Henry Adams probably derived most of his information regarding conditions in Scotland from his father. Charles Francis Adams returned from his visit to Lord Russell on September 27, 1861. Henry Adams believed that the visit would have an excellent effect in cementing friendly relations between the two governments. "Lord Russell has explained the Mexican business very satisfactorily, and it appears that England is trying to check Spain, not to help her." ("A Cycle of Adams Letters," I, 48.)

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thing. At any rate the fact is very certain, and if it has no relation to Mexico and Spain, then it has relation to some other business between the two Governments, and proves that their differences, if any, are in a fair way to settlement. People agree wonderfully when they accept each other's hospitality, and a good dinner and a bottle of sherry—very, very old—are more likely to bring a matter of business out straight than all the arguing on paper in the world.”²⁴ Henry Adams was so overjoyed at the favorable turn events had taken that he urged his readers to throw up their caps for “Johnny Russell.”

His satisfaction at this happy state of affairs was but short-lived. News came that the steamer “Bermuda” had successfully run the blockade with a cargo of arms and ammunition. The Secessionists immediately seized on this incident as proof that the blockade was ineffective. Such a success was as good as ten thousand lives to them. Why was the Northern fleet caught napping? Then there was authentic news of another steamer, loaded to capacity with munitions of every sort, that was leaving the Clyde, nominally for the west coast of Africa, but actually for America. “These things trouble us loyalists here excessively, for every cartridge on board of this vessel may be the life of some of our friends or relations; every pound of powder represents a terrible loss to our side; every rag of clothing represents so much longer continuance of this war.”²⁵

How long could this go on? Loopholes in the blockade would be sure to increase the pressure on the Ministry to declare the blockade ineffective. The opponents of the blockade in England have become suddenly courageous, outspoken, and extraordinarily active. “Steadily and surely popular opinion is forming here against us; our allies are becoming silent, and our enemies more bitter. That this will lead to actual steps against us may not be true, but that it will encourage the Southern party here to make a strong effort against us, is certain, and for that effort the party is organizing rapidly. I have been as slow as any one to foresee difficulty or to croak, but we might as well look the danger in the face and be ready for it, since, supposing the present state of doubt to last till New-Year’s Day, and the other side to gain strength in the same ratio as during the last three months, we

24. The New York “Times,” October 28, 1861.

25. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1861.

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have nothing good to look for in England or in Europe. Till that time, however, we are reasonably safe unless some great disaster occurs."²⁶ By all means, let General McClellan take three months to complete his military arrangements, but it was essential that no serious disaster should occur. "It is of very little consequence what way public opinion inclines here, provided that we carry the day in the end, and as I have said, the English Government is not likely to move for some time yet. So we shall continue to bear the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, hoping only that some day some news will come to set our country up again."²⁷

Henry Adams had by this time become convinced that there was no point in trying to correct and conciliate British notions concerning the United States. A ridiculous rumor gained wide currency in England that Garibaldi had been offered, and had refused, the position of commander-in-chief of the Northern armies. Why trouble to contradict such silly stories? "Why care at all what the English think or believe? They despise us for our sensitiveness, and are only encouraged to advance still greater absurdities. Until we can learn to cut ourselves loose from all dependence on others, we are not fit to obtain success. Sympathy in England or elsewhere is to be won by the sword alone. Fear is the only bond by which a republic can hold Europe to it."²⁸

All evidence, however, pointed to the fact that the British government had no thought of violating the blockade. Equally encouraging was the statement, altogether favorable to the North, made by the Duke of Argyle, a prominent member of the Cabinet. Nor would the plan of the Secessionist party in England to stir up the operatives of Manchester and the suffering poor of London and Liverpool to agitate for interference with the blockade ever succeed. Indeed, the best way of blocking it would be to support the present Ministry, "which has pledged itself to respect our blockade, and to remain neutral in our struggles. All irritating language ought to be avoided, and all causes of quarrel removed. It may be a question of life and death to us, and we who are here feel its importance, perhaps, more than you at home."²⁹

26. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1861.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1861.

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In his letter of November 30, 1861, Henry Adams comments on the rumor that the "James Adger" was waiting to capture Mason and Slidell and carry them to New York. This rumor, he argued, was without foundation, since the real object of the captain of the "James Adger" was not that. Then came the dinner of the Lord Mayor of London, testifying to the increasing friendliness of the two governments. "For reasons that have been from time to time mentioned in my letters, I had believed and declared that this better state of feeling and firmer confidence had begun to exist between the two Cabinets, and I am now the more certain that this must be the case from the fact of Mr. Adams having at last broken his long silence, and, satisfied probably that he possessed the confidence of the British Government, having made his first diplomatic effort towards gaining that of the British people. The spot he chose on which to commence operations is the City of London—the heart of the English commerce, the very centre of the English political system. If that can be favorably impressed, the step is a long one, and the advantage great. From what I see and hear, I should think that the attempt was successful. Nothing could have been handsomer than the remarks of the Lord Mayor, the host, be it remembered, on calling him out, and his answer to these cordial words was calculated to do that without which all diplomacy is of small use, to impress his audience and the people at large with confidence and good-will towards him personally. The task of a Minister in this country now is no easy one, for there is an amount of ill-feeling which has gradually risen on both sides of the Atlantic, that must perpetually destroy all the effect of conciliatory efforts and paralyze all the nerves of diplomacy. Nevertheless, in the present case, some impression seems to have been made. The Press has almost unanimously received Mr. Adams' speech in the same spirit in which it was made, and from men of all classes I hear the same expression of gratification that the hostile tendencies of the two nations should have received an authoritative check."³⁰ The outlook on the problem of neutrality was now heartening. With men like Charles Francis Adams on the scene, the friendship of England could be cultivated and kept.

30. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1861.

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III

Then came news of the capture of Mason and Slidell and the insult to the British flag, and everything else was temporarily forgotten in the prevailing excitement. "It may well be imagined with what savage exultation this violent step was received by all those who were smarting under the insults which our flag was now receiving in England,³¹ and how glad the Americans were to repay, for once, at any cost, the heavy debt under which they lay.

"On that point, at least, we may rest calm and contented. Beyond a doubt the debt has been paid off, with all its arrears of interest, and we have had the satisfaction of seeing the English suffer under as great a load of bitterness as any under which we have groaned. Never for many years has any event created such an excitement here as this. On 'Change people seemed bewildered; they could not believe what they read, and would not make up their minds, for a time, what to think. Then Consols began to fall steadily, and their fall was only checked toward evening by a great firm who sent out and bought up a rate sufficient to sustain the market. Railroad securities fell alarmingly. The universal cry was war and retaliatory measures of the most stringent kind were discussed, among which not the least popular was the sending Mr. Adams his passport at once. A few cool men still maintained their self-control, and discouraged all such talk, but all that evening the war fever raged with great violence, and universal confusion and panic prevailed."³²

In his autobiography, Henry Adams has described his first reaction of tumultuous delight on receiving the news that Mason and Slidell had been captured, but the war-inflamed temper of the newspapers and the populace brought him back to his senses. The threat of war was at last staring the North in the face; the future looked black. All things considered the action of Captain Wilkes was to be regretted. He had done more than was strictly necessary. "Six months more would have decided our civil war, and then if we liked, we might have taken Great Britain in hand, but as our affairs now stand, a foreign war was neither necessary nor expedient. This Gov-

31. Refers to the "Nashville" case and the refusal of the English Government to see that common justice was done.

32. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1861.

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ernment did not want to have a war, nor would it accept one now, except that it knows that popular opinion demands it, and in the present excited state of the public mind, strong measures are necessary. Our technical right to seize the men may be perfect, and the decision of the Crown lawyers in saying that if we had insulted them more they would have had nothing to say, may be a mere quibble, but it does not change the fact that to use our right was, as matters stood, a blunder if not a crime.

"On the other hand there is still one measure that may save us, or at least weaken very much the force of the war party here. In a position of affairs like the present, it would be the worst of folly not to seize every weapon, no matter how savage; not to strike with our whole force on every point, no matter at what cost, that still remains open to attack. *If our Government hopes to maintain itself, it must now act with all the vigor or all the violence that can be used. The slaves, wherever we can get at them, must be freed and armed.* Such a measure would still have great effect here, notwithstanding the bitterness of feeling against the North, for no Englishman would like to appear as the upholder of the slave system, and it would give our friends courage to come out again in opposition to the war policy. This is the one means of escape that it (*sic*) still open to us, and if the blunders we have committed shall lead to that result, Providence may yet bring us through the trial."³³

The spirit of hostility persisted strongly for another two weeks. The streets echoed with threats and insults. Theatre audiences violently applauded every warlike allusion to the Trent affair. "At Evans", crowded rooms cheer every night a new song which tells how the Yankees are to be used up, and how Britannia is to rule forever, and the pint-pots suffer severe injuries from the energy with which they are pounded on the tables. There is no sign of slackening energy at the arsenals and dockyards. Troops are being concentrated; all available steamers are being taken up for transport service; immense supplies and stores are being shipped; vessels-of-war are fitting out as fast as means will allow; business is at a stand-still, at least on the Stock Exchange, and business men are fluttering about, grasping at every straw which seems to show in what direction the

33. *Ibid.*

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current will finally turn."³⁴ In spite of all this apparent hostility, Henry Adams felt confident that war would not break out. There was one important factor which was likely to turn the scales in favor of the North. Queen Victoria was earnestly endeavoring to prevent war. Should the United States, however, refuse to surrender the prisoners, then England would have no recourse but to declare war. Instead of plunging in recklessly, she acted with due caution in order to place America completely in the wrong. And America would be unquestionably in the wrong "if she falsifies her glorious record, and tramples on the laurels of the fathers, by justifying the retention of these men."³⁵ England would then proceed to play with the North as a cat does with a mouse. She would acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, and thus shatter all hopes of restoring the Union. Next she would go ahead and raise the blockade. Then if the United States, in self-defense, declared war, England would accept it as a matter of necessity.

The diplomatic crisis did not go that far. Affairs improved rapidly when Charles Francis Adams, in an interview with Lord Palmerston, officially announced that Captain Wilkes had acted without authorization and that the United States was still open to any proposition. This brought about a return of public confidence. "However active the pure war party may be, and however unscrupulous, its only means of gaining its ends are now as formerly our own blunders. The mistakes that Capt. Wilkes committed has almost given them the control of the nation—did, in fact, for the first few days put the whole national policy in their hands. This, however, is now passed. It is no longer true that a majority of the nation wishes war, and it is no longer doubted that a majority of the Ministry are willing to do all they can, short of abandoning Mason and Slidell to their fate, to preserve peace."³⁶

The last letter by Henry Adams points to the gratifying fact that the war passions were dying out. Hope had begun to spring up again. The erroneous belief that the United States wanted a foreign war had been destroyed. Even Lord Palmerston, it was reported, had declared there would be no war. The London press, including

34. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1861.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1862.

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the "Times," was less belligerent in its utterances. But the Southerners in England were still undaunted by the new developments. "In a month, they say, the blockade will be raised; their Confederacy will be acknowledged; British capital will do all their work; the days of labor and peril are over, and those of fruition are at hand. The 'Nashville' still lies at Southampton, and the Confederates say that they have no intention of trying to evade the neutrality by arming her. The Government has forbidden it, and they are willing to wait. Much surprise is expressed that no National vessel has been sent over to look after the 'Nashville,' and much anxiety lest she should run out suddenly and escape after all. There are rumors, too, of other privateers fitting out, but little has been said of them since the 'Trent' affair, and probably nothing will really be done about them till that is decided. The Slidell family has retreated, or advanced, to Paris, where they will probably do us all the harm they can, which, thanks to our imitation of English manners, is no little. Mr. Yancey is probably drafting a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the English people, to be presented for consideration to Earl Russell on the first formal reception of the Confederate Commissioners. It is all that is now wanting to make his desperate mission here a complete success."³⁷

IV

This is not the end of the story. Though Henry Adams ceased to meddle for the time being with newspaper correspondence, he watched the ebb and flow of the diplomatic struggle with undiminished interest. His views on the later issues of the Civil War can be studied in his letters and in his autobiography, but the articles he sent to the New York "Times" help to round out the picture of the war in 1861 as it affected a sensitive and intensely patriotic young man. His interpretation of events reveals not only good judgment but also admirable self-restraint. Whatever he may have felt at heart, he did not allow his feelings to distort his vision. He was afraid of the consequences of a war with England, and spent all his energies and

37. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1862. After this, the New York "Times" printed no letters from London until February 1, 1862, and this letter bore the signature "Monadnock." Henry Adams' anonymity had been accidentally disclosed, and he prudently ran to cover. He stopped his contributions to the New York "Times." For his lively account of the whole affair, see "The Education of Henry Adams," pp. 120-21.

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arguments in trying to prevent it. As far as he could gather, England intended to maintain her policy of neutrality. The influence of King Cotton did not prevail, but not for the reason that Henry Adams gave. He believed that England played the game of non-intervention because she was swayed by idealistic considerations. The Union stood forth as a symbol of democracy and freedom. The sympathies of the masses, particularly of the Lancashire population, were overwhelmingly with the North. To be sure, Henry Adams stresses time and again the importance of economic interests, but he fails to carry his argument to a logical conclusion. The idealistic explanation of England's policy of neutrality is no longer accepted by modern historians.³⁸ The effect of the speeches made by reformers like Bright have been unduly exaggerated. Nor did the laborers of Lancashire carry much political weight. England did not intervene because it was to her interest not to do so. She was making huge profits from both contestants. Henry Adams, however, was writing as a journalist and not as an historian. His articles possess an immediacy of feeling and observation that no sober historical account, based on documentary research, as a rule attains. They enrich our knowledge of a dramatically exciting chapter of Henry Adams' life.

38. See Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), p. 565.

John Howard Payne (1791-1852)

BY ALLAN ROSS MACDOUGALL,* NEW YORK CITY



T is one of life's little ironies that men who feverishly labor in life doing one thing are often remembered after death for another. Samuel Pepys, the punctilious and efficient Secretary of the Admiralty, is known today chiefly for his extremely personal "Diary" which he had thought to keep from prying eyes by the invention and use of a system of shorthand. Sandwich, the noble courtier, goes down through the ages as a name for two slices of bread with something edible between them; the French minister, Nesselrode, is now—outside the stuffy confines of historical works—merely a designation for a pudding. Fame, the capricious wench, has her own ideas of the men and events worthy of being set down in her golden book.

During his life John Howard Payne, native New Yorker, was a man famous on two continents as an actor and dramatist. Today, about ninety years after his death, his name is remembered, if at all, for one simple song—a very incidental part of one of his sixty dramatic works. The irony here is heightened by the fact that, following the course of all verses and distichs taken to the public heart, Payne's "Home, Sweet Home" often takes on the quality of a folk song, author unknown. With each succeeding generation that sings it the song gains new vitality while its author fades into obscurity to join the vast army of now anonymous poets whose ballads have become the common coin of our literary heritage.

One passion seems to have ravaged Payne during the first half of his life—the theatre in all its manifestations. He served this gaudy mistress as critic, actor, manager, writer. Nothing ever discouraged him; neither parental displeasure, poverty, prison, nor passing favor. From his earliest years he devoted himself to this passion and his place in the history of the English and American theatre is definite if not brilliant.

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Like Homer of old, Payne has the honor of having his birthplace claimed by more than one town. It is said he was born in Boston, in Easthampton, in New York City. Although the first was carved on Payne's gravestone in Tunis, it may be dismissed as a mistake. Easthampton is more serious as a contender for the honor, for there today the tourist may visit a charming house known as John Howard Payne's Home, Sweet Home. It is furnished in the Colonial manner with knick-knacks which the eyes of the poet never beheld; beds his body never lay upon; carpets his feet never trod. It is a permanent example of that terrible desire inherent in many Americans to create romantic traditions where none exist. Another ludicrous example of this is the "Old Kentucky Home" of Stephen Foster in a place where the songwriter never lived and which contains a tourist-revered piano which his fingers never as much as strayed over.

Beyond the tourist-attraction house in Easthampton and its owners' say-so, there is no convincing record that Payne was born in the little Long Island country town. And one of his grand nephews has written in this connection: "Tradition has woven a great deal of romance about the cottage but it seems to rest on a very feeble hypothesis. There are no records to show that Payne ever lived in the house."

We may take it for granted, then, that Payne was born June 9, 1791—according to his own written statements and those of men who knew him—in lower Manhattan, near the junction of Pearl and Broad streets. His father was a schoolmaster, a descendant of early settlers in Massachusetts; his mother, Sarah Isaacs, the daughter of a converted Jew, who was an Easthampton merchant and much esteemed by his neighbors.

When the boy was five he began his series of peregrinations; the family moved to Boston. During the rest of his life he was never permanently settled in one place. This thespian vagabond who later hymned with such heart-touching simplicity the thought that "There's no place like home," never had a real home of his own.

While living in Boston Payne saw his first stage play at the Federal Street Theatre; it was there also that his father unwittingly fed his passion for the stage by giving him elocution lessons. In Boston, too, he made friends with Samuel Woodworth, the future dramatist

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and author of "The Old Oaken Bucket." At that period young John Howard seems to have been an imaginative youth of not too robust health and a quick and fiery temper. He wrote poems with a certain facility, if no great show of genius, and to his father's expressed annoyance showed more interest in the theatre and the works of the English dramatists than was considered becoming in one so young.

A turn in the family fortunes sent the delicate youth down to New York to work as a clerk in the mercantile house of Grant and Forbes. He was not yet fourteen and was stirred by the lively social and theatrical goings-on in the bustling metropolis. Before long he was editing a paper in his spare time. He called it "The Thespian Mirror"—a sort of early nineteenth century "Variety"—and wrote in his first number that it was "to promote the interests of the American Drama and eradicate false impressions respecting the nature, objects, design, and tendency of theatrical amusement. . . ."

The fourteen numbers of "The Thespian Mirror" which Payne edited, published, and presumably sold, brought the precocious youth many friends and admirers. Among them was a gentleman who decided that the adolescent editor was worthy of better things than sitting in playhouses and writing verbose criticisms of the vulgar mummers' performances. This Mr. Seaman packed Payne off to be educated at Union College, Schenectady. Princeton had been first thought of, but Seaman felt that it was situated too near "seducing charms and baleful vices." But whether Princeton or Union mattered little; Payne was predestined for the theatre and the writer's desk. While at Union he edited another paper which he called "The Pastime"; he appeared in a student comedy "Pulaski," playing the female rôle of Ladoiska; and as his bohemian-thespian characteristics began to sprout, the president of the college was forced to say: "His vanity has led him to make himself conspicuous every where but at college."

The following year he had a chance to make himself even more conspicuous and at the same time earn a substantial sum—a sum sufficient to wipe out the debts of the father who formerly looked with such Puritan severity on his son's dalliance with playhouse matters. On February 24, 1809, young Howard Payne, "the American Roscius," made his début in the rôle of Young Norval in the tragedy "Douglas" at the Old Park Theatre in New York City. He made a hit, for he was a very personable lad and he spoke the blank verse

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with youthful fire and smooth diction. "His eyes," said one critic, "glowed with animation and intelligence." And further: "A more extraordinary mixture of softness and intelligence were never associated in a human countenance and his face was a true index of his heart." As to his acting it seems to have been of the kind that is usually associated with amateur elocutionists. Said the critic of the Philadelphia "Mirror of Taste" after Payne had played in that city in 1810: "When he repeated the words:

'Of the deep column and the lengthened line,
The Square, the crescent, and the Phalanx firm. . . .'

Master Payne cut those figures and described the square and crescent with his hands—a great error!" It was the sort of acting which, underscoring each word and phrase with elaborate dumb-show, is today sometimes used in vaudeville to make the groundlings guffaw.

For three years "Master" Payne travelled about the civilized parts of the eastern seaboard states playing with lessening success the leading rôles in the tragic plays of Shakespeare, Voltaire, Kotzebue and others whose plays were then in vogue. He acted Hamlet and Romeo, for instance, to the Ophelia and Juliet of Mrs. Poe—the mother of Edgar Allen—and he appeared in support of the distinguished visiting actor, Cooke. During these first years in the theatre—as indeed all through his life—he had his ups and downs . . . the destined lot of all true bohemians; of all strolling players and vagabond thespians. To his brother Robert, he wrote once: "I have been wandering from one end of the theatrical hemisphere to the other, with various success. Sometimes I found my pockets so full of money that they would burst, and then again my funds would sink so low that I could not scrape together enough to pay for sewing up the rents which my affluence had created." It was during one of these periods when his funds had touched bottom that he wrote to John Jacob Astor. The letter is dated January 23, 1811, and asks despairingly for a \$1,500 loan. It goes on to tell that when Payne first went on the stage he assumed all his father's debts—\$3,000, furnished a house and took upon himself all the family concerns. In less than two years, he went on, he earned \$13,000, which were all devoted to expenses and old debts. Mr. Astor was not moved by Payne's written appeal; it might have been more successful had the borrower made a personal appearance and used his histrionic talents.

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The following year the elder Payne died and since the mother was already dead five years, young John Howard felt free to follow a course which had been in his mind for some time. As an actor, as an aspiring dramatist, his eyes had been turned towards Europe as towards the theatrical mecca. Was not the great Talma, Bonaparte's friend, stirring the élite at the Comédie Française in Paris? Was not London the musical and theatrical center of the English-speaking world? The oratorios of Handel and Haydn were being performed by huge choirs. Mrs. Siddons, the queen of tragedy and comedy, was still majestically treading the boards, as were Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Litchfield, and other impressive female figures, while Kemble and Kean were male idols of the beaux and belles of Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Grimaldi, the extraordinary clown, was making Drury Lane's rafters ring with unrestrained laughter. There was also an infant prodigy whose fame had been wafted across the wide Atlantic—one "Master Betty, the young Roscius." Payne had often been likened and compared to this midget mimic who played most of the rôles in his repertory.

Rich with \$2,000 raised by some generous gentlemen in Baltimore, Payne sailed for Europe in January, 1813. His pathway when he landed in Liverpool in February led him straight to jail as a prisoner of war. Two weeks later, however, he was released and descended on London to show them that Master Betty was not the only young man who could declaim fustian and strike tragic attitudes. During the first weeks in the metropolis he was aided by Henry Brevoort, Sir Walter Scott's Knickerbocker friend, by Washington Irving's brother, and by Benjamin West. In June he was ready to make his first appearance before a London audience. Young Norval was the part he chose for his début and while he did not set fire to the sluggish Thames he did achieve a measure of success. After the London season he continued playing the score of rôles in his repertory with various second-string leading ladies through the provinces and even in Ireland.

With manhood, however, came a certain physical heaviness that did not sit well upon the not overly tall young actor. Writing back from London, he once spoke of the struggle he had to keep afloat after he grew too portly for the stage and began to fatten on trouble

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and starvation. Tragedians who are stout and fat and scant of breath are not much sought after in any theatre romantic. And so it was that he left off acting and moved over to Paris in the year 1815. The French capital was then passing through the hectic period of the Hundred Days of Napoleon. There was excitement along the boulevards; there was a lively gaiety in the crowded cafés and salons; the theatres were all filled.

Payne's fame as a successful American actor who had played to large houses in London having preceded him, he was well received by his French confrères. The great Talma was especially gracious to the young Colonial. Through his influence Payne was given the freedom of the Comédie Française. He frequented its *foyer des artistes* and attended the other theatres and opera houses of the capital; met the actors and writers in the coffee houses in vogue; and perfected his knowledge of the language which was later to stand him in such good stead in the matter of innumerable translations and adaptations made to keep his pot boiling.

The first of this long series of works from the French was a translation of a comedy "La Pie Volante." Under the title "The Maid and the Magpie," Payne sold his translation to the manager of the Covent Garden Theatre for £150. (The play also amused Rossini; from the Italian version he made a comic opera whose overture is still often played.) Following the "Magpie," Payne wrote his most successful tragedy, "Brutus, or The Fall of Tarquin." It can be assumed that he got the idea for this during his frequent visits to the Comédie Française, where Voltaire's tragedy was part of the regular repertory. Payne's play, however, is neither a translation nor an adaptation of the French master's tragedy. There were seven plays written between 1681 and 1813 on the subject of the noble Roman and Payne stated quite frankly in his preface that he had used them all for his purpose. He lifted lines and situations from all the versions and welded the whole into an acceptable tragedy that had vitality enough to hold English and American audiences enthralled. After its first performance on December 3, 1818, at Drury Lane it was played fifty times during the season and restored the fallen fortunes of the actor-manager Kean. He later triumphed in the rôle in Paris. In America, down to the end of the nineteenth century, it was a favorite stalking

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horse for all the famous tragedians: Junius Brutus Booth, the elder Wallack, Edwin Forrest, John McCullough, and Edwin Booth all essayed the fat rôle of the Roman patriot. Payne's income from the play was £183. No royalties ever came to him from any of the performances in America, where it held the stage for over seventy years.

As a playwright Payne would be set down today as a "play doctor." His translations from the French were really adaptations, often with felicitous additions. Unlike his friend Washington Irving, with whom he later collaborated on several successful dramatic works adapted from the French, Payne was not a creative writer. He did have, however, an innate sense of the theatre which enabled him to take the French originals, cut all extraneous matter and Gallic verbosity and set them down on the English stage with their dramatic or comic vitality unimpaired.

Shortly after the success of "Brutus," Payne decided to essay the rôle of actor-manager-dramatist. He leased the well-known summer theatre at Sadler's Wells, quite a distance from the center of London. But the venture soon proved a disastrous failure. Payne, having gone blindly into it without any previous managerial experience or any apparent commercial ability, found himself saddled with enormous liabilities. The debt load finally brought him low and forced him into the ignominious position of being sent to the Fleet Debtors' Prison. This is not to say, however, that he was "cribbed, cabined and confined." At that epoch it was possible to be technically a prisoner and reside without the walls of the malodorous prison; it was possible to live in private rooms within a certain prescribed area adjacent to the prison. Payne had rooms therefore at No. 1 Naked Boy Court. And there, while awaiting another propitious turn in Fortune's Wheel, he busied himself with various literary schemes. In his journal under the date of January 2, 1821, for instance, he wrote:

Worked on and finished the "National Spelling Book." I think great improvement might be made in these works, by conveying information in a style more familiar. I really think an American Spelling Book or Easy Book for children might be contrived so as to give an early knowledge of the country, its products and political history, and distinguishing characteristics. . . .

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About two weeks later the journal tells the story of the fortunate arrival of two plays from France, the ultimate success of one of which was to be instrumental in getting him released from the Debtors' Prison. It is worth quoting as fully as possible from the entries, for they give an appealing picture of Payne working under strain in order to prepare the play for the stage:

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1821.

At about one today I received a parcel from France. . . . It contained two melodramas by Victor: "Calas" and "Therese, Orpheline de Geneve." Instantly left my history and read "Therese." It is admirably constructed and most interesting. I will set about it forthwith.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18.

Sent my shirt to the pawnbrokers this morning and got money enough to buy the day's provisions and begin Therese. Set to work and got through part of the first act. . . .

FRIDAY, JANUARY 19.

Finished the first act of Therese and began the second. I thought it best not to go out but to proceed in my work. God grant it may effect some good! I go to it with less eager anxiety and fear of rejection than I ever went to any work of the kind; repeated disappointments have cowed my ardour and tamed down my solitude. Let it take its chance.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 20.

Finished the second act of Therese. I did not put the finishing to it till the watchman was calling past six!

SUNDAY, JANUARY 21.

. . . . Not well all day. Wrote Therese till late at night. Passed a miserably sleepless night counting the clocks; and when I slept, the characters rushed through my brain, all conversing and speaking the emphatic passages.

MONDAY NIGHT, HALF PAST ELEVEN, JANUARY 22.

I have this moment finished Therese. I was cooking my gruel and spilled it on the last pages. The watchman is now calling "gone half past eleven o'clock." I knelt down and prayed Heaven to make this new bantling propitious to my extraction.

This simple prayer was answered with dispatch. Immediately after having finished the translation, Payne wrote Elliston, the manager of Drury Lane. With some hesitation that gentleman finally accepted the play and called rehearsals. These were rushed through,

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much to the disgust of the principal players, and sixteen days after Payne had received the play from France it was presented to the captious audience at Drury Lane Theatre on the evening of February 2, 1821. Before the curtain rose the orchestra played a little known overture by Mozart. The audience, thinking it was something new by a new composer, roundly hissed it. "Therese," however, worked well on their lachrymose glands and the French "tear-jerker" was as roundly applauded as Mozart had been hissed.

In his journal under the date of February 3, Payne wrote:

Well, "Therese" has succeeded triumphantly and splendidly and I am enjoying my triumph with a box of pills before me, a bowl of gruel, my feet in hot water, no fire and a terrific headache.

The play continued successfully at Drury Lane while two other pirated versions were acted in other theatres. And on the American stage it was also played without any benefit to poor Payne. He was enabled, though, to make a settlement of the outstanding debts and go free from Fleet. And once more he hied himself off to Paris before the rest of his creditors caught up with him. When he did return later to London to see about some business, he was forced to do so under an assumed name.

In Paris he joined his good friend Washington Irving, whose acquaintance he had first made in his adolescent heyday in New York. During this period he had his usual ups and downs. At one moment he was installed in a charming cottage at Versailles with a room in town to use as a *pied-à-terre*. Again we find him sharing an expensive apartment with Irving in the Rue Richelieu, near the Bibliothèque Nationale. With Irving he collaborated on the translation and adaptation of French plays. Two of them, "Charles the Second" and "Richelieu," were quite successful. Irving's name did not appear on them.

But the important thing that came out of this period in Paris was the libretto for "Clari, the Maid of Milan," in which the song "Home, Sweet Home" occurs and for which Henry Bishop wrote the music. In Paris "Clari" was a sort of ballet-pantomime composed by Rudolph Kreutzer in 1820. This same Kreutzer, who wrote thirty operas, and innumerable works for the violin, is another who has had his "conflict with oblivion" as Abbott calls it. His name is only known

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today because a far greater musician dedicated a piano and violin sonata to him.

The song, which was written and inserted at the last moment, was really an expression of Payne's own intense homesickness. A decade of struggle and prodigious labor had got him nowhere. While this *mal du pays* was gnawing at his lonely heart he wrote to his brother as the year 1822 was being run out:

. . . . My yearnings towards home become stronger as the term of my exile lengthens. I long to see your faces and hear all your voices. . . . I feel the want of some of you—parts of myself—in this strange world, for though I am naturalized to vagabondism, still it is *but* vagabondism. I long for a home about me.

On May 8, 1823, "Clari, or the Maid of Milan," Payne's book with music by Bishop, was produced at the Royal Theatre of Covent Garden. Miss Marie Tree sang the song which the homesick American in Paris had distilled out of his loneliness. The simple words from Payne's heart winged their way to the hearts of the first night audience with unmistakable certainty and thereafter circled the globe. In a short time "Home, Sweet Home" was being sung everywhere. Great *prime donne* like Adelina Patti and Jenny Lind never failed to close their recitals with it. It can be truly said without fear of contradiction that "Home, Sweet Home," is the best loved and oftenest sung song in the English language. Like its nearest rival, "Auld Lang Syne," it has become a folk-song as well as a commonly quoted expression of a basic human emotion. And like the author of "Auld Lang Syne," Payne never cashed in on the international and continual popularity of his song. It would take a financial expert to compute the sums due these authors were royalties to be collected for each printing of their songs.

When Payne sent "Clari" to London he also forwarded two other adaptations which he had worked on: "Ali Pacha" and "The Two Galley Slaves." All three plays were sold to Kemble of Covent Garden for £250. And soon Payne had to be a galley slave himself and return to hack work to keep his boat from floundering in the sea of debt. He attempted with little success to run a weekly paper known as "The Opera Glass"—"for peeping into the microcosm of the fine arts and more especially of the drama. . . . " And finally, weary

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of his two decades of bohemian ups and downs and dodging creditors, he set sail for America, where he landed at New York on July 25, 1832, in the midst of a cholera epidemic.

He was well received, for during his absence no play of his that had its première in Drury Lane or Covent Garden had been long in crossing the ocean to be given in a pirated version for the edification of the New York, Boston or Philadelphia playgoers. After a testimonial benefit was given for him in Boston, for instance, the "Transcript" there spoke of the fact that during each season it was a common thing for twenty-five of Payne's plays to be given! Having left his native land a charming stripling, he returned, one of his friends said, "a short, thick-set, plump, full-whiskered, middle-aged, English-looking man." But apparently as charming as ever and as ready to attract friends. These old and new cronies rallied round him and to the best of their ability tried to make up for the piracy that had left him in so penurious a state.

For a few years after his arrival he toured America and was given a series of benefits that netted him large sums: in New York, for instance, \$7,000; in New Orleans, over a thousand dollars. The New York benefit, which was given in the Park Theatre on November 29, 1832, was one of the highlights of Payne's career. The leading players of the day contributed their services. Charles Kemble played Petruchio to his daughter Fanny's Katherine; the great tragedian, Forrest, played Brutus; Wallack played the comic rôle of Captain Copp in Payne's "Charles the Second" and naturally, "Home, Sweet Home" was sung. A supper was given the prodigal author at which flattering speeches were made by the Knickerbocker wits, and a poem praising various works of Payne's was read by his old boyhood friend, now a well-known dramatist, Samuel Woodworth.

The next decade was a strange Odyssey in Payne's life. He attempted to found a weekly with the fantastic title of "Jam Jehan Nima, or The Goblet Wherein One May See Life!" But the wine of his wit never filled it. He thought of writing, and indeed, began "A Life of Our Saviour." But he stopped when he heard that someone else was engaged in the same idea. He wandered about the country, became involved in the Cherokee episodes, suffered imprisonment because of this, and wrote memorials and magazine articles about

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this affair. He was a frequent visitor in Washington, where he had many friends, and where on one occasion Jenny Lind sang "Home, Sweet Home" for him at the close of one of her public recitals.

Finally a sinecure position as American Consul at Tunis was obtained for the vagabond and improvident author. Payne's friend and admirer, the then Secretary of State Daniel Webster, persuaded President Tyler to give him this commission. Why Tunis was chosen is a mystery, but to the North African city Payne went, to take up his consular duties; very nominal duties, leaving him time for tranquil meditation on the more unsettled earlier years of his life. A few years later, due to the machinations of Senator Thomas Benton, of Missouri, who wished the consular post for one of his own henchmen, Payne was recalled. In April of 1851 he was reappointed, however, to the same post and it was there that death found him on April 9, 1852. It was there that he lay buried in the English cemetery for thirty years. Then one day the wealthy Mr. Corcoran, of Washington, hearing the Marine Band play "Home, Sweet Home," recalled that its poor author lay buried in a foreign land, many thousand miles from his homeland. With the expenditure of much money and the tireless untying of knotted red tape, Corcoran finally managed to have Payne's body brought to America. It was landed at New York with signal honors and reinterred in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, with appropriate ceremonies and the singing of "Home, Sweet Home" by a great chorus of massed choirs accompanied by a large brass band.

John Howard Payne died a bachelor. He had never had a home. For many years, between 1823 and 1832, he had carried on a fitful correspondence with Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, the poet's widow. She was a witty, animated lady, but the romance which many have tried to read into her simple friendship with Payne had no basis in fact. If anything at all, Mary Shelley was much more interested, as her letters show, in the gentle, winning and more creative Washington Irving.

Payne "courted," if that is the word, a pretty Southern belle whom he met in his travels in America in the fall of 1835. A letter he wrote to this Mary Harden, of Atlanta, Georgia, is worth quoting as an example of the nineteenth century literary love letter. It sounds almost as though it had been lifted bodily from "The Manual of the Perfect Letter Writer. The Secretary's Cabinet Opened."

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Madam! [runs the letter] I did for a long time indulge in the fallacious hope that fortune would have placed me in a more suitable situation for making this communication to you. I unfortunately have been disappointed and have endeavoured to calm my feelings and submit to my fate, yet the more I have striven to do so the more have I been convinced that it would be useless for me any longer to attempt to struggle with the sentiments I feel towards you.

I am conscious of my own unworthiness of the boon I desire from you and cannot, dare not, ask you to give decisive answer in my favor now, only permit me to hope that at some future time I may have the happiness of believing my affection returned. . . . I have nothing to offer you but a devoted heart and hand. . . . I entreat you to reply to this letter, if but one word. . . .

The girl's answer, prompted by the family, it is said, was negative, and undoubtedly in the same strain. And so John Howard Payne has no descendants, while his literary children live on forgotten under the dust of the new century. One day perhaps, as a sort of dramatic salute to the founding fathers of American dramatic literature, some of his tragedies or comedies or Gallic melodramas may be dusted off and allowed to strut their brief hour upon the modern stage. In the meantime, with his monuments in Washington cemetery and in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, John Howard Payne lives on in the memory of some who recall from time to time that he was a gallant New York bohemian who had his small measure of success in worlds outside his own land; that he was a friend of Washington Irving and other wits and fine spirits of his epoch; and that he wrote the song that the world most quotes and sings: "Home, Sweet Home."

The Totems of Alaska

BY NORRIS W. MATTHEWS, F. A. I. C., BALTIMORE, MARYLAND



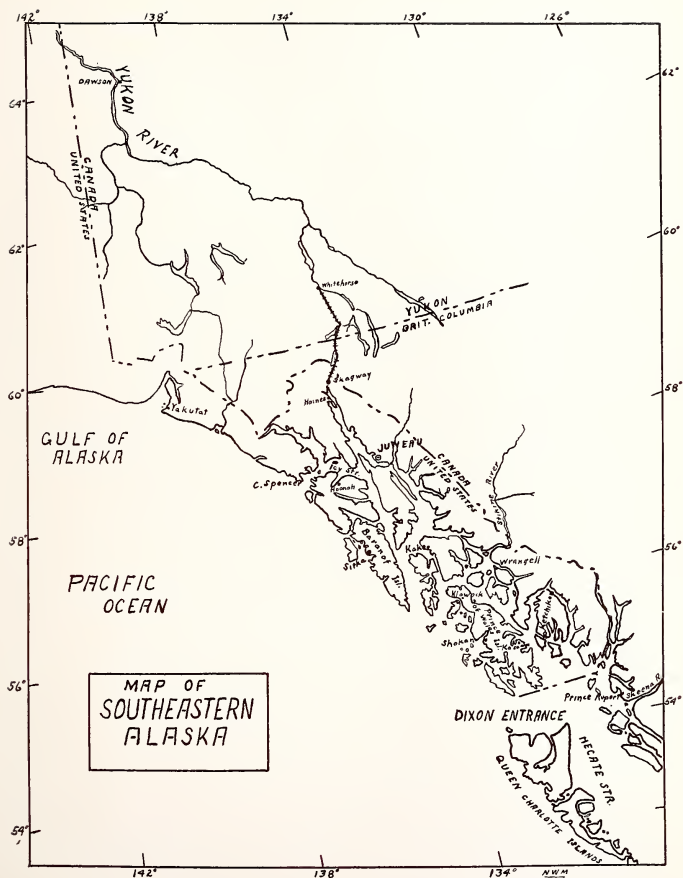
UR Uncle Sam owns a marvelous and wonderful territory away up in the northwestern portion of the North American Continent. It is a remarkable place in many ways. To the tourist visiting it for the first time, many new and strange sights and facts are brought forth. It appears that a great deal of false "information" and beliefs about this territory of Alaska is held by the public.

The totem poles, with their bizarre forms, always attract a vast amount of interest. The poles are visible in numbers nearly all over southeastern Alaska, and yet how many visitors to that glorious country really know, understand and appreciate what they see? They realize that the totems are unusual and strange. But what do they mean?

These picturesque creations can be seen to full advantage only in their true home, at the edge of the ocean, amid tall cedars and hemlocks, and in the shadow of lofty mountains. With their bold profiles, reminiscent of Asiatic divinities and monsters, they conjure impressions strangely un-American in their surroundings of luxuriant dark-green vegetation under skies of bluish mist.

Casual descriptions of poles or models of poles have been furnished by Dr. Swanton, Lieutenant Emmons, Dr. Boas, Dr. Newcombe and others, but their notes usually appear without the necessary historical context. It is too late now to recover much of this knowledge. Consequently, there is actually a dearth of information concerning totem poles.

Precisely where the totem poles first appeared and at exactly what moment is an interesting, though elusive, point. The evidence at hand eliminates several of the tribes as the originators. It is agreed among specialists that the Nass River carvers were on the whole the best in the country. Their art reached the highest point of development ever attained on the northwest coast. The probabili-





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ties are that totem poles proper originated among the Nisrae or northern Tsimpsen of the Nass River.

The word "Alaska" means "Big Country." We are told that the term is a corruption of the native word Al-ak-sak or Al-ay-ek-sa, meaning "Great Country." This native word is not of Thlinget Indian origin, but probably is from the Eskimo.

The Straits of Juan de Fuca and Georgia are those bodies of water which separate Vancouver Island, British Columbia, from the United States. The Indians north of these straits are divided into five great divisions—Tsimpsens, Haidas, Thlingets, Aleuts, Tinnehs. These divisions are subdivided into tribes and clans.

The Haidas live in the territory comprising the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia. This is the group of islands lying just west of Hecate Strait and between Latitudes 52° and $54^{\circ} 20''$ North. These people are essentially an island folk, fishing and hunting sea animals being their principal occupations. They were formerly a fierce, warlike people, and being excellent sailors, they went far from home in their canoes, to make war on other tribes. Their country is mountainous, cut by many inlets and harbors. The Haidas were a very artistic people, their huge cedar canoes and their carved handiwork being excellent works of art.

The Tsimpsens lived on the mainland just opposite the islands inhabited by the Haidas, just south of the Skeena River, and they were the great rivals of the Haidas. Both tribes held many slaves, captured in their wars against weaker people. The Tsimpsens were likewise very artistic, their carved ivory, wood, stone and horn being real works of art.

The great Thlinget division still occupies villages on the islands in what is now known as southeastern Alaska, north of Dixon Entrance, and their territory extends as far as Cape Spencer. The Thlinget division is composed of the following tribes: the Tongass, in and around Tongass; the Hanega, around Klawock on Prince of Wales Island; the Stickeens, near the Stickine River and Wrangell; the Kaaks, near Kake on Kupreanof Island; the Auks and Takoos in the vicinity of Juneau; the Yakutat at Yakutat; the Sitkans at Sitka; and the Chilkats near Haines, which is just south of Skagway. Other tribes of this great Thlinget division are the Hoonahs, on Icy Strait,

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the famous Kokwontons, and the Kicksuddies. Each community of natives is entirely separate and is independent of all others. The only bond is the totemic or tribal bond. Each tribe is headed by a chief.

The Thlingets have no written language; it is an oral one and therefore is constantly undergoing changes caused by the introduction of English and Russian words. Their totemic symbols are the nearest approach to a written language. To write their language requires the invention of a new alphabet. Many clan or tribe names may be spelled in English in a variety of ways, with equal correctness.

The Aleuts live entirely in southwestern Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. The Tinnehs, sometimes called the Interior Indians, are spread over a vast interior area. As these two divisions have no totem poles or similar objects, they will not be here considered. The totem poles are peculiar to the Indians of southeastern Alaska, being entirely unknown to the Eskimos farther north.

There is no more interesting and intricate subject pertaining to the natives of Alaska than totemism, and none about which most people have such vague, indefinite and unsatisfactory notions. The reluctance of the natives to talk to white people, their reticence and the fact that these native Indians have no written language, make the subject of totemism a very difficult one about which to gain comprehensive and true knowledge.

The word "totem" is derived, it is believed, from the Ojibway or Chippewa "Ototeman." It is a word that has been used in many variations and senses, and by many scientists; but totems are, generally speaking, the symbols of an old belief in human kinship with the animal world. The term "totemism" is used for a feature of the religion and social organization of widespread occurrence among primitive people throughout the world. All savages, it appears, are believers in the human intelligence of animals. The Indians believe that man and animals are actually akin to beasts and that they can exchange ideas. That was the animistic idea of the very old Indians. They say that certain men in certain tribes are actually descended from or developed from certain animals. They still can claim relationship to these animals.

Everything had spirits; the birds, the mountains, the sea. A family was made famous in proportion to the extent that some mem-

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ber of that family came in contact with a spirit. The manner of coming in contact with the spirit did not matter; it might be in what we would call a very discreditable way, but that made no great difference. The supernatural was that which gave the honor.

The objects whose spirits were used in their symbolism were pictured entirely differently from those we think of today. Their whales, ravens and other beasts and birds were represented as very grotesque, sometimes fearful to gaze upon.

Therefore totem poles are to these Indians family trees. The pole erected before a man's house is a history of the family that lives within. The fabled beasts carved on them are no stranger to them than the lion and the unicorn are to us. They are symbols. They are Indian heraldry of old families. Totemism is the very foundation of the social structure and a visible and tangible expression of their belief. It is very important and expresses their belief in the kinship of men and animals and doubtless has its beginning in the belief that the ancestors of man were animals. They are probably strong evolutionists!

There are still remnants of totem marks in all of our city directories today. Fox, Fish, Drake, Crane, Wolf, Lyon—what are these names but vestiges of ancient clan marks? The totem is the family crest; it was placed on possessions much like a coat-of-arms. It became a part of their art.

These weird, strange totems are the legends of a primitive folk. They are relics of the old days in the past when eagle, whale and wolf spoke the same speech as man.

The Thlingets are supposed to have borrowed their crest or totem from the Haidas. The two great totemic divisions of the Thlingets are the Yälkth (Crow) and the Tschäk (Eagle). The various tribes come under one or the other of these divisions. The entire native population of southeastern Alaska belongs to either one or the other of them. The patron bird of the Crow phratry is not the small bird to which we are accustomed, but a huge imaginary creature somewhat similar and of great strength and wisdom.

All natives of either main totemic division are regarded as brothers and sisters, though they may be of different sub-totems of the division. These cannot intermarry. They must seek mates in the

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opposite fraternity. The husband and wife always belong to different phratries—they are exogamous. According to a long-established custom, a Thlinget cannot marry one of his own totem, though no blood relation. The children of the union belong to the totem of their mother and, of course, receive their caste from her. The man may not marry a woman descended from the same common ancestor as himself.

The sub-totems of the Crow are the Beaver, Salmon, Seal and Frog, and of the Eagle are the Wolf, Bear, Shark and Whale. Every native family must be of both phratries, Eagle and Crow, the husband of one and the wife of another, or vice versa, for as has been said, they cannot marry into their own phratry. If a Crow man wishes to marry, he must seek a wife in the Eagle division.

Sometimes the terms "clan" and "tribe" are used incorrectly. A "clan" is one of the subdivisions of a "tribe" and not vice versa. A tribe generally consists of several sub-totems, but of the same great phratry, such as the Eagle or the Crow. A clan is composed of people of the same totem. Each native belongs to a definite sub-totem which determines the phratry to which that native belongs.

The members of the Crow phratry claim to have sprung directly from the crow and the Eagles from the eagle. Due to their belief in the animal origin of man, they never speak disrespectfully of any animal. They are strictly Darwinian. These people have a most fabulous oral mythology, which has been handed down for generations. No man will eat the flesh of any animal which he claims as kindred. The totem crests define the bonds of consanguinity.

The natives were never idolatrous. They did not worship their totems as gods or graven images.

It may be interesting to see why certain tribes claim certain crests as their own. For instance, the famous Kokwontons claim the eagle as one of their symbols, because once an eagle gave valuable help to a member of that phratry. In time this member became an eagle himself. And so the Kokwontons adopted the eagle. This tribe claims several crests as its own.

The Kicksuddies claim the frog. A man and his wife, members of the tribe, were in their canoe one day, when they heard a frog singing and finally discovered it in the stern of their canoe. The woman

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took the frog and cared for it. Hence, the frog is the crest of the Kicksuddies.

It is nearly impossible for one clan to use as its own the totem recognized as belonging to another clan. Wars have resulted if the forbidden symbol continues to be used.

Thlinget Indians need no surname for identification, as the family crest serves this purpose. Their names refer to this crest or totem, and as soon as one hears the name of another he knows exactly where to place him. Certain proper names belong to certain tribes and only members of the tribe to which the names belong can assume them. By this system each name bears on the totem of the family and the individual is classified as soon as his name is spoken.

One may ask why totems and totem poles were brought into being by these Indians. The real reason is rather difficult to learn. Several ideas have been advanced. A few, by authorities, are presented.

Professor Dall believes that they were "originated in a desire to prevent war and to knit the tribes more closely together." Others believe that totems had their origin in the belief of an animal ancestry and that the efforts for peace and the distinguishing of clans followed as a consequence.

Reverend William Duncan, the Apostle of Alaska, an authority on the natives, believes that totems were adopted to distinguish clans. In one of his publications he states: "The names of the four clans in the Tsimpsian language are, Kishpootwadda, Canadda, Lacheboo and Lackshkeak. The Kishpootwadda, . . . are represented symbolically by the grizzly bear on land, the finback whale in the sea, the owl in the air and the rainbow in the heavens. The Canadda symbols are the frog, the raven, the starfish and the bullhead. The Lacheboo take the wolf and the heron for totems. The Lackshkeak, the beaver, the eagle, the halibut and the dogfish. . . . The creatures I have just named are, however, only regarded as the visible representatives of the powerful and mystical beings, or Genii, of Indian mythology."

Interpreting the symbolism on totem poles is quite an art. The figures are entirely unintelligible to the uninitiated. They are understood only by those who are versed in "totem lore" and in Indian mythology. Of all the hundreds of totem poles in Alaska, it is fairly

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safe to say that scarcely two are alike. The same idea may be depicted in many of them, but the figure forms may vary slightly. On genealogical totems, for instance, on which family histories are shown graphically, the history of every distinct clan is different.

Totem poles were generally carved from a solid red cedar tree trunk. From one to three years were required to carve a single pole. One man would work with two or three helpers, all natives. They used tools of their own manufacture, the principal tool being an adz. Totem poles were costly, the cost varying from four hundred to twelve hundred dollars each. This cost, of course, varied with the amount of work necessary to produce a completed pole and with the artistic value of the work. This value is also due greatly to the sentimental values attached to the pole. In height, they vary from quite short one to tall ones, fifty or more feet high. Some of the natives display great skill in their carving, the finished product being artistic and pleasing. Other poles are absolutely fantastic and hideous, with the grinning mouths, horns and supernatural forms of the animal depicted. At the erection of the pole, a big feast was given and the workers were paid for their services.

Totem poles are of four types. There are historical, genealogical, memorial and legendary totem poles. There are totems that mark graves, and those that are monuments to record events and past happenings. They may be family trees set up outside a house to tell who lives inside—a directory. Members of a clan having the same totem name, though living far apart and perhaps speaking different languages, still consider themselves blood relations. In a strange village, a man will see a totem pole with the crest of his own phratry; he knows he will be welcomed at that house.

The poles are read from the top downward. Sometimes a totem pole bears the semblance of a hat at the very top. The number of rings on top of the hat states the number of important feasts given by the totem owner. All poles do not have this symbol. In the illustration of the Kadashan totems, the one to the right of the photograph tells its story as follows:

It is surmounted by the figure of a man—the Creator. In all the older totems, and the Kadashan poles are the oldest, the Creator is shown as a man, while the more recent ones depict the Creator as a Raven. Below is shown a Raven holding a man between his wings.

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This is the grandson who made man. Below this figure is La-kig-i-na, the father of Kayak. Chief Kadashan described him as "all same devil." Kayak, himself, is a great hero of the Thlingets, who did mighty deeds of valor. La-kig-i-na wore a coat made from the skin of a red codfish. The fins were so arranged that they extended up and down his breast. This formed a saw and when he killed anyone, which was very often, he would do so by ripping them on this saw. Still farther down the pole is the spirit of La-kig-i-na. The lowest figure on the pole is the Thunder Bird. This mythical bird lives in the mountains, carries a lake on his back, and when he becomes nervous and trembles he spills some of the water and this is rain. This pole was erected shortly after the Russian occupation of Alaska.

The casual visitor to Ketchikan, the port of entry to Alaska, always looks for two famous totem poles, Chief Johnson's and Kyan's. The latter one is in a rather obscure location in a side street and a very narrow one. It is surmounted by the Crane. Below this is the Thunder Bird and at the bottom is a Grizzly Bear. Interpreted, this means that the owner of the totem belongs to the Crane branch of the Raven phratry and is married into the Thunder Bird branch of the Bear phratry. Chief Johnson's totem stands before his home. It is very tall and is crowned by the figure of Kajuk, a fabled bird. Families using Kajuk as their emblem are very aristocratic. The very great height of this totem, and with Kajuk at the top, denotes a very high-caste family. Below this bird are the two servants of the raven. These two servants are the ones that obtained fire for mortals. The Indians say that the two birds flew to the west, where the fire was burning, stuck their straight bills into some pitch and then ignited the pitch by means of the fire. They then flew back to mankind with the fire, but the heat and the weight of the burning pitch caused their beaks to bend downward. Therefore, these birds are always represented as having bent bills! On the Chief Johnson totem, below the raven servants, is the Raven, and below that is the Frog Woman, with her children, the salmon.

The tallest and most elaborate totem pole in Alaska is at Sitka, in the National Monument there. It is a beautiful piece of artistry and workmanship and was presented to the United States for preservation by Chief Sunny Heart, a Haida Indian of Kasaan.

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Like most peoples, these Indians have a story of a flood which once covered the earth. They point to clam shells high up in the hills in many places as evidence of this event. They have a description of the flood. Their Mount Ararat is on Prince of Wales Island near Shakan. This flood, they say, laid the country waste and scattered the Indians. When the flood abated, they made homes at the places where their boats first grounded. New tribal relations were therefore formed and so it occurs that families may be of the same totem, though they live miles apart.

When the flood came, the Raven took his mother in his claws, flew away and stuck his beak into a cloud, hanging there until the flood subsided. But the Raven's beak has ever since been bent! This is one of the most important family totems and is greatly revered, similar to the great god Horus of old Egypt. The Raven is revered, but *not* as a "graven image." The totem has nothing to do with religion. It is a social symbol and is venerated, but *not* worshipped. When the Indian refers to the Raven as the "creator," he is only saying that he was his first ancestor—Adam, but not Jehovah.

These Indians also have a story similar to our Biblical story of Jonah and the whale.

In front of Chief Shakes' communal house at Wrangell is a Bear Totem. It is a carved figure of a crouching grizzly atop a white pole perhaps ten feet high. It represents the Indian story of the flood. When the flood came and the people of Shakes' tribe fled to the top of a mountain for safety, they found a huge grizzly bear also ascending. He led them upward. The totem pole represents the bear at the top of the mountain and his footprints are plainly to be seen!

As has been said before, totem poles were erected in various places and for one of four reasons, there being four classes of poles. The carving of the poles was a popular art.

The historic pole recounts some important event in the history of the particular family displaying the pole. Thrilling, daring and courageous conflicts are recorded on them.

The genealogical pole, as its name implies, is the recorded ancestry of the family who live in the house before which the pole is erected. At the very top is the wife's totem, then the husband's. Any one familiar with totem lore can tell by glancing at the top to what

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totem the wife (the head of the house) belongs. The lower part of the pole gives the connections of the other members of the family within.

The memorial pole is a monument placed in the burial ground in memory of the dead. It generally bears only the image of the patron animal of the deceased member. Years ago, when the dead were disposed of by cremation, the ashes were placed in a cavity in the back of the memorial totem. These memorials usually faced the waterfront.

The legendary pole perpetuates some happy legend or song, which is particularly well thought of by a clan.

Totemism controls marriages and also indicates the rank and caste of people, as already mentioned. The taller the totem pole, the greater the man who owns it. The people of the Keet (grampus) family or of the Hootz (brown bear) family are considered superior to those of the Chich'g (frog) or of the Hot (salmon) family. In daily intercourse, people are treated and respected according to their family totem. In assemblages, and in gatherings of various kinds, such as a potlatch, the totem determines the places of honor. In the settlement of injuries or damages, totemism plays a major part. The man of superior totem is always awarded higher damages than one of an inferior crest.

Totemism governs the costume one shall wear at a dance or potlatch, how much shall be spent on the dead, the size of his house, the esteem in which he is held, the naming of children; in fact, practically the living of an entire life is governed by the totem. It marks friends and foes. All of the same division, no matter where they go, are friends and their homes are open to each other. Those of opposite totem, while they may not be considered as enemies, still are not friends in the truest sense and must be so treated.

Totemism determines the disposition of the dead. Every act associated with the preparation of the body for burial must be done by members of the opposite totem. Building the coffin, dressing the body, digging the grave, interring the body, in fact everything necessary is done by them and not by members of the totem of the deceased.

Totemism is a great incentive for ambition and thrift. Many men have labored and saved systematically and industriously so that

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he might have built and erected an expensive totem pole, or to throw glory on his family "coat-of-arms," by giving a huge feast, or in any other fashion.

Totemism serves as a strong bond of mutual protection and help among members of a totem. Each person is always ready to assist, in any necessary way, a member of his own totem.

Totemism may be summed up by saying that it is legend, art, recorded history, memorial, genealogy, and commemoration. It is a person's personal crest, his family "coat-of-arms;" he puts it on his fish hooks, his paddles, his spoons—everything he owns, including sometimes his own person.

The grampus and the brown bear are the highest symbols of power; the crow is the highest symbol of wisdom; the eagle of sharp, clear vision. These emblems, or crests, all belong to high caste families. The mouse and the snail are the symbols of degradation and weakness, and clans using these symbols are held in great disdain and are looked down upon, because of their low caste.

The Thlingets formerly held slaves, which they captured in many raids and wars on other tribes. These slaves were never allowed to erect totem poles for themselves. It was considered a great affront and insult for a low caste person to carve and erect a taller, more elaborate, or more beautiful totem pole than the members of the higher castes owned. Trouble ensued very quickly when this act was committed, so that the tall poles erected by the low castes had to be immediately taken down and shortened.

The art of carving poles belongs to the past. Racial customs are on the wane everywhere, even in their former strongholds. Many of the poles have fallen from old age, decayed, and disappeared. Some were sold, others removed in maritime raids without the consent or knowledge of the owners. Quite a few were destroyed by the owners themselves during hysterical revivals under a spurious banner of Christianity; for instance, the poles of two Tsimpsean tribes, in the winters of 1917 and 1918, at Gitlarhdamks and Port Simpson, near the Alaskan frontier.

The art of carving and erecting totems is not really as ancient on the northwest coast as is generally believed. Popular misconceptions that totem poles are hundreds of years old are fantastic. They



THE BEAR TOTEM AT WRANGELL

Notice the bear's footprints. The house pictured is the famous Communal House of Chief Shakes

THE TOTEMS OF ALASKA

could not be, from the nature of the materials and the climatic conditions. A green cedar cannot stand upright much longer than fifty or sixty years on the upper Skeena River, where precipitation is moderate and the soil usually consists of gravel and sand. Along the coast it cannot endure the intense moisture that prevails most of the year and the muskeg foundation much more than forty years. The totem poles of Port Simpson, for instance, all decayed on the south side first, which is exposed to warm rainy winds. Most of the well-known poles now in our parks and museums were carved after 1860, while not a few of those seen in Indian villages, such as Alert Bay, were erected after 1890.

Totem poles are no longer being carved, colored and erected by these Indians in southeastern Alaska. While there are still a few of the old Indians still living, they are disappearing and the present generation of younger Indians, having been rather thoroughly Christianized and not now accepting the beliefs of their forefathers, do not have the incentive to erect the poles. Of course, opinions may vary as to whether or not it is best to teach these aborigines the ways of Christianity, but the fact remains that the weird, grotesque and fascinating totem poles will be greatly missed when those still in existence fall into decay. Already many of them are in a sad state of decomposition. They are exposed to the damp climate of southeastern Alaska and only those on government reservations are cared for. The totems now stand as mute, strange reminders of a past age. It was a glorious age for the natives. They no longer show their former dauntless spirit, their initiative and their perfection of the totemic arts. They are losing in numbers and in most of those qualities which have distinguished them from many aborigines. Perhaps it can be demonstrated that all these changes are for the best.


Pioneers of the Rock-Bound Coast

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(CONCLUSION)

CHAPTER XXV

PREPARING FOR THE GREAT MIGRATION

OHN WINTHROP had no sooner quitted London than a storm broke loose in the ranks of the Massachusetts Bay Company. It has previously been noted that some over-zealous stockholders, without waiting for the Company to decide which of the two plans it would adopt, had hastened to double their subscriptions under the terms of the first suggestion. In the recent strenuous meeting when the value of all shares in the Company had been scaled down to one-third of their original value, these enthusiasts had set by in serene belief that the valuation referred only to stock purchased at the beginning of the great venture.

When they discovered, however, that all stock, old and new, had suffered a change they awoke with a snort of wrath. They besieged the Treasurer with clamorous demands that their recent payments for stock be at once refunded. Since the money had been received in the ordinary course of business and the stock duly issued, the Treasurer was powerless to undo the mischief caused by their own rashness. A man whose original venture had been £50 would now be entitled to a trifle less than £17. If, however, he had rashly doubled his subscription two days before the recent meeting his second £50 would have shrunk in like manner. Had he waited until after the meeting before making the additional £50 subscription, his holdings would now have been worth £67, instead of being valued at less than £34. Truly there was abundant reason for these unfortunates to raise the welkin at the dilemma in which they found themselves.

So great became the controversy that despite the absence of Governor Winthrop, who was visiting his family in Groton, England, a

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General Court was convened at Mr. Goffe's house in London on December 15, 1629, to consider the matter. John Humphrey, the Deputy-Governor, acted as presiding officer. Since the resolution for the fixing of the value of the joint stock had been adopted at an adjourned meeting of the previous General Court, it was thought fit to submit the matter anew to the present meeting for confirmation or rejection.

Since the success of the colonizing movement itself hinged upon definite adherence to the new plan the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Company were zealous to defend it in its entirety, lest weakening in one particular might weaken all. The minutes of the meeting are therefore of especial interest:

"Mr. Deputy caused to be read the Acts and orders made at the last General Court of the 30th of November; which being of great consequence, as namely for the settling the joint stock, and managing the whole business, it was desired the same should receive confirmation by this Court. Upon debate whereof, some exceptions were taken by those who had doubled their adventures, conceiving themselves to be wronged in having both their sums drawn down to so low a rate as one-third part; alleging that the second sum was paid in upon a proposition of trade which went not forward, and not as unto the joint stock for the Plantation."¹

Captain Waller and William Vassall were the leaders of the debate in behalf of the stockholders who had doubled their subscriptions. Vassall was a man of great independence of mind, a son of the gallant John Vassall, an alderman of London, who in 1588 had fitted out and commanded two ships of war against the Spanish Armada. His brother, Samuel, had been the first to resist the illegal taxation of tonnage and poundage during the previous year and had been imprisoned by the Court of Star Chamber. Coming as he did from such a resolute family William Vassall might have been expected to resist with all his might any act that smacked of injustice.

"I was content to abide by the decision of the General Court," he declared, "but with others who had made haste to double their subscription I understood and believed that the vote applied only to the former subscriptions—moneys that had been spent during the past

1. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 67.

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two years. I am willing to give my first fifty pounds to the Company outright, but I insist that my second fifty pounds be allowed full value. Why should money newly paid into the Treasury to rescue the Company from its present distresses be treated in the same manner?"

"The money was for joint stock," replied George Harwood, the Treasurer. "The vote applied to all joint stock then outstanding and so far as the General Court was concerned no distinction was made."

"This is a downright quibble," retorted the angry man. "The General Court could and did give the ten undertakers the right to issue new stock at full value to all those who have paid moneys into their hands since December first. Yet you say that it is right that money paid into the Treasury a day or two before the meeting should lose two-thirds of its value."

"I made no such statement. I do not say that it was fair or just, but I do say that under the vote, as passed by this assembly, it is impossible to treat any of the joint stock issued before December first differently from any other stock. It would have been entirely proper to have passed a different vote or to have so amended the vote actually passed as to permit the exception. It was not done and it is now too late to change."

"On the contrary it is not too late to change," cried Captain Venn. "We can undo the vote and act anew."

"Not so," cried George Harwood hotly. "This assembly passed a vote after full discussion. It then persuaded ten of our number to undertake a great risk in behalf of all. They have already incurred obligations in reliance upon the vote and we cannot now say to them that we have changed our minds."

The debate now became general. The contestants in consequence grew more and more extreme in their expressions of opinion. Cries of impatience for a vote on the motion to confirm the vote of the previous meeting eventually cut short the controversy.

"The Court in conclusion," declare the official records of the meeting, "put it to the question and by erection of hands every particular (of the vote) of the former Court was ratified and confirmed."

Thus the General Court avoided the danger of undoing the important results of the previous meeting, but it is significant that before adjourning they left the matter of the true value of the double subscriptions to a committee of three Puritan clergymen—Rev. John

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Davenport, Rev. Philip Nye, and Rev. John Archer—to endeavor to reconcile the differences between the new undertakers and the aggrieved subscribers.

How those differences were actually reconciled we have now no means of knowing. The records of the Massachusetts Bay Company abruptly cease at this point and do not resume until the tenth of the following February. Since the chief duties of the Company itself had now been taken over by the ten "undertakers" there was apparently nothing in this interval of ten weeks that merited official action by the Company itself.

We learn from John Winthrop's domestic correspondence that he was almost constantly in London, battling with the great problems incident to the task of chartering a fleet of transport ships and of choosing from the flood of applicants for passage to America those who seemed best fitted for pioneer life.

Fourteen ships, some of them owned outright, were scheduled to sail for America at intervals beginning in March, 1629-30. The "Eagle," whose name was shortly changed to "Arbella" in honor of the Lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln and the wife of Isaac Johnson, was to be the flagship of the emigrant fleet. The other ships were the "Lion," the "William and John," the "Ambrose," the "Jewel," the "Talbot," the "Charles," the "Mayflower," the "William and Francis," the "Hopewell," the "Whale," the "Success" and the "Trial." The business arrangements for the sailing of so great a fleet of ships was a prodigious task. None of the "undertakers" who had assumed the burden of the migration had anticipated so great a demand for passage to America, nor the necessity for the hiring of so many ships.

That they were virtually gambling on wind and weather was recognized by every member of the Committee of Ten. The General Court of the Company had fixed the rate of passage money at five pounds for each adult, with very much lower rates for children. Should the fleet encounter adverse winds, or meet with delay from other causes, a heavy financial loss must inevitably result to those who had underwritten the expenses of the migration.

Anxious days and nights therefore succeeded one another until mid-winter was passed. Governor Winthrop had gradually become convinced that the new plan fell short in certain important particulars

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of providing for the future of the Colony in New England. It was all very well to expect the planters, when once settled upon the land, to combine for their own protection. But months and even years must elapse before the struggling colonists could be expected to contribute funds adequate for public need. The Governor's doubts and fears found utterance one day at an informal meeting of the Adventurers.

"I am deeply concerned," he told his associates, "lest we may have overreached ourselves when the Company voted to put aside its own responsibility for public needs in America. It is not to be expected that we who run such grave risks of loss in the tasks committed to our keeping should provide for support of ministers, the building of houses of worship or forts and arsenals."

"In that you are right," responded Matthew Cradock evenly. "By the terms of the vote, the joint stock is to bear the cost of the voyage and provide for needful supplies for trade in the plantation. Beyond that there is no obligation."

"Yet if our plantation is to succeed we must take thought for these things and devise some means of raising money to meet the costs of the same. Think you that the godly people of our faith in England would give money for this purpose?"

"Most certainly not, Master Winthrop. It has already been thrown into my teeth by some of them that we ten "undertakers" are scheming to make profits at the expense of the poor people who go to the American wilderness. It matters not to our revilers that the Company has set so low a rate of passage money that we are like to be ruined if delays and dangers beset us on the voyage to America. The Spanish War, Spanish privateers upon the sea, are like to endanger our fleet."

"These truly be dangers that no man of us may gainsay, but we must raise money. I have thought that we might issue a different type of stock for that express purpose—a stock that will not be concerned with the perils that beset our joint stock."

"What, a stock that shall have preference over ours and thus make certain that we shall all be ruined?"

"Not at all. A stock that will not be paid until the seven years have expired during which our joint stock is to have the trading privileges of the plantation."

"But no one would buy any such stock. They must have a chance of present profit if they are to invest moneys."

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"Truly, and my thought is that we do offer as a special inducement a certain amount of land in the plantation for every fifty pounds of the common stock."

All those present at this conference agreed that the idea had distinct possibilities of success. It was thereupon resolved to submit the matter to the whole Company for official action. Thus it came to pass that on February 10, 1629-30, there gathered at the house of Thomas Goffe in London a General Court at which John Winthrop presided. The minutes of the meeting contain the following summary of the main purpose of the meeting and the decision arrived at on February tenth.

"Forasmuch as the furtherance of the plantation will necessarily require a great and continual charge, which cannot with convenience be defrayed out of the joint stock of the Company, which is ordained for the maintenance of trade, without endangering the same to be wasted and exhausted, it was therefore prepounded that a common stock should be raised from such as bear good affection for the plantation and the propagation thereof, and the same to be employed only in the defrayment of public charges, as maintenance of ministers, transportation of poor families, building of churches and fortifications, and all other public and necessary occasions of the plantation. And the Court do think fit and order that two hundred acres of land shall be allotted for every £50 and so proportionably for what sums shall be brought in by any for that purpose."²

When this difficult problem had thus happily been disposed of the General Court turned its attention to two other matters of importance. It will be remembered that the Massachusetts Bay Company had been greatly vexed by the fact that the grant of land covered by their charter included territory formerly granted to Robert Gorges. This confusion was no doubt due to ignorance of geography on the part of the King's advisers, yet Charles I had granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company land covered by a grant from his father, James I, to Robert Gorges. John Oldham had been assigned a portion of the Gorges' rights, and we have already noted his unsuccessful efforts to prevent the Bay Company from settling upon the land in controversy. It will be remembered that the Company had con-

2. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 68.

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sulted lawyers and had been advised that its own claim was superior to the long-neglected Gorges' grant. Acting under this advice they had steadfastly refused to recognize Oldham's claim. But now appeared a more formidable claimant in the person of Sir William Brereton, already a stockholder in the Company, who had secured from the Gorges' estate, on January 10, 1629-30, an assignment of the remainder of its claim to Massachusetts territory—"all the land in breadth lying from the East side of Charles River to the easterly part of a cape, called, Nahant, nearly ten miles along the coast." This grant was further described as extending twenty miles into the mainland.

Sir William now presented his claim to the General Court, but declared that he desired to join hands with the Massachusetts Bay Company in the matter of colonization. The records of the meeting of February 10, 1629-30, contain the following:

"Motion was made on the behalf of Sir William Brereton, who by virtue of a late patent pretends right and title to some part of the land within the Company's privileges and Plantation, in New England; yet nevertheless he is content not to contest with the Company, but desires that a proportionable quantity of land might be allotted unto him for the accommodation of his people and servants now to be sent over. Which request the Court taking into due consideration, do not think fit to enter into any particular capitulation with him therein, nor to set out any allotment of land for him more than six hundred acres he is to have by virtue of his adventure in the joint stock, nor to acknowledge anything due unto him as of right by virtue of his said patent."³

There was more in the minutes of the meeting to the same effect. The matter was disposed of by appointing a committee to explain to Sir William the personal friendliness of the General Court and the desire of the Bay Company that he should join whole-heartedly with the planters in their common purpose.

The second disturbing claim that was considered by the General Court of February tenth was a demand from John and William Brown for recompense for loss and damage sustained by them in New England through the arbitrary action of John Endicott in arresting them and sending them home to England. It will be remembered

3. "Records of Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 68.

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that the Brown controversy had been a live issue in the deliberations of the Company for months.

"We must make an end of the business," declared Governor Winthrop. "We have had trouble and vexation enough because of the Browns. Master Cradock has already purchased the goods left by them in New England, yet they now clamor for damages."

"In my judgment they are within their rights in this demand," exclaimed Thomas Goffe. "Master Endicott's rash and intemperate conduct has placed us in a very dangerous position. These men are like to invoke the aid of the King's Court unless we find some means of satisfying them."

A lively discussion thereupon ensued. It was finally agreed by the General Court that if the claimants would agree in writing to abide by the decision of arbitrators the matter be referred to Nathaniel Wright and Theophilus Eaton for final disposition.

In the ten weeks that had elapsed since the business affairs of the Company had been taken over by the ten "undertakers," great progress had been made in the task of making ready for the great migration. It has previously been noted that fourteen ships were eventually chartered for the accommodation of the prospective emigrants. Matthew Cradock, the leading merchant in the group, was undoubtedly the chairman of a subcommittee to engage shipping and to purchase supplies. It is equally certain that Governor Winthrop acted as chairman of the subcommittee that received and passed upon the applications for emigration to New England. This latter task was of great importance to the future Colony, and every effort was made to ascertain the worthiness of each prospective colonist.

The process of making ready to depart from England was not an easy one for the emigrants themselves. Having been accepted for passage it thereupon became necessary for such person to dispose of any houses and lands in England that might be owned by him. This was not to be a mere voyage of adventure, but a final separation from home and friends. Every prospective emigrant realized that it meant the spending of the remainder of life in a strange land, in the midst of unknown dangers and hardships. The time had been appointed for the sailing of the ship to which an emigrant and his family were assigned. It was thus needful for the household goods of such person to be at the point of embarkation days prior to the appointed time

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in order that such freight might be loaded into the hold of the ship. Bristol, Plymouth and Cowes were the appointed ports of embarkation. The greater part of the fleet was to assemble at Cowes, the roadstead on the inner side of the Isle of Wight. This island lies in the mouth of a bay and affords protection from ocean storms for shipping to or from the great maritime cities of Portsmouth and Southampton.

The port of Plymouth is located some distance farther west on the coast of the English Channel, whereas Bristol lies at the head of Bristol Bay on the west coast of England facing the Atlantic. Thus three strategic points had been chosen by the Puritan leaders. Not only might these various ports serve as convenient points of embarkation, but they also possessed the additional advantage that adverse winds capable of tying up shipping in one port could not operate in similar manner in both the other ports.

In the entire history of England there was probably never such another condition of solemn leave-taking and widespread breaking of home ties as preceded the great migration of 1630. The selling of homes, the disposal of personal property unsuited for transportation to the New World, could not have failed to impress the friends and neighbors of those preparing to depart for New England that they were witnessing great and prophetic events. Death of householders customarily caused such a dispersal of worldly goods. For entire families in the full flower of life to take similar action laid hold upon the imagination even of the most phlegmatic dwellers in the English towns and villages where Puritan families were making ready to depart.

The fact of impending separation for life was moving enough in itself, but the additional circumstance that departing friends were about to face hardships and dangers, perhaps death itself, within a few weeks, lent a solemnity to the occasion that in some cases led to extravagancies of feeling that bordered almost on hysteria.

An instance in point is cited by the Rev. William Hubbard in his "History of New England," written prior to 1680. According to his version, "Mr. John Winthrop, the Governor of the Company, at a solemn feast amongst many friends a little before their last farewell . . . instead of drinking to them, by breaking into a flood of tears

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himself, set them all weeping . . . while they thought of seeing the faces of each other no more in the land of the living."

Some historians, perhaps influenced by our austere New England tradition that renders tears by grown men in a public assembly almost unthinkable, have professed to doubt the accuracy of this story. Classical literature and the Bible itself furnish abundant evidence that it was not considered unmanly for men to indulge in tears. Surely these Puritan leaders who endeavored to order their lives by the Bible itself had no austere notions on the subject of tears. This was certainly true in the case of John Winthrop. Contrary to general belief he was really a man of intense emotions that sometimes found vent in the very manner indicated by Hubbard. Winthrop himself has left unquestionable evidence of this fact in his letters to his wife. It may help us to understand the true nature of this remarkable man if we indulge in another glimpse at the domestic angle of his character.

We have before noted that Margaret Winthrop knew that she would be unable to accompany her husband to America. On February thirtieth, she was some months advanced in pregnancy and, moreover, had several small children for whom she must care. Winthrop himself was absent in London from early January until the latter end of February. Frequent letters passed between the pair. The yearning heart of the wife finally gave way to fears lest she might not see him again before his departure. In a letter received by Winthrop on February fifth, Mrs. Winthrop wrote:

"I have now received thy kind letter which I cannot read without shedding a great many tears, but I will resign thee and give thee into the hands of Almighty God, who is all sufficient for thee, whom I trust will keep thee and prosper thee in the way thou art to go. . . . I begin to fear that I shall see thee no more before thou goest, which I should be very sorry for and earnestly entreat thee that thou wilt come once more down if it be possible."

John Winthrop had evidently just written a letter to his wife in which he had promised to come home in about two weeks. Upon receiving this tender missive he added the following postscript: "Being now ready to send away my letters, I received thine; the reading of it has dissolved my head into tears. I can write no more. If I live I will see thee ere I go."⁴

4. "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," Vol. I, pp. 373-74.

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Another evidence of the intense emotional nature of the man exists in a letter written by John Winthrop to Sir William Spring on February 8, 1630. Sir William had evidently written a touching farewell letter to the Governor. Winthrop's letter is of great length. The following extract contains the most emotional passages in the letter:

"The apprehension of your love and worth together hath overcome my heart, and removed the veil of modesty, that I must needs tell you, my soul is knit to you, as the soul of Jonathan to David. Were I now with you, I should bedew that sweet bosom with tears of affection."⁵

This amazing expression of regard of one man for another bears eloquent testimony to the emotional state, bordering almost upon hysteria, that all of these leave-takings had generated in the bosom of the leader of a great host that was soon to embark on one of the most significant migrations in human history.

In the final week of February, 1630, John Winthrop made his promised visit to Groton and devoted himself to the winding up, so far as possible, of his personal affairs in England. The last days of companionship with his wife must have been very precious to each of them. But London claimed him once more for there were many tasks and problems that must receive attention before the chief magistrate of the future Colony could be free to embark for America.

5. "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," Vol. I, p. 396.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FLEET SAILS FOR AMERICA

Having attended to the last details of the business affairs of the migration Governor John Winthrop and the members of his official staff severally departed from London and took their way to Southampton from which port they were to embark. The "Eagle," now the "Arbella," and ten other ships had been made ready for the voyage. They were to report in Southampton on or before the middle of March, 1630.

When the Governor arrived in the seaport town, which is now one of the shipping centers of the world, he found himself surrounded and besieged by eager emigrants who had reached there ahead of him. They had arrived bag and baggage, but no ships of the expected fleet were as yet in the port, and the unfortunate passengers were obliged to take lodgings in the city. The explanation of delay is to be found in John Winthrop's letter to his wife under date of March 14, 1630.

"Mine Only Best Beloved," he writes. "I now salute thee from Southampton where by the Lord's mercy we are all safe, but the winds have been such as our ships have not yet come. We wait upon God, hoping that He will dispose all for the best unto us. I supposed I should have found leisure to have written more fully to thee by this bearer; but here I meet with so much company and business, that I am forced to borrow of my sleep for this."¹

In a letter to his son John, written on the same day, Winthrop discloses the fact that Sir Richard Saltonstall and his family have not yet arrived in Southampton. He also indicates to the young man fears that he himself is likely to run out of money unless some may be borrowed from an uncle of the youth.

Unfavorable winds continued to prevent the chartered ships from reaching Southampton for a full week after the Winthrop party arrived. On March twenty-second, however, the Company and their belongings were safely on shipboard. They sailed down the estuary

1. "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," Vol. I, p. 385.

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as far as the harbor of Cowes, Isle of Wight, and were presently riding at anchor for the night. Winthrop again wrote farewell letters to his wife and children.

Since Cowes is on the inner side of the island and there is a narrow channel of considerable length to thread before attaining the open sea the task of leaving the haven was so hazardous as not to be undertaken except when the winds were fair. Not all the ships were ready for sailing. Thus it came to pass that only four of them were in Winthrop's immediate group—the "Arbella," the "Talbot," the "Ambrose" and the "Jewel." To the vexation and distress of the company the ships were unable to sail on the morning of March twenty-third. A head wind prevented passage through the channel.

The anxious Governor, troubled as he was at the mounting expenses of the delay, might have been comforted not a little had he known that the "Lion" with eighty passengers had already sailed from Bristol and that the "Mary and John" with one hundred and forty colonists had just succeeded in putting out from the port of Plymouth, England. That latter ship had sailed on March twentieth. The four ships of the Winthrop party were virtually bottled up for a full week in the roadstead at Cowes, thus obliged to remain inactive while precious days slipped past. Governor Winthrop wrote letters or spent his time in conferences with his associates.

On March 23, 1630, a meeting of the Governor and his assistants was held on board the "Arbella." John Humphrey, the Deputy-Governor, had decided not to emigrate to America. This meeting was held to fill the vacancy. Thomas Dudley, by common consent, was chosen Deputy-Governor. William Coddington, Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Sharpe, previously elected assistants, now took the oath of office.

Two of the letters written to his wife by John Winthrop during this unwonted delay are still in existence. The first was written on board the "Arbella" immediately after reaching the roadstead on March twenty-second. The wind at the moment of writing was fair and the mariners expected to undertake the passage next morning. Written briefly and in evident haste this farewell letter was as fervently religious as the other had been.

The second letter was written to his wife on March twenty-eighth. For historic interest it is of utmost importance, but as a letter of

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a fond husband to his wife it should rank among the noblest of its kind ever penned.²

"My Faithful and Dear Wife," the letter began. "It pleaseth God, that thou shouldst once again hear from me before our departure, and I hope this shall come safe to thy hands. . . . We are all in very good health, and, having tried our ship's entertainment (*i. e.*, food and sleeping accommodations) now more than a week, we find it agrees very well with us. Our boys are well and cheerful and have no mind of home. They lie both with me, and sleep as soundly in a rug (for we use no sheets here) as they ever did at Groton."

This passage needs explanation. Margaret Tyndal, Winthrop's third wife, had married him on April 24, 1618. Their first son, Stephen, was born March 24, 1619. The second son alluded to in this letter was Adam Winthrop, born April 7, 1620. Thus we may glimpse the loving father, granting the wish of his two lively youngsters of ten and eleven by taking them with him on the great adventure and thus sparing his wife the care and responsibility of bringing them with her when she was to follow her husband to America in 1631. Of course, these robust lads rejoiced in the novel experience of being sailors—real he-men who slept without sheets—covering themselves with a sailor's rug at night. Anyone who knows anything about small boys may realize that Governor John Winthrop had his hands full, so to speak, to keep these lads out of mischief during the seven days of enforced delays in the roadstead at Cowes.

"The wind has been against us this week and more," he writes. "But this day it is come fair to the north, so as we are preparing (by God's assistance) to set sail in the morning. We have only four ships ready. . . . The rest of our fleet (being seven ships) will be ready this sennight. We have spent now two Sabbaths on shipboard very comfortably (God be praised) and are daily more and more encouraged to look for the Lord's presence to go along with us."

Quite evidently Winthrop and his pious companions had no thought of blaming the Almighty for the fierce winds that hindered their passage. No doubt, if put to it to account for the phenomenon, they would unhesitatingly have cast the blame upon the Evil One himself.

2. "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," Vol. I, pp. 388, 389.

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The next sentence in Winthrop's letter displays the concern of a parent at the presence of disease on one of the ships of the fleet. This particular disease must have afforded him considerable anxiety for the welfare of his own small children.

"Henry Kingsbury hath a child or two in the "Talbot" sick of the measles, but like to do well. One of my men had them at Hampton but was soon well again." Measles on shipboard could be a very serious matter.

The Governor next offers an interesting bit of information concerning the ships that were scheduled to sail to New England. "We are in all our eleven ships," he declares, "about seven hundred persons, passengers, and two hundred and forty cows and about sixty horses."

The remainder of the letter contains phrases of exquisite tenderness, as will be seen from the following extracts:

"And now my sweet soul, I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth very near my heart to leave thee, but I know to whom I have committed thee. . . . Oh, how it refresheth my heart, to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living! That lovely countenance, that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content! I have hitherto been so taken up with business, as I could seldom look back to my former happiness; but now when I shall be in some leisure, I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence."

Then follows a reference to one of the most unusual spiritual pacts between husband and wife on record. Quite evidently the matter had been arranged between them during Winthrop's farewell visit to his wife in Groton. But here it is:

"Thou hast thy share with me, but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays, at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet, if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God, that we are assured, we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of husband or children. Therefore, I will only take

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thee now and my sweet children in mine arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell. Farewell."

On the eve of sailing from Cowes Governor John Winthrop had a cause for uneasiness that he did not mention either in his letter or in the first entries in the journal which he was to begin on the following morning. In earlier pages of this history it has been recorded that Winthrop had three grown sons by his first wife. One of these sons, Henry Winthrop, about twenty-three years of age, had decided to emigrate with his father despite the fact that he must leave behind him his young wife because of an impending event of great consequence to the Winthrop family. Henry was perhaps the most enterprising and forceful of the Governor's sons. He had participated in planting operations in the Barbados when only eighteen years of age. By unwise speculation in tobacco, which proved so foul when it reached England that even hardened addicts of the weed would have none of it, young Henry became involved in debt, later to return to England.

Now that he was emigrating to America his father had arranged that the young man should have comfortable quarters aboard the "Arbella." The long delay at Cowes evidently grew too monotonous for Henry Winthrop. Finding that an ox and ten sheep which he had provided for shipment to New England were not in the live stock aggregation aboard ship Henry asked permission of his father to go ashore and fetch them. This occurred in the early morning of March twenty-ninth.

Since the ship could not get underway for an hour or so the Governor gave permission, little dreaming of the tragic consequences that would eventually result from this seemingly trivial errand. In the confusion and bustle of preparation for departure Matthew Cradock arrived for a final conference on shipboard. He brought with him the captains of the other three ships of the fleet. It was agreed, as Governor Winthrop writes in his journal, that "These four ships should consort together; the 'Arbella' to be Admiral, the 'Talbot' Vice-Admiral, the 'Ambrose' Rear-Admiral and the 'Jewel' a Captain; and accordingly articles of consortship was drawn up between the said captains and masters." It may appear somewhat amusing to landsmen that a group of four sailing ships should deem it necessary to make such a ceremony of determining their respective ranks during the voyage. In the days of sailing ships, however, especially in war

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time, it was of utmost importance that every detail of mutual coöperation or defense should be worked out in advance of sailing.

"At ten of the clock we weighed anchor and set sail," the Governor wrote in his journal. Alas for his hopes! The ships had progressed but eight miles or so down the channel between the Isle of Wight and the mainland of England when they encountered a heavy gale from which they had hitherto been sheltered. Winthrop had remained on deck a good part of this time. The sight of the storm-tossed channel, as they neared the port of Yarmouth, sent the Governor in haste to the captain of the "Arbella."

"What is your judgment, Captain Milborne, as to sailing upon yonder sea?"

"That it were too dangerous even to venture forth, Master Winthrop. We had best wait in the roadstead at Yarmouth until the wind changes."

"Think you we can sail again in the morning?"

"Of that you are as fair a prophet as I am. No man can forecast when these beastly winds will change. I have know them to blow steadily for weeks on end with never a chance to put out to sea."

"For weeks, you say?"

"Aye, for weeks. Yes, and longer, even. Captain John Smith, you will perhaps remember, was ready to sail one spring day many years ago, and he was held in port for three months and so lost his voyage."

Captain Peter Milborne was not in a cheerful mood. He glared at the rolling ocean with such an appearance of wrath that Sir Richard Saltonstall and others of the Puritan leaders who now came up on the captain's deck rallied him upon it. Their own faces lengthened, however, when they realized that the "Arbella" was swinging into the roadstead of Yarmouth. Sails were being slackened. The mariners were making ready to cast anchor.

"If the Lord will that we tarry a day or two longer in English waters it may be for the best," declared Governor Winthrop resignedly when they had discussed the melancholy prospect at some length.

"You speak truly, Master Winthrop," rejoined Sir Richard Saltonstall, gravely. "Who knows but delay may save us from the ships of Dunkirk now laying in wait for English merchantmen, according to all reports."

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"The Dunkirkers had best keep their distance from us," declared Thomas Dudley hotly. "We have twenty-eight pieces of ordnance on the 'Arbella' alone. They tell me our gunners are as good as any afloat."

"We shall give a good account if trouble besets us," said John Winthrop. "We have fifty-two seamen to fight our ship and there be many of us who have served in the wars, which reminds me that we should organize ourselves and every man know his place ere we put out to sea."

The captain's doleful prophecy of adverse wind was abundantly fulfilled. So great was the wind next day that the ships lay close furled, rocking in the heavy ocean surges that penetrated even to their anchorage. The tide also was amazingly strong and whether ebbing or flowing it caused the ships to strain at their cables. On the morning of the third day, April 2, 1630, a boat was observed to put out to the 'Arbella.' When Governor Winthrop beheld one of his servants who had accompanied his son Henry ashore he breathed a sigh of relief because the latter's absence had worried him greatly. When the boat came along side and Winthrop beheld only his servant and another whom he knew to be a servant of William Pelham; but neither his son nor Pelham himself, he cried out in dismay.

"Please, sir," cried his retainer, now a sorry and bedraggled figure, "the young gentlemen are coming by boat, but the wind and tide do hold them back and so we were set ashore to come on foot."

"Aye and we tramped through beastly mud and waded through puddles," growled the Pelham servant angrily, "and we be half dead from rain and cold."

"Why didn't they keep you with them?"

"That's wot I'd like to know. Beastly shame I calls it."

"Come now, have done with sniffing," retorted Winthrop's servant angrily. "Mud and rain be bad enough, but this whimpering oaf has been a worse trial to me than all the mud in the Isle of Wight. Master Henry sent us to bring you word of his safety and to tell you that he will reach the 'Arbella' before the wind comes fair. His boatmen say that with the ebb tide, when the wind changes, they will set the young gentleman aboard before you sail."

"Why did they not come on board at Cowes? The ox and sheep had no difficulty in crossing the gang plank."

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"The young gentlemen met some friends and we tarried for them."

"Aye at a public house and this fine chap got so full of strong water that he wanted to fight mine host and all his servants."

"Have done with prating," cried John Winthrop sternly, for all eyes were upon the men, "and do you go to your quarters and change at once to dry clothing."

At an informal meeting of the Governor and his staff held on the previous evening it had been decided, unless there should be a change of weather by morning, that a solemn fast should be held on ship-board. The weather was now even more rainy and tempestuous than before, so the fast day was in progress when the two servants had arrived. A large part of Friday, April 2, 1630, was devoted to a general prayer service in which the favor of God was earnestly invoked. But when they had finished their religious devotions the wind continued and the rain fell as before.

The ceremonies of the day were no sooner ended than a passenger hurried to Governor Winthrop with an alarming bit of information. During the fast, while the others were engaged in religious observances, two men of the party had stolen away into the ship's interior where liquors were stored. They had bored a hole into a small barrel of ardent spirits and had stolen a quantity of it. Winthrop presently summoned his advisers for an important conference.

"Small wonder that God hears not our prayers," he announced bitterly, "for this man brings me knowledge that two of our number, even while we were at prayers, were stealing strong water from our stores and making merry withal."

"How came you by this information?" demanded Thomas Dudley, of the informer.

"Well, sir, when I went to my berth, after our services were ended, these men who sleep in the same section of the ship were drinking and carousing in shameful manner."

"I have already made certain of the facts," said John Winthrop, "and have arrested the miscreants, but I have waited until this court could convene before having them brought to my cabin. My small sons have been sent to tell the guards to bring them in. Here they come now."

At this point it was needful for the Governor to excuse himself for a brief session with Stephen and Adam Winthrop, who had

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returned with the sullen prisoners and their guards. With all the curiosity of small boys the youngsters had disregarded their father's injunction that they stay away during the trial and had stolen into the room, relying perhaps on their parent's preoccupation to insure their being overlooked during the interesting proceedings. But John Winthrop had strict ideas about exposing innocent childhood to knowledge of the depravity of their elders, and so the lads were gently but firmly ousted from the cabin.

The culprits had not counted upon this grave assembly of judges. In fact, they had stolen the liquor in bland assurance that they themselves would not be missed from the assembly. If the loss of the liquor was later discovered it would, they reasoned, be easy enough to cast blame upon the crew of the "Arbella." While both men were the worse for drink when first discovered they were now so subdued by the dilemma in which they found themselves that they were constrained openly to admit their guilt.

"Please, sirs, we wuz hungry," whined one of them in attempted extenuation of his fault.

"Aye and so were we," retorted Governor Winthrop sternly.

"And I had a great pain in my stummick."

"A pain in your stomach! Well, we will see about that and other pains as well. While all of our Company were praying to the Almighty to send us favorable winds for our voyage you two miserable varlets must needs undo all our labors by breaking our solemn fast and by stealing strong waters. What say you, my friends, shall we not set these scoundrels in bolts this night that they may meditate upon their sins?"

This sentence being approved by the Deputy-Governor and Assistants the men were led away to endure the painful ordeal of lying in bolts all the night. Punishment by being set in the stocks or "bilboes" was later to be a common method of correction. Lying in bolts was no doubt the same as being "put in irons," a type of fetter used on shipboard in Colonial days. At any rate the punishment was sufficiently drastic so that next morning the younger thief was excused from further physical ordeal. The older culprit was publicly flogged. The two thieves were kept on bread and water for twenty-four hours. Thus did John Winthrop and his associates, on April 2, 1630, pun-

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ish the first criminal offense that came before them in their capacity as magistrates.

For two additional days the "Arbella" and her three companion ships rode at anchor in the roadstead at Yarmouth. They had now been six days in this locality. The wind and tide, however, proved too strong for the anchors of the "Talbot." She drifted dangerously and on Sunday evening, April fourth, gave up the attempt to remain at Yarmouth. Weighing anchor she returned to the safety of Cowes. The same experience befell the "Jewel" and the "Ambrose" so that the sturdier craft, the "Arbella," was left alone at Yarmouth.

On Monday, April fifth, Governor Winthrop had no greater news to write in his journal than the adventure of a humble maid servant in the family of Sir Richard Saltonstall and an obscure helper of the ship's carpenter. It seems that the girl was engaged in her duties about the cookroom and was at the moment of the accident close by a grating and an open hatchway leading into the hold. The carpenter's helper, a very active young man, chanced to pass on the double-quick. The girl was startled by his sudden appearance. In her fright she stumbled, fell onto the grating and was rolling into the open hatchway when the carpenter's helper, "with incredible nimbleness" as Winthrop expresses it, caught and held her from falling into the hold of the ship.

John Winthrop was by this time considerably vexed that his son, Henry, and young Pelham, had not followed the example of their servants and made their way overland to Yarmouth. They could easily have hired horses for the six-mile overland journey.

"You must not be too hard on the young gentlemen," said Sir Richard Saltonstall as the two men lounged in the Governor's cabin. "Remember that English inns and gay companions mean more to young bloods than they would to men of our age and circumstance."

"But we may sail for New England at any time."

"Would God that we might, Master Winthrop. I like not this endless tossing at anchor. If we were on the ocean and moving in some direction it would be different. Two weeks on shipboard and still in this beastly channel."

On Tuesday, April sixth, in the early morning, a boat was observed to leave the wharf at Yarmouth and to put out toward the "Arbella." Again the Governor's hopes of the arrival of his son were dashed.

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The visitor who now boarded the ship proved to be a person of consequence. He was a Captain Burleigh, a man of great age, the Governor of Yarmouth Castle, whose towers overlooked the harbor of Yarmouth. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, Burleigh had served as a ship captain in the war with Spain. With three sons he had been captured by the enemy and had languished in a Spanish prison for three years. The aged visitor had come to pay his respects to the Winthrop party. They breakfasted together very pleasantly and when the Governor of the Castle departed the captain of the "Arbella" caused a salute of four guns to be fired in his honor.

That same day, in the afternoon, a second boat put out from the main wharf to the "Arbella," bringing Matthew Cradock, the former Governor of the Company.

"I have come to tell you," he said, after greetings were over, "that the 'Talbot,' the 'Jewel' and the 'Ambrose' have fallen down into Stokes' Bay at the eastern end of the island. They desire you to join them for they propose to sail by way of St. Helen's Point."

"Why from St. Helen's Point rather than from here?" demanded the captain of the "Arbella." "The wind has just changed to the northeast. Were they here we might sail within the hour. The wind is now in the right quarter for us but not for them."

"They should be on their way to us at this very minute," cried John Winthrop in vexation. "This day brings us the first favorable wind that we have had in weeks and they are at the other end of the island. Surely they can rejoin us with ease if they would make the effort."

"I care not how you sail or how they sail," exclaimed Cradock in disgust. "Our substance is being wasted daily and we should not stand upon ceremony."

"Nay, not upon ceremony," rejoined Captain Peter Milborne, "but the wind is right for them to sail to us. We cannot possibly sail to them. Both wind and tide are against us. They should come to us at once."

In this dilemma Governor Winthrop called his official staff into conference. A vote was taken commanding the three vessels to sail at once for Yarmouth. Matthew Cradock agreed to set out immediately on horseback to carry the message to Stokes' Bay. Knowing that the ships could not possibly sail until next day Lady Arbella Johnson and

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the gentlewomen of the party decided to take advantage of fair weather and go ashore to refresh themselves. Isaac Johnson and some other men accompanied the ladies on this last visit to English soil.

It was not until the afternoon of April seventh that the consorts of the "Arbella" arrived at Yarmouth. Preparations were now gotten underway to sail next morning. Henry Winthrop had not yet arrived and the Governor was still uncertain as to his whereabouts. Farewell letters had been written so many times during the three weeks since the Winthrop party had arrived at the port of embarkation that there is little need for further mention of missives of this nature. On this last day at the roadstead of Yarmouth, however, the Governor and Company prepared a general farewell letter to their brethren of the Church of England and a request for prayers that is worthy of serious attention. No action on their part has been subject to more controversy as to motives and policy than this general epistle of the departing emigrants dated April 7, 1630. The Puritan leaders have been charged with insincerity because their written sentiments on that occasion proved to be so directly in conflict with their later conduct. Some have roundly condemned them, whereas others have sought to prove an essential harmony in words and actions.

The true explanation may well be that the action of the Endicott group at Salem the previous year in setting up a church of their own had shocked and distressed those Puritans who were still in England. The news had by this time reached and thoroughly incensed the King and the subservient clergy of the Established Church. The departing host, still under the shadow of the ancient church and unable to foresee the practical difficulties that awaited them in America, might have experienced genuine sorrow in leaving England. Thus they could the more readily have penned the words for which they have been accused of hypocrisy. The following extract from the letter addressed to the Church of England, will illustrate the emotional extravagances to which John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley and others of the official board affixed their signatures:

Howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us . . . yet we desire you should be pleased to take notice of the prin-

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cipals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother; and cannot part from our native country, where She especially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts.³

This is strong language from men who were so soon to cast off the yoke of the Mother Church and yet it no doubt expressed their feelings at the moment of departing from England. We need not therefore set down this remarkable letter to empty phrases of shrewd diplomacy. The epistle was of considerable length. It asked for the prayers of the brethren in the Church of England, but in no paragraph was there any definite promise to set up the Church of England in America. John Winthrop makes no mention of the letter in his journal for that day, so we have no certain knowledge of the circumstances under which the letter was written and signed.

At daybreak Thursday, April 8, 1630, the wind was still in the right quarter for passage and so the signal for departure was run up to the mast head of the "Arbella." It was six o'clock and the sun shone fair on the deck of the flag ship of the little fleet when the creaking windlass announced that the cable was being hauled for the long expected departure.

True to their natures as God-fearing men John Winthrop and his associates gathered on deck for a solemn religious service while the anchors of the "Arbella" were being hoisted to their proper niches at the bow of the ship and the voyage thus officially begun. The inflowing tide was running with considerable power through the narrow road that led to The Needles, which formed the gateway to the sea. It became necessary for the "Arbella" and her consorts to fight their way against this tide. The breeze proved insufficient for genuine progress. According to Winthrop's journal it took four hours for the ships to accomplish a five-mile run to The Needles. Some smaller ships that followed in their wake were unable to stem the tide at all and consequently were obliged to wait until the ebb tide could assist them down the channel to the open sea.

3. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," pp. 295-99.

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It was ten o'clock in the morning of April eighth, according to Winthrop's journal, when the Puritan fleet of four ships entered the English channel. Weeks of waiting were rewarded at last. John Winthrop and his associates could now breathe prayers of thanksgiving. However the winds might blow thereafter they were now afloat on the vast ocean, or at least upon the English Channel, with plenty of room to tack and turn and thus to fight their way toward New England.

CHAPTER XXVII

STIRRING INCIDENTS OF THE VOYAGE

It was fortunate indeed that the "Arbella" and her consorts succeeded in working their way into the English Channel when they did for that very afternoon the wind again changed to the very quarter that had proved so disastrous to their previous attempts. With the change of wind the ships became virtually becalmed. The "Arbella" seems to have made more progress than the others since Governor Winthrop wrote in his journal: "Our captain tacked about, and putting his fore-sheets aback stays, he stayed for the rest of the fleet, and as they came by us we spake to them."

Very little progress was made during the afternoon because of the faintness of the breeze. At eight o'clock in the evening Captain Peter Milborne decided to cast anchor and to wait for the ebb tide, a decision that he soon joyfully altered. Within two hours a fair gale of wind sprang up from the north. Setting a light in the poop of the "Arbella" as a signal to the other ships of the fleet, the flagship weighed anchor and set sail in a westerly course. By daylight Friday, April ninth, the "Arbella" was opposite Portland, England. Having outsailed her consorts, the flagship was forced to shorten sail, but continued to run before what Winthrop describes as "a merry gale." We may well suppose that any gale at all would have been regarded as a merry gale by those who had been held for three weeks in a narrow channel between an island and the mainland.

Now that the ships were on the great highway of nations, the English Channel, it was needful to be on guard against hostile ships, since England and Spain were at war—the evil results of the blundering of Charles I and his late favorite, the Duke of Buckingham. Spain at this period of European history was still holding sway over what was known as Spanish Netherlands. Dunkirk was one of the great ports of that country and from it hailed a large part of the fighting ships of Spain's hostile fleet. With this explanation we may fully appreciate the significance of the next happening on shipboard.

The Governor and his small sons had been among the first of the passengers to reach the deck of the "Arbella" on this memorable first

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morning at sea. They had gazed with delight at the coastline of England which filled the whole northern horizon. The joyous experience of a fair and beautiful April morning on the ocean, their stout ship with her decks atilt and her sails filled with a spanking breeze, was almost too good to be true. When they had tramped the deck for a time, the proud father with a small son on either side and clasping hands with them for safety, the three went below decks to breakfast. Mealtime, at least in fair weather, was a joyous affair aboard the "Arbella." The Governor and his sons sat at the captain's table, as did the Lady Arbella Johnson and her husband. Sir Richard Saltonstall and his family were there also. The English people have always attached great importance to social rank. To have the daughter of an English Earl on shipboard was deemed an honor of such consequence that the lady herself was regarded with great deference. It will be remembered that the flagship of the fleet upon which she was a passenger had been named the "Arbella" in her honor.

Small wonder therefore that with this lady of illustrious birth in the dining room three times a day mealtime aboard the flagship had become a social event. Fortunately for the irrepressible sons of the Governor the Lady Arbella Johnson had mothered them from the first day on shipboard. She was a sweet and gentle young woman who deserved a far better fate than awaited her in New England. Fortunately there was no foreknowledge of events to cloud the happiness of Isaac Johnson and his lady. They too had been on deck and like all the others were ravenously hungry when breakfast was served on the morning of April ninth. After a brief and eloquent prayer by the Rev. George Phillips the company settled merrily to their morning repast.

In the midst of breakfast a sailor appeared in the doorway. From his agitated countenance could readily have been seen that he bore startling news. At a signal from Captain Milborne, the man hurried to his side and whispered in the captain's ear. Hastily excusing himself the commander dashed from the saloon. All conversation ceased. Presently the captain's booming tones could be heard above them, but the group in the breakfast saloon could make nothing of the babel of shouts.

Thomas Dudley, who had followed the captain from the saloon, now returned to report that the lookout on the masthead had espied a

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fleet of eight ships astern of them bearing down in their direction. The distance was then too great for certainty, but the close formation in which the pursuers were sailing aroused suspicions that the ships were war craft from Dunkirk. If so this would mean a bloody encounter before the day ended.

With great eagerness and alarm, therefore, the passengers hurried on deck, only to behold the blue expanse of ocean behind them, with the ships of their own fleet gaily decked out with bellying sails following in their wake. Captain Milborne grimly explained that the sails of the other fleet were still below the horizon, yet in plain view of the lookout at the masthead.

"Perhaps they will not see us at all," suggested Lady Arbella Johnson hopefully.

"My lady does not understand these matters," responded the captain gravely, "but our sails are as plainly in view to their lookout as theirs now are to our man up yonder. I was told in Yarmouth that ten ships from Dunkirk were lying in wait for us and that is why I am anxious to know the number."

"Eight sail," bawled the lookout. "I've counted them again, sir."

"Aye, aye," responded Captain Milborne. "Keep a sharp lookout in all directions, but watch those eight ships every minute and see if any more are hidden behind them."

Signals were hoisted for the consorts of the "Arbella" to set every inch of canvas that they could spread. The flagship might easily have outsailed the others, but if a sea fight were to occur the little fleet must present united resistance to the enemy. They must not separate. Hope of outsailing the pursuers was soon abandoned. Within an hour the tips of the sails of the eight ships were visible over the horizon. It was positively fascinating to landsmen to witness this gradual rising up over the ocean rim of sails of the mysterious pursuing fleet.

There was little time for idle conjecture. Captain Peter Milborne was no sooner convinced that the strangers were gaining on his little fleet than a signal was given to clear decks and to make ready for possible hostilities. John Winthrop thus depicts the stirring scenes on shipboard Friday, April 9, 1630:

"Our captain caused the gun room and gun deck to be cleared. All the hammocks were taken down, our ordnance loaded, and our

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powder chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered among the seamen, and twenty-five of them appointed for muskets and every man written down for his quarter."

These ominous activities must have been thrilling indeed to eleven-year-old Stephen Winthrop and his ten-year-old brother Adam. Small boys have rarely been privileged to witness such scenes as these, nor have ladies for that matter. By noontime the vigorous gale before which the Puritan fleet had been driving slackened considerably. Strangely enough the pursuing ships continued to enjoy the force of the wind. This fact was clearly evident from their belling sails and their swift onward motion. The distance between pursuer and pursued was lessening with alarming rapidity.

"Whereupon we all prepared to fight with them," wrote Governor Winthrop in his journal, "and took down some cabins which were in the way of our ordnance, and out of every ship was thrown such bed matters as were subject to take fire. We heaved out our long boats and put up our waste cloths, and drew forth our men, and armed them with muskets and other weapons, and instruments for fireworks. For experiment our captain shot a fall of wild-fire fastened to an arrow out of a cross bow, which burnt in the water a good time."

It should be explained that in naval warfare in 1630 a sea fight occurred at close range. These wooden ships were so manœuvred that they could rake each other's decks with musket shot. The cannon of that period could not make direct hits unless very near to an opposing vessel. The fireworks mentioned were inflammable materials set afire and thrown, or shot by means of arrows, into the waist of the enemy ship. To seize and throw overboard these flaming missiles was one of the necessary defensive measures of every ship's crew. But there was another feature of sea warfare that deserves mention. Ships frequently endeavored to run alongside an enemy craft. Sailors with incredible nimbleness would lash the ships together, whereupon others would clamber fiercely onto the decks of the enemy and with pikes, cutlasses and axes do battle with the defenders who would be similarly armed. The unwieldy muskets, laboriously loaded through the muzzle, were utterly useless in hand-to-hand fighting. This explains why a large detail of the "Arbella's" defenders were armed with "other weapons" as Winthrop described them.

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The noonday meal aboard the Puritan fleet this day must have been more or less perfunctory. When men and women are facing such an ocean drama of apparently relentless and successful pursuit, with their own lives at hazard, the dinner table must inevitably lose its wonted charm. The eight ships were by this time in plain view astern, flying no flags but with spreading canvas gaining hour by hour upon the "Arbella" and her consorts.

Immediately following dinner the order was given for women and children to be removed to the lower decks that they might be spared the greater danger of nearness to the gun decks that might be riddled with enemy cannon shot or musket fire. Before this plan was put into operation on the flagship, however, Governor Winthrop caused the entire company, men, women and children, to assemble on the upper deck for prayer. He records with obvious pride in his journal that "not a woman or child showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great." When prayers were over the group dispersed below deck, all save the men who were to do the fighting.

Governor Winthrop and such members of his official staff as were aboard the "Arbella" now gathered around the stout-hearted English captain.

"How far distant, Master Milborne, be yonder ships?" inquired Governor Winthrop, gazing steadfastly at the pursuing fleet.

"Not more than a league from us now," returned the captain grimly. "They sail more easily in this light breeze than we do for we are more heavily laden than they."

"When think you they will overtake us, Master Milborne?" asked Sir Richard Saltonstall.

"At this rate they will surely overhaul us by late afternoon."

"Is anything to be gained by delay—are there English war craft that might aid us?"

"Most improbable, Sir Richard."

"Then why do we delay?" cried John Winthrop. "If fight we must why weary ourselves with anxiety ere we join battle."

"That is my thought also, Master Winthrop, and if this breeze does not change within the hour I propose to meet these ships. If they be friends, all will be well. If they be enemies, as seems most likely, we may at least fight for our lives by daylight."

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To this plan Winthrop and his advisers gave instant approval. Signals were flown. The "Arbella" slackened sail. One by one in turn her consorts came abreast of her for a brief conference with Captain Peter Milborne, then drifted past—at an agreed signal, all four ships tacked and swung about in martial array, heading straight for their pursuers.

Now that the die had been cast, Captain Peter Milborne was in high feather. "This will show that we are not afraid," he exulted, as the distance lessened. "And do you see the commotion on yonder ships? Why the rascals are not ready for us, after all! They are uncovering their guns in great haste."

By this time the Puritan fleet had run up their flags. No sooner did the banners of England break from their mastheads, than a great shout came over the water from the supposed enemy fleet. One after another from the color mast of the eight ships came the familiar emblem of Old England, whereupon from the decks of the "Arbella," the "Talbot," the "Ambrose," the "Jewel" went up such a mighty chorus of shouting as none but men who have long labored under excitement can well voice. For a full five minutes it seemed that the ocean itself had burst into a frenzy of cheers.

Women and children came swarming up from the close quarters in which they had been confined, laughing and crying in excess of pent-up emotion. Every ship, as they met, saluted each other by discharging the weapons that were now so unnecessary. The entire fleet presently made ready to continue the journey to America, but they immediately espied two fishing vessels busily engaged at their calling nearby. Winthrop writes that every ship of his group sent out a boat to the fishermen and "bought of them great store of fresh fish of divers sorts."

What a celebration the Puritan host must have held that night at supper time! Fish could never have tasted sweeter than on that day of deliverance from a danger that did not really exist, but which had seemed as real to them for many hours as though all the "Dunkirkers" on the English Channel had been bearing down upon them. John Winthrop made a highly applauded speech that evening at sunset in which he took occasion to praise the captain, the crew of the "Arbella," the men of his own colony and the women and children, all of whom had behaved with fearless composure.

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Three days later the Winthrop fleet had cleared the English Channel and was launched on its great ocean journey. The rolling and tossing of the ships now occasioned a great deal of distress to those who were at all susceptible to sickness at sea. Even the Rev. George Phillips became sorely afflicted and Winthrop makes record that on Sunday, April 11, 1630, there were no church services, or at least no sermons aboard the "Arbella" because their clergy were unable to preach.

On the following day the captain of the flagship caused a rope to be stretched from the steerage to the main mast, at such a level that even children might reach it. Winthrop thus picturesquely describes the use to which this rope was put. "Our children and others who lay groaning in the cabins," he writes, "we fetched out . . . (and) made them stand some on one side and some on the other and sway it up and down until they were warm, and by this means they soon grew well and merry."

Two days later they had occasion to resort to the same plan. A stiff gale was rolling up mountainous waves, on which their ships heaved and set in a manner truly disconcerting even to the best sailors on board. Toward night the seamen of the "Arbella" were obliged to furl some of their canvas in order not to outdistance the other ships of the fleet. On Thursday, April fifteenth, at ten o'clock at night a great storm of rain set in with wind that approached hurricane strength and violence. Taken unawares Captain Milborne rushed on deck and gave hurried orders to furl the sails. Mariners swarmed aloft to haul in the topsail. Others lowered the foresail and mainsail, which tasks were accomplished after such a battle with the elements as the hardy sailors of the "Arbella" had rarely experienced. The task of furling the mainsail, however, was quite beyond their combined strength. A mighty wind that shrieked like all the demons of the pit, flung and tossed and shook the heavy canvas. It thrashed the deck and rigging, bowling men over like ninepins, and awakening every sleeping passenger below decks. It is hard to say what might have been the issue of this mighty contest had not the sail fabric suddenly surrendered to the might of the storm. The torn canvas, now in the full fury of the wind beat itself to shreds while mighty surges swept the deck of the "Arbella." When the tempest had abated, after more than six hours, the giant surges into which the heaving

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ocean had become furrowed, presented, in the early morning watch, a spectacle that was truly awe-inspiring. The ship was no longer in danger, but the rhythmic upswing and the breadth-taking descent, as mountain and valley of green water succeeded each other, was an experience long to be remembered by every soul on board.

Two of the "Arbella's" companions, the "Ambrose" and the "Jewel," were still in sight when daylight came, but wallowing heavily. The "Talbot" had disappeared. Governor John Winthrop had now learned that his son, Henry, had embarked on the "Talbot" when the three ships had fallen back from the roadstead at Cowes as previously related. Possibly the young man had feared his father's displeasure, for there had surely been opportunity, after the fiasco of the supposed "Dunkirkers" pursuit had been solved, for Henry Winthrop to have transferred to the "Arbella" from the "Talbot" if he had so desired. He chose instead to remain on the "Talbot" for the rest of the voyage, which fact was indirectly to contribute to the tragedy that later terminated his life.

The loss of the mainsail of the "Arbella" was not so great a calamity as it might have been owing to the fact that every properly equipped sailing ship customarily went to sea provided with extra sails and canvas. The mariners had immediately busied themselves at the task of getting out of storage a new mainsail and of installing it in place of the storm-shattered wreck of the former sail. The weather was extremely cold for April, with a piercing wind that chilled one to the marrow. Winthrop made a special note of this fact in his journal on April 19, 1630, in the following language:

"All this time since we came from the Isle of Wight we had cold weather, so that we could well endure our warmest clothes. I wish therefore that all such as shall pass this way in the spring have a care to provide warm clothing; for nothing breeds more trouble and danger of sickness, in this season, than cold."

The Puritan ships, like all sailing craft, were subject to whims of the wind. No man could foresee when air currents would prosper or hinder their progress, neither could he have foreknowledge of when mighty storms might bear down upon them. The best that mariners could have done under the circumstances was unquestionably performed by those in charge of the "Arbella" and her con-

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sorts. On April twenty-ninth John Winthrop made the following rueful comment in his journal:

"We have been now three weeks at sea, and have not come above three hundred leagues, being about one-third part of our way."

The "Talbot" had never appeared on the horizon since the great storm. Nothing was known of her fate. On Saturday, the first day of May, came another storm with mighty winds and fierce showers of rain. Since the gale was from the southwest the ships were obliged to furl their sails and strive to keep from being blown off their course. When morning dawned on the second day of the storm the "Arbella" was alone. Night and the storm had so far separated her from her companions that nothing could be seen in any direction save the endless waste of storm-tossed ocean. Yet the travelers had now so far accustomed themselves to life on the mighty deep that the Sabbath day was observed with all proper ceremony.

"The sea raged and tossed us exceedingly," writes John Winthrop, "yet through God's mercy we were very comfortable, and few or none sick, but had opportunity to keep the Sabbath and Mr. Phillips preached twice that day."

A circumstance that comforted the company aboard the "Arbella" exceedingly was that during the day the "Ambrose" and the "Jewel" again hove in sight, thus giving assurance that they had not foundered during the storm. On the following day, May third, in the early morning the storm abated rapidly and it was soon possible to hoist sails and to resume the interrupted journey.

A glimpse of human nature is afforded now and then by the Governor's prosaic daily record of events. On Monday, May 3, 1630, he writes that a maid-servant in the ship who was suffering at the time from sea sickness drank "strong water" as an antidote for the malady. She indulged so freely in the supposed remedy that she became not only dead drunk but she remained unconscious for many hours. Fears were entertained lest she might die from alcoholic poisoning. The entry of this incident in his journal led the worthy Governor to indulge in a bit of moralizing, in which he voiced the complaint, as old as mankind itself—the supposed decadence of the younger generation.

"We have observed it a common fault in our young people," he writes, "that they gave themselves to drink hot waters very immoderately."

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It is apparent therefore that the presence of a plentiful cargo of intoxicants on shipboard was proving a fatal lure to the younger generation, chafing from inactivity and perhaps from an excessive program of religion. Daily sermons, and two for good measure on the Sabbath day, with a general catechism on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, rendered the Puritan fleet during its long weeks at sea a veritable camp meeting from which there was no escape for old or for young.

In addition to the lamentable tendency to overindulge in intoxicating liquor, weeks of close confinement on shipboard had caused some of the passengers to develop animosities toward one another that resulted more than once during the voyage in fistic encounters. It became necessary to make an example of "fighters," as they were picturesquely termed by Governor Winthrop. On the very day of the maid-servant's misadventure Winthrop sets down in his journal the following terse entry:

"We set two fighters in the bolts, till night, with their hands bound behind them."

Thus the days passed. The ships frequently encountered adverse winds, thereby losing much of their previous gains, since to drift for days before a gale, even when sails were furled, could accomplish much mischief to their main purpose of reaching New England. On the night of May tenth, as the ships were running before a south by southwest gale, signals of distress were suddenly seen aboard the "Ambrose," causing instant alarm on the flagship.

Governor Winthrop and Captain Milborne were roused from sleep. It was then midnight and a great tempest of wind was rolling up giant surges, in which the three ships of the fleet were so tossed and thrown about that their signal lights appeared on high and disappeared into the depths with dizzying irregularity.

"I see no trouble, Master Milborne," shouted Governor Winthrop above the storm that shrieked through the rigging, "the 'Ambrose' is sailing, even as we are."

"Aye, aye, she is sailing true enough, but see you not two lights where only one has been before? That is our signal of a ship in distress. What it means I know not. We have set two lights to let them know that we will try to aid them."

"But what can be done in such a raging sea? No man can cross from ship to ship lest he drown or be dashed in pieces against the planking."

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"True enough, but we must know the plight of yonder craft and so we are swinging the 'Arbella' into line with her course that she may run close to us—a risky business I well know, but it must needs be."

By this time the chief men of Governor Winthrop's official family were on deck, bundled grotesquely against the bitter cold of the storm and wind. Tense with anxiety they witnessed the skillful manœuvring of their own ship by which it was made to run into the same line of sailing as the "Ambrose" and slightly ahead of her. Sails were slackened that the ship in distress might run as near as possible alongside. The grave peril involved in such a proceeding, in the midst of the storm, was keenly apparent to the anxious group on the deck of the "Arbella." With trumpets to lips the captains of the two ships bellowed across at each other. The "Ambrose" had broken some of her shrouds, or standing rigging, thus rendering it unsafe to bear as much sail as her sister ships. To make matters grave indeed the mighty tossings of the storm had so strained the ship's timbers that the "Ambrose" had sprung a leak, and dared not be left alone.

For two anxious hours the "Arbella" so trimmed her sails as to keep abreast of her sister ship, while aboard the "Ambrose" sailors labored mightily at the task of mending the broken shrouds, while others manned the pumps. Winthrop writes: "Our Captain went not to rest till four of the clock, and some others of us slept but little that night." Before returning to their cabins, however, Winthrop and his party had the great satisfaction of a signal from the "Ambrose" that her rigging had been made fast again. She filled her sails and moved on at full speed once more.

For Tuesday, May 11, 1630, John Winthrop made the following entry in his journal:

The storm continued all this day, till three in the afternoon, and the sea went very high, so that our ship could make no way, being able to bear no more than our mainsail about midmast high. At three there fell a great storm of rain which laid the wind, and the wind shifting into the west, we tacked and stood into the head sea, to avoid the rolling of our ship, and by that means we made no way, the sea beating us back as much as the wind put us forward. We still had cold weather. Our people were so acquainted with storms that they were not sick, nor troubled, though they were much tossed forty-

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eight hours together, *viz.*, twenty-four during the storm and as long as the next night and day following, Wednesday, 12, when we lay as it were a-hull for want of wind, and rolling continually in a high-grown sea. This day was close and rainy.

It was too much to expect that weeks on shipboard could have been passed without some friction developing between crew and passengers. It will be remembered that the government of the Colony was being carried on during the voyage. The captain of the "Arbella" therefore discreetly left the disciplining of refractory passengers to Governor Winthrop and his advisers. As for disciplining the crew of the flagship, that was a matter entirely within the province of the captain himself. Governor Winthrop now appears in a new light.

It seems that one of the mariners aboard the "Arbella," a petty officer, had wilfully injured one of the passengers. Complaint was made to Captain Milborne, who at once summoned the culprit before him. Having heard the testimony of the accuser and of witnesses, the captain found the officer guilty and commanded that he be tied up by the hands. This punishment would have been painful enough in any event, but Captain Milborne, acting under the stern if not savage code of sea captains of the period, commanded that a heavy weight be hanged about the culprit's neck. Winthrop, as we have previously noted, had before now sentenced men to be bound hand and foot and left in this painful posture for hours at a time, but the spectacle of one of the officers of the "Arbella" enduring so grievous a punishment touched him with compassion. He accordingly sought a private conference with the stern commander of the flagship.

"Master Milborne, I humbly crave your pardon if I may be thought to intrude on your proper authority, but when I brought you complaint against yonder wretch we had no wish that he be punished so grievously."

"Grievous offenses deserve grievous punishments," grumbled Captain Milborne. "That one of my own officers should have committed such a trespass against a passenger of this ship shames me deeply."

"I can well understand your feelings, Master Milborne, but we must not overlook the provocation and the storm that puts men out of sorts."

"Neither provocation nor storm can excuse an officer of an English ship for forgetting his proper duty to those in his care."

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"I will not gainsay you in that, Master Milborne, but since one of my own men be the cause of the trouble I am come to implore you to lighten the punishment of the man."

"Discipline aboard ship, Master Winthrop, demands rigorous dealing with culprits."

Thus the argument continued, Captain Milborne contending for the justice of his action with all the stubbornness for which English sea captains were famous. In the end, however, Governor Winthrop persuaded him that if the punishment were continued there would be danger that the crew develop a hostility to the passengers because of it. The captain soon set the culprit free, thus restoring harmony on shipboard.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WINTHROP COMPANY REACH NEW ENGLAND

The month of May, 1630, was spent in much the same struggle with winds and sudden storms that we have observed in the early weeks of the voyage. Doggedly the three ships fought their way toward the American coast. On June second, in the evening, a great fog enveloped them. The captain was now convinced that the ships were in the near vicinity of land. Sounding leads were tried in vain during the fog of that day and the next, but in the afternoon of the second day the lead touched ground at eighty fathoms. The course was thereupon changed to the southeast.

On June fourth they had the extraordinary experience of sailing through a thick fog while the sun shone brightly overhead. Winthrop declares that the fog was so very dense that they could not see a stone's throw ahead of them. Every two hours they sounded but their lead could not touch bottom. So distressed had the travelers become at this endless blind sailing in fog that the Governor proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer which was solemnly observed. As if in answer to their appeal the wind changed at four o'clock next morning. When the passengers came on deck at an early hour they were rejoiced to behold the heaving ocean once more spread out to the horizon line all around them, unclouded by fog. Although it was raining the spirits of all the company had so revived that a thanksgiving service was held in the main cabin of the "Arbella."

Sunday came and fog once more; but at mid-afternoon the mist parted and to the north of them, about five or six leagues distant, they beheld the marvelous spectacle of land. To men and women who had so long been denied the sight of the solid earth, eight weeks on the ocean, their tiny sailing ship a virtual plaything of wind and wave, this promise of once more setting foot on dry land was a cause for wild rejoicing.

John Winthrop rushed at once to Captain Milborne's station on the topmost deck.

"What land be this, Master Milborne?" he demanded eagerly.

"Our chart indicates, Master Winthrop, that yonder shore is what

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we call Cape Sable, the southernmost point of the land granted to Sir William Alexander by the late King. Men call it Nova Scotia or New Scotland."

"Is it near Cape Ann?"

"No, Master Winthrop, for distances be great on this coast, yet with fair sailing we should land your company within a week's time."

Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson and others now joined them, but the conference was of short duration because the eager throng on deck deserved attention. Governor Winthrop therefore hurried to a vantage point where he might be seen and heard by all. When he raised his hands in a gesture for silence the murmur of rejoicing was instantly hushed.

"The Lord has fulfilled His promise," he declared, his face shining with gladness, "for yonder lies the Promised Land, yet you must needs realize that this land to which we are come is a vast land, as much greater than England as England is greater than the Isle of Wight. It will be days before we can hope to reach Cape Ann. There lies before us a great gulf that we must cross. Captain Milborne is minded to steer for Agamenticus where Sir Ferdinando Gorges has planted a colony, from thence to follow the coast to Cape Ann."

The gladness of the hour and the surge of religious emotion instinctively called forth by the sight of the New World, caused the impromptu meeting to drift into a fervent religious service in which the Reverend George Phillips gave voice to the unspoken thoughts of all. The passengers aboard the "Arbella" had been exceedingly fortunate throughout the long voyage, since in Winthrop's journal we find no mention of deaths on the flagship, although two servants had died on the "Ambrose," as well as one seaman on the "Jewel." They were later to learn that there had been many deaths on the "Talbot."

This service of thanksgiving had no sooner concluded than the breeze before which they had been running subsided and the pestiferous fog again blotted out the sight of land. It soon developed that a change of wind was in the making. Before long it sprang up again from the southeast. The "Arbella" tacked and set its course to the northwest, thus continuing all that night. The next morning at day-break the sounding lead disclosed only thirty fathoms of water. To a practical seaman like Captain Peter Milborne the shallowness of the ocean depth suggested one thing—a sorely needed commodity

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—fish. If they were indeed over a fishing bank, and there were known to be many in this region of the Atlantic coast, the "Arbella" might now restock its depleted larder, for the supply of salt fish had been exhausted.

The sails of the flagship were accordingly furled. When early rising passengers ventured on deck at sunrise June 7, 1630, they beheld the joyful spectacle of eager sailors busy with hook and line, and busy to a purpose for they were hauling in codfish of mammoth size. Governor Winthrop declares in his journal that in less than two hours, with but a few hooks overboard, the mariners captured sixty-seven codfish. "Most of them very great fish," he writes, "some a yard and a half long and a yard in compass." Modern fishermen along the New England coast may well sigh with envy at this record of codfish four and a half feet long!

The worthy Governor indicated in his journal his gratitude for this bounty of the deep and of its appropriateness, since it came on a Monday, one of the days when all on shipboard were scheduled to eat fish. Having made their catch the mariners swarmed aloft into the rigging. The sails of the "Arbella" were again set. The ship resumed its voyage across the gulf of Maine. A circumstance that worried the Governor not a little was the fact that during the troublesome days of fog the flagship had parted with her companions and was now apparently alone on the ocean. Not a sail was in sight. The air was bitter cold.

By mid-forenoon the sounding lead disclosed another shallow place in the ocean. Again the sails were furled and again the eager mariners, in spite of numb fingers and slippery decks, resumed their fishing tackle with much the same result as before. The sea bottom was apparently alive with mammoth codfish. The Governor makes record that all the company feasted on fish that day.

On Tuesday the eighth of June, 1630, the "Arbella" kept on in a northwesterly course. The weather continued extremely cold. Early in the afternoon the lookout reported a mountain peak ahead of them. For a time it was thought that they were approaching Monhegan Island. With great eagerness the passengers crowded on deck to witness the spectacle of a great mountain rising over the ocean horizon. Higher and higher with other peaks surrounding it, rose

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the eminence toward which they were steering. Blue in the distance no longer, but with the vivid green of spring verdure except on its stone-crested heights, a great island uplifted itself before them.

Even as they gazed the passengers were aware of a pleasing change in the atmosphere around them. The arctic wind from the north had lost its power and all the air gradually became warm and pleasant. By three o'clock in the afternoon Captain Milborne had decided that the island was what is now known as Mount Desert Island off the coast of eastern Maine. Captain Milborne accordingly turned the prow of the flagship west by southwest, and was soon merrily sailing down the coast. The ship's course was near enough to the forest-clad mainland to awaken in the hearts of all the sweet nostalgia that inevitably disturbs landsmen when completing a long ocean voyage.

The afternoon sun shone upon them in all its brilliance. The air continued warm and balmy. It was one of those June days in which spring and summer seemed to join hands and dance, stirring leaf and blossom, and, laden with nectar, flitting joyously across the shimmering water to the nostrils of those who have long dreamed of land and the fragrance of flowers. To Governor John Winthrop and his fellow-passengers, crowding the rails of the little flagship, this swift transit from winter into summer was well nigh overpowering. Not even the memory of green fields and countrysides of Old England could match the reality of this new land. Winthrop writes in his journal: "We now had fair sunshiny weather, and so pleasant a sweet air as did much refresh us, and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden." What a world of eloquence there lives in that last expression, "the smell of a garden," for it mirrors so clearly the reaction of home-loving Englishmen to the perfume of trees and flowers. Suddenly, to the solitary ship, as though the New World were sending winged messengers of welcome, came a wild pigeon and a small land bird, fearlessly alighting in the rigging of the "Arbella."

Thus the flagship of the Puritan fleet pursued its solitary way, heading into its first American sunset, sailing on in twilight and under the stars, sailing all the night in a southwesterly course parallel to the mainland. When morning came the travelers were rejoiced to see the long horizon line of green hills on their starboard side. The

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captain of the "Arbella" well knew the indented coast line and the wooded islands of the region, so he wisely kept his distance from the mainland. Winthrop states that they were sailing eight or ten leagues off shore. He describes the mainland as "very high land, lying in many hills, very unequal." He comments also upon the numerous small islands that were visible from the ship.

It is somewhat difficult to determine from Winthrop's journal the exact course of the "Arbella" as it sailed down the coast. On Thursday, June tenth, he states that they lost all sight of land which would indicate that they were then opposite the great indentation known as Casco Bay. Their course being south by southwest would naturally cause them to approach land again in the vicinity of York, or Agamenticus, as the Gorges Plantation was then known. Sure enough, at four o'clock that afternoon they beheld land on their starboard bow which the Governor describes as "the Three Turk's Heads, being a ridge of three hills upon the mainland whereof the southernmost is greatest. It lies near Agamenticus." He states moreover that to the north of them they also beheld another hill which lies near Cape Porpoise, in the present town of Kennebunkport, Maine.

The voyagers had no intention of landing in Sir Ferdinando Gorges' territory. Having established their bearings they continued down the coast. In the late afternoon they were sailing so close to the shore that the passengers were afforded a clear view of giant trees that extended in places down to the very shore line. Again the passengers because of their nearness to land were refreshed by woodland odors. Night coming on, the prudent captain dared not continue so near to the mainland. The "Arbella" accordingly tacked to the southeast and with a smart gale behind her was soon a goodly distance off shore.

On the following day, when they approached the Isles of Shoals, they beheld a sight that gladdened their hearts, having so long been without a sign of human life. A ship lay there at anchor and five or six shallops were under sail in the vicinity. The "Arbella's" fish supply had again run low. When shoals of mackerel were encountered the mariners joyfully undertook the task of capturing a great quantity of this delicious variety of food fish. While they were engaged at their absorbing task a shallop approached and hailed them. The craft belonged to some English fishermen then operating in the vicinity.

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Throughout the day, June 11, 1630, the "Arbella" had been in sight of a headland that Captain Milborne had assured the eager passengers could be none other than Cape Ann. They knew that scarce fifteen miles beyond the Cape lay the Puritan settlement founded by the Massachusetts Bay Company. In the forenoon the headland had been a tiny blue promontory on the southwestern horizon. Hour by hour it had grown in size, the blue haze changing to definite outlines that reared themselves higher and higher above the ocean rim.

As sunset threw its golden mantle over the distant hills of the mainland, lying in a great half-circle to the north and west of them, the whole company gathered on deck for a service of thanksgiving because they were so near their journey's end. When prayers were ended every eye instinctively turned toward the bold headland of Cape Ann. In silence on the "Arbella's" forward deck, with the scent of far off woodlands in their nostrils and the warm summer breeze playing about them, they stood in reverential awe under the kindling stars of the June evening. Beyond the promontory of Cape Ann, still outlined against the sky ahead of them, lay all their future hopes and fears. Tomorrow they would see their friends and discover what had happened in the interval since the previous September when letters had last come to them from America.

All night long the flagship pushed steadily down the coast until at the first flush of dawn the eager captain realized that they were opposite the mouth of the little bay in which the harbor of Naumkeag or Salem was located. It was then four o'clock in the morning of Saturday, June twelfth (or rather, June twenty-second, by our calendar). There was much to be done before nightfall, for the Lord's Day was at hand when all labors must cease. Early as was the hour Captain Milborne caused two cannon to be fired as a signal that the "Arbella" had arrived and was waiting to undertake the difficult passage through the narrow channel to a safe anchorage. He did not stand upon ceremony, however, for he immediately dispatched a skiff to a ship that lay at anchor in the harbor, the "Lion" which had sailed from Bristol weeks before the setting forth of the "Arbella," and had reached Salem in the latter part of May, 1630. The "Lion," be it known, had brought over a group of Leyden Pilgrims for Plymouth Planta-

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tion, their passage having been arranged for by Isaac Allerton, who had accompanied them to America.

While the "Arbella" was awaiting the proper condition of tide, perhaps an hour after their signal gun had been fired, a shallop was observed approaching the ship. It did not require the joyful "ship ahoy" from the lusty lungs of the occupants of the shallop to bring the passengers crowding to the rails of the flagship. A great event was impending. They were to receive their first visitor in American waters. The occupants of the smaller craft, at a safe distance from the lazily swinging ship, dropped sail and cast anchor. A man thereupon clambered into a skiff and rowed swiftly to the ship's side. As the visitor came up the ladder to the deck of the flagship Captain Milborne greeted him with joyful acclaim.

"Master Isaac Allerton, of Plymouth Plantation," he cried.

"Even so, Master Milborne, and right glad to bring you the greetings of our brethren at New Plymouth. By a happy chance I am sailing up the coast to Pemaquid, but I cannot deny myself the pleasure of being first to greet our new neighbors. Aha! Master Winthrop, I trust that you are well!"

The two men clasped hands with great cordiality. In fact the chief men of the Massachusetts Bay Company were now on hand to greet Allerton, who had met them in London months before during negotiations for the booking of passage of the Leyden Pilgrims. Conversation eagerly turned to the voyage of the "Lion" and to Allerton's experience thereon as a passenger. Since this ship had been the first to reach the Endicott Colony, bearing letters from the Massachusetts Bay Company announcing the change in government, John Winthrop was frankly solicitous to learn what reception the news may have received in the plantation.

"To speak truly, Master Winthrop, there are those yonder in Salem as the plantation is now called, who know you not but who nevertheless rejoice at your coming."

"You are pleased to speak in riddles, good sir."

"Nay, not in riddles to those who know Master Endicott as Governor."

"So you think that even a stranger would be welcome," nodded the Governor, a twinkle in his eyes. "If that be the case then my task will surely be easier. But tell me, how does Master Endicott take the news?"

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"With true Christian fortitude, Master Winthrop. I had misjudged the man for I had fancied that the plantation would be rent asunder by his rage at being rejected as chief ruler. The "Lion" had been in port scarce twenty-four hours ere he had called a meeting of the planters to read to them the news of your selection and to pledge his own allegiance to the new government."

"You could not have brought me better news, Master Allerton. The man is worthy of trust and shall not suffer because of my coming. Tell me, how is it with the plantation?"

"As to that, Master Winthrop, you had best inquire of Master Endicott, who will no doubt see you this day. From all that I can learn things are gravely amiss over yonder. There has been much sickness and many deaths among the planters and their families. To what extent I know not, but the plantation is in sore distress."

Shortly after Isaac Allerton had taken his leave Captain Milborne decided that wind and tide were favorable to attempt the passage of the narrow strait between Baker's Island and another which Winthrop writes down as "Little Isle." While the "Arbella" was in motion and headed into the channel, a shallop was observed emerging from the harbor. Perceiving that the smaller craft was heading toward the ship, the mariners with the more confidence gave the flagship additional sail and advanced to meet the newcomer. When she had reached the safety of the lee side of Baker's Island the "Arbella" was again anchored.

The shallop now arrived. It had as its chief passenger Captain Peirce, the master of the good ship "Lion." His coming was the signal for another joyful reunion on the deck of the "Arbella," with much handshaking and exchanging of greetings. It seems that Captain Peirce had been appointed by Governor Endicott as a committee of one to welcome Governor Winthrop and his party to Salem harbor and to arrange for a ceremonious visit to the "Arbella" of the resident Governor and his staff.

Little additional information concerning affairs in the Colony was derived from Captain Peirce, who soon took his leave, promising to return early in the afternoon with Endicott and his staff. In the meantime the eager passengers chafed mightily under the necessity of delay in going ashore. Confined for many weeks on shipboard, they were now in the near vicinity of land. Its green trees and sum-

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mer verdure beckoned them. The very air was fragrant with the breath of vast woodlands. Small wonder, therefore, that Governor Winthrop had difficulty in restraining the impatience of his followers.

"Why should they not go ashore?" urged Thomas Dudley at an impromptu meeting in the Governor's cabin. "We have traveled these many weeks for the privilege of setting foot on the soil of this New World. I like not idle ceremony."

"Nor do I," returned John Winthrop evenly, "but we must remember the unusual circumstances under which we come and have a care lest we seem to override the wishes of the resident Governor."

"Master Winthrop is right," declared Sir Richard Saltonstall heartily. "It is highly important that there be no seeming discourtesy to the present government of the plantation. Until we land and take over the administration of affairs John Endicott and his advisers are entitled to be treated as the rulers of our Colony at Salem."

"I grant the point Sir Richard, but can we not give these poor souls leave to go ashore at some other place than the settlement itself. Surely it could not be deemed disrespectful to Master Endicott's authority if they be set ashore on the mainland opposite our present anchorage."

The outcome of the conference was a decision to permit such of the passengers as desired the privilege to go ashore directly after dinner. The weather was warm and balmy as though Heaven itself had ordained that the first day of the voyagers in their new dominions should be well nigh perfect. The first boat load of excited humanity had scarcely put off from the "Arbella" that afternoon than a shallop was seen approaching from the inner harbor. Governor Winthrop at once summoned the chief men of the Bay Company to assemble for a formal reception of the visiting dignitaries, which he had every reason to believe the approaching shallop contained.

Winthrop had never met John Endicott, but he now had no difficulty in singling him out from among those who approached the flagship. Up the ship's ladder presently came four men. John Winthrop and his party were awaiting them on the main deck of the "Arbella." Captain Peirce acted as master of ceremonies in the official meeting of Endicott and Winthrop. As the two men clasped hands and for a moment took the measure of one another, there was indeed a



THREE CENTURIES AFTERWARD.

(Above) COPLEY SQUARE, SHOWING PUBLIC LIBRARY; (Below) PUBLIC GARDENS, BOSTON

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marked contrast in their outward appearance. The blunt John Endicott with stern, heavy-jowled features, his thin mustache and goatee, was greeting for the first time his patrician successor. John Winthrop was a man whose face was long and narrow and whose mustache, Van Dyke beard and length of hair betokened the artist and the thinker rather than the man of virile deeds. Here perhaps was the secret of their dissimilarity. Each was slightly past forty years of age, and life had set its indelible seal upon them, the one harsh, violent, fanatical, and the other, the lawyer, the diplomat, the man of wisdom.

Governor Endicott now presented to his superior the Reverend Samuel Skelton and a Captain Levett. When introductions had been completed on both sides Endicott lost no time in extending a formal invitation to Winthrop and his party to accompany him at once to the settlement.

"I acknowledge myself much bound to the Bay Company for the honors that it has seen fit to bestow upon me," he declared with great solemnity, "and it grieves me much that I cannot offer you the hospitality due to your rank and stations."

"My dear brother in the Lord, we are not come to be entertained nor to be ministered unto. Right gladly will we accompany you to the settlement, but you must not feel that we expect feasting or good cheer."

"Nevertheless such as we have is freely to be yours, and we have a house builded for your use should you choose to accept of it."

"Come, come, Master Endicott, your generous zeal quite overwhelms me, but let us go at once into the shallop for I am impatient to see your town."

In allotting space in the modest craft it was decided to invite Lady Arbella Johnson and a few of her intimate friends to accompany the party. Some of the group were ferried across to the waiting shallop; others embarked for the shore trip in the ship's long boat. It was indeed a merry party as they made their way across the four miles of water that separated the "Arbella" from the town landing of Salem. It could not equal in joyous abandon, however, those other boat loads of passengers now being set ashore on the mainland opposite the ship's anchorage. Phillips, in his "Salem in the Seventeenth Century," published in 1933, declares that the probable site of their land-

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ing is what is now known as Hospital Point in the town of Beverly.

The significant event of their trip to the mainland was recorded by the worthy Governor in his famous journal thus: "In the meantime most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries." Could one imagine a more delightful reception than this unexpected gift of the wilds, the luscious and delicate strawberry? Had they found merely enough for each to have sampled their piquant flavor the discovery would have been prophetic indeed, but Governor Winthrop declares that they "gathered store of fine strawberries," which proves beyond question that they picked so great a quantity that they brought back to the ship a store of them for their table. To anyone who lives in New England such a find of wild strawberries, except in cultivated fields, or burned land, would be regarded as miraculous. These newly-arrived passengers were not roaming in fields tilled by Englishmen, nor cleared by fire, but on an apparently wild shore—and lo! it was red with strawberries. Only once in the author's experience in the wilds has he ever beheld any such phenomenon of nature. Returning from a fishing trip in eastern Maine many years ago, faint from hunger, he beheld across a woodland river, a bank red with wild strawberries. Crossing the river with his companion, a college chum, they feasted on the largest wild strawberries he had ever seen. They even filled a lunch basket with berries to be carried home. The author can, therefore, glimpse, over the gulf of three centuries, the true significance of John Winthrop's entry in his journal concerning the joyous discovery on the Beverly shore.

As for Winthrop and his party they, too, had partaken of the bounty of nature in this new world. John Endicott had entertained them at supper with venison from the forest. It was June, surely not the best time of the year for such a feast. Unknown to the visitors Endicott's plantation was on the verge of famine, with but scant supply of provisions between them and utter want. Yet Endicott gallantly provided venison pasty, or pies made of deer meat, washed down with real beer—no doubt the last of his stock.

At sunset the Governor and the gentlemen of the party returned to the "Arbella." Some of the ladies remained at the settlement. Two surprises awaited John Winthrop on his return to the flagship—first, the strawberries as evidence of the products of nature in this

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new world; and, secondly, a strange visitor who had boarded the ship, an Indian brave from a nearby tribe. The natives had a keen appreciation of the white man's food and drink—especially the latter—and the more venturesome had learned that a sure way to both, was for the aforesaid native to be on hand to greet newcomers from across the sea. Quite naturally the unbidden visitor who spoke only a few words of broken English was unable to make himself understood and fell back upon the primitive medium of sign language. The Governor was constrained to show his friendliness by food and drink.

John Winthrop and his associates made much of the Indian, regarding him as a sort of unofficial ambassador from the aboriginal inhabitants. But the native soon became very much of a problem to them, because when darkness came on he showed no disposition to depart from the ship. At bedtime he was still sitting contentedly in their midst.

Captain Milborne now came to the rescue. Lantern in hand he escorted the Indian to a neatly folded sail in a sheltered place by the mainmast. The captain rubbed his eyes and yawned elaborately, then pointed to the sail, whereupon the savage, with every appearance of gratitude, settled down for the night. The sail, thickly folded, was no doubt softer than his usual couch, a grass mat laid over planks or poles. The June night was conducive to slumber.

CHAPTER XXIX

WINTHROP EXPLORES THE BAY

John Winthrop awakened at an early hour on the morning of June thirteenth. He had learned disturbing facts during his visit to the mainland on the previous afternoon. John Endicott had ruefully admitted the impending famine for his Colony at Salem. Worse than that, a great scourge of death had visited the little Colony. Thomas Dudley, in a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, written a few months after his coming to America, thus describes the deplorable conditions at Salem: "We found the Colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before; and many of those alive weak and sick; all corn and bread amongst them hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight."

It is no wonder that the newly arrived Governor should have awakened in the early hours of the morning to ponder so great a problem. The Salem Colony had now for two years been established in this harbor, and yet it was so far from being self-supporting as to require great expenditures from the Bay Company to keep it alive. The problem of the servants of the Company who had been sent over during the past two years was also a desperate one. In fact, the Governor became so agitated that even though it was the Sabbath Day, when secular affairs were supposed to be laid aside, he arranged an informal conference with his deputy and assistants, Messrs. Dudley, Saltonstall, Johnson, Coddington, Vassall and Bradstreet.

"I am greatly troubled in spirit," he told them, "as to our proper duty in this matter of the present plight of our plantation at this place. So many have died here in recent months methinks it must be an unhealthy place in which to live. We have come here with provisions for the needs of our own passengers, but now it is clear that we must share them with the planters already seated, lest they starve."

"What if we starve as a consequence?"

"For that, Master Dudley, I cannot answer except that we must needs take instant measures to send back to England for supplies. Is it wise for us to settle at Salem at all? My idea is that we should

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perhaps explore the coast and especially the Bay of Massachusetts, where a small group of our people are already seated."

"A capital idea," rejoined Saltonstall, "and I for one believe that it would simplify our problems greatly if we settled on new lands and laid our own foundations."

Isaac Johnson was the next to speak:

"The first comers have already taken whatsoever portions are most valuable in this locality. Surely there are lands as good or better in other places within our patent. Let us seek them out and spread our newcomers over the most fertile acres we can discover."

"There will be jealousies enough," declared another of the group. "Why invite trouble by seating ourselves near the planters who are now in residence? Master Endicott may well prove a thorn in the flesh."

"As to that," interposed John Winthrop, "I have no fears. Know you not that he has already freely offered me the house in which he lives for my residence as Governor, saying that it was built for the Governor and that he is no longer Governor of this place? I have not accepted it and should be loath to dispossess him."

The question of what should be done with reference to John Endicott's offer was wisely postponed to some future date, yet the matter of the servants of the Company who were in grave need of food supplies could not well be postponed. The Company had sent over in two years' time one hundred and eighty servants and had expended in their equipment and transportation upwards of sixteen pounds upon each of them. Many had died. There was little to show for all this expense and now they were found to be on the edge of starvation.

"The chief problem of this plantation," declared John Winthrop, "is this matter of the hired servants of the Company, since they so greatly outnumber the planters themselves. I doubt not that Master Endicott has striven manfully to keep them at profitable tasks, but I greatly fear that they have been a burden to the Company and are like to be a sore trial to us."

"Have they not planted crops and started gardens?" asked one of the assistants.

"That indeed they have done, but it is a long time until harvest, and they must be fed in the meantime."

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"But we have no food to spare unless other ships bring the supplies that were intended for the Company's servants."

The conference was interrupted at this point by one of the sailors calling for Governor Winthrop. Masconomo, the Sagamore of Agawam, with one of his followers, had paddled out to the "Arbella" to pay respects to the new Governor. In halting and broken English the Sagamore made known his good wishes and that of his followers for the White Father who had arrived to govern the land. The necessity of entertainment of the visitor kept the Governor busy until the hour when the Sabbath-Day services were scheduled. A lengthy sermon by the Rev. George Phillips was listened to with deep gravity by Masconomo and the two Indian braves, for the visitor of the previous night was still on the "Arbella." That the savages understood scarcely a word of the lengthy discourse was apparently no cause for restlessness on their part. With stoical composure they sat on the ship's deck near the Governor and his two sons throughout the Sabbath-Day service stirring not at all until the noonday meal was announced. This was their abundant reward.

The mid-day repast had no sooner been finished than word was brought to Governor Winthrop that one of the missing consorts of the "Arbella" had at last arrived off the harbor mouth. Captain Milborne had already detailed a group of mariners to man a skiff and send it forth to guide the ship into the roadstead where the "Arbella" was now at anchor. It was the "Jewel." After a great deal of difficulty with wind and tide the ship managed to fight its way into the outer harbor.

Salem harbor at that period had an excellent anchorage in its inner harbor which was opposite the village itself. The great difficulty encountered by sailing ships was the narrowness of the channel in which adverse wind or tide made entrance under sail quite impossible. When Monday morning dawned with the "Arbella" and the "Jewel" still unable to make the passage in any other manner, the mariners resorted to mechanical means. By transporting the anchor by means of the long boat a full cable length down the channel before dropping it overboard, it became possible, by means of the ship's windlass, to warp the craft down the channel. By repeating the process they eventually attained an anchorage in the shelter of the inner harbor. Thus the "Arbella" and the "Jewel" came to rest in

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quiet waters. Early in the afternoon Governor Winthrop and nearly all his Company went on shore. Captain Milborne, desirous of honoring his distinguished passenger, fired a salute of five guns as the Winthrop party left the ship's side and set out for the town landing.

Governor Endicott was on hand to receive Winthrop and his associates and to conduct them on a tour of inspection of such public works as had been accomplished during the past two years.

"It is my sorrow, Master Winthrop, that we have not accomplished more, but there is much difficulty in clearing land and building houses in this new country. Then, too, hired servants will not labor with the zeal that men toil in their own behalf."

"I can readily understand, Master Endicott, that human nature does not change with crossing the great sea. I am sure that you have accomplished all that was humanly possible. It distresses me to find that you have encountered so great a scourge of illness and death."

"How great a scourge that has been to us no man can know. To have buried more than a third part of our whole Company in one winter is an experience that may well chill the heart of the bravest among us."

"Master Endicott, I may as well be frank with you. We have serious misgivings about settling more planters in this vicinity, than you now have, seeing we must rely for subsistence largely upon the fruits of the soil. We have already discussed the wisdom of further explorations of this coast. What think you of other regions that you have visited?"

"There be many goodly rivers and fine harbors, Master Winthrop, within our patent. If you are bringing so great a number of planters to settle upon lands for tillage you will find at the head of the bay called Massachusetts a likely region for habitation."

"When we have had sufficient time to rest and refresh ourselves on land, it is my purpose to go in person, with others in authority, and see with our own eyes the regions you mention."

It will be remembered that John Endicott had been elected to the board of assistants of the new administration. It was the present policy of Winthrop and his advisers to make a thorough investigation of conditions in the Salem Colony. A series of informal meetings were accordingly held at which Endicott laid bare all the details of his administration, furnishing facts and figures as to the cost of this

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and that public work. The more they discussed the problem of the Company servants, what should be done to feed them, to pay their wages, to keep them profitably employed, the more baffling that problem appeared.

"I am persuaded that it was a mistake to have sent over this army of servants in the first place," declared Thomas Dudley at one of these informal meetings.

"And I also," rejoined Isaac Johnson, "but the mischief was done and the Bay Company has dearly paid for its mistake. Our present problem is to provide for these servants and to furnish them food, since there is no gainful occupation in the plantation at which they can be employed."

"There are many houses to build if we are to provide shelter for the multitude," suggested one of the stockholders.

"It is true that we might thus employ their services," responded the Governor, "but we must not overlook the fact that the Company itself is not to build houses except for the ministers of the Colony. If we are to hire these servants out to private planters, and they are to pay the Company for their labor, will this not breed dissatisfaction and expose the Company to heavy losses hereafter?"

"Master Winthrop has touched upon the chief issue before us," declared Sir Richard Saltonstall. "We come here to the New World burdened with old debts and with left-over problems. I freely confess that I was one of those who believed that the Company might reap profits from the labor of its servants in New England; but I have lived to see my error and now most heartily wish that we were rid of these unprofitable servants.

"While we were yet in England," suggested another of the assistants, "we cast off a great burden of debt and reorganized our Company. Why may we not give these servants their liberty at once and be rid of them?"

"But we stand to lose vast sums. Upwards of three thousand pounds have been expended thus far upon them."

"Even so, Master Winthrop, but will our case be improved if we continue to add other moneys, with no prospect of profits hereafter?"

"There is meat in what you say. If we now offer them their liberty they may at once find employment from those who seek to build houses, here or wherever we may decide to settle."

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The upshot of the conference was a decision to confer with the leading men among the indentured servants and thus to discover what their sentiments might be in the matter. During the next two days a complete survey of the situation was made. Inasmuch as the servants were bound under indentures which still had several years to run the proposal to discharge them from these bonds met with enthusiastic response from the more progressive of the laborers, but with sullen opposition from others.

Believing that the arrival of other immigrants would assist in convincing even the doubtful servants, Governor Winthrop decided, in the meantime, to go in person to the bay called Massachusetts and investigate its possibilities for colonization. It was deemed inadvisable to sail thither in the "Arbella." A shallop was accordingly made ready early on Thursday morning, June seventeenth, and in it embarked the Governor and his chief advisers. Wind and weather combined to speed them on their way. The exploring party was greatly impressed by the scenery of the intervening coast. It will be remembered that two peninsulas extend into the ocean between Salem and the present site of the city of Boston. Marblehead was first to be encountered and seven miles further down the coast, Nahant Point. Five miles below Nahant the travelers reached the entrance to Boston Harbor.

In those days the head of the bay, or Boston Harbor, was ringed about with islands, some of which have since been connected with the mainland in the extensive filling process and marsh-reclamation that has taken place. At this distance of time, with one of the great cities of the world now stretching out in all directions and covering vast tracts that were once tidal flats, it is hard to visualize the same territory as a wilderness.

When the Governor's shallop arrived at a point opposite the head of the bay they saw before them in the middle distance a wooded island, later to be known as Governor's Island. Another body of land at the left was to be the site of their first fort—Castle Island. Beyond Castle Island on the left lay the high peninsula called by the Indians Mattapan, even then the scene of colonizing activity as Winthrop was that day to discover. When the shallop passed between the two islands the Winthrop party saw squarely before them another peninsula, much smaller than the Mattapan headland. Three hills of peculiar shape adorned its summit.

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"That headland is called Shawmut by the savages," declared their guide, as he indicated with his hand the bold eminence toward which they were steering. "It is almost an island at high tide. A planter named Blackstone lives there, on the other side of the hill facing the river."

"Here is a large island at our right," said Winthrop with some animation, "and there seems to be a planter's house upon it."

"Yes, that is called Winnisimmet by the savages(but by others Noodle's Island). A planter is seated there, Master Samuel Mave-rick by name."

As they passed between Noddle's Island and the high promontory of Shawmut they beheld yet another headland with two high hills upon it. These hills were later known as Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill—the headland being Charlestown.

"The chief settlement of our planters in this bay is here. Is it your wish to stop, Master Winthrop?"

"Not until we have explored this river of which you have told me, for I perceive that it lies before us."

"There are two rivers here, Master Winthrop. At our left is the mouth of the Charles River, but the broad stream before us is the Mystic River."

"Then let us sail up the Mystic for I have been told that the Charles has already been explored."

The righthand shore of the Mystic was then bordered by a salt meadow of considerable width that extended along the shore between the mouth of a brook and a larger stream called the Malden River, each of which flows into the Mystic. Beyond the mouth of the Malden River the land became higher. The Mystic now narrowed to such an extent that further progress with the shallop was deemed inadvisable. The party thereupon landed and tramped the wooded upland a considerable distance, admiring its lofty trees and the variety of timber to be found in that region.

Wearied at length by the unaccustomed exercise and the heat of the day, the exploring party returned to the shallop and presently sailed around the peninsula and into the mouth of the Charles River to visit the little settlement of Charlestown. The plantation was tiny indeed. Three brothers named Sprague, with seven or eight white companions, had settled there the previous year, but had made

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little impression upon the wilderness. The Sprague party had found one white family already residing there—a Thomas Walford and his wife. Walford had constructed a house with a thatched roof, on the south side of Breed's Hill. He had surrounded this house with a palisade in order to protect it from the Indians. The Sprague party had been accompanied by Graves, the engineer, and a group of Company servants commissioned to build a large storehouse for the use of the Company in preparation for the present migration. This storehouse was now complete but the planters were living in rude huts. Charlestown was still little better than a trading post.

To Governor Winthrop, however, this beginning of a settlement was pleasing indeed. He was, moreover, thrilled to learn from the planters that one of the Puritan ships had already unloaded a full cargo of passengers who were at present busily at work on the headland of Mattapan that he had seen when first entering the harbor. Winthrop was puzzled, however, because no ship was at anchor in the harbor.

"They came on the 'Mary and John.'" explained Ralph Sprague, "but the rascally captain put them ashore at Oldham's plantation at Nantasket."

"How long ago did this happen?" demanded Winthrop.

"That I cannot say, but a boatload of them came here about two weeks ago and went up the Charles, where they landed as if to seat themselves there. The main body of them came no farther than yonder headland, so presently the others returned to them. They have been very busy at Mattapan for a week past."

Late that afternoon the Winthrop party took their leave of the Charlestown planters and set out for the headland of Mattapan. As they passed Winnisimmet or Noddle's Island, however, they were so heartily hailed by the planter who lived there that they were constrained to pay him a visit. When Samuel Maverick learned the identity of his visitors his enthusiasm knew no bounds. Evidently, the possessor of some wealth he had contrived to build himself a home of comfortable proportions and a sort of fort upon which he had mounted four small cannon. His hospitality to strangers of his own race was already well known throughout the entire region.

At his insistence the travelers gladly gave over their intention of visiting their brethren from the "Mary and John" that night. In

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fact, Maverick himself had come from the site of the new settlement that afternoon and was full of praise of the energetic manner with which the Colonists were laboring to provide shelters for their Company.

"This be a wild country," remarked John Winthrop as, seated before the Maverick house after supper was over, the group were gazing across the harbor with sunset already touching the western hills.

"A wild country truly," replied his host, "but a fair and pleasant place in which to live. Now that a great company are to come to these shores to build them habitations this wild forest that we see on every hand will prove a blessing unto them."

"You mean that we have timber for building at our very doors?"

"Yea, timber for building and much game in the woods—deer and rabbits and grouse. In the autumn when acorns and nuts are felled by the frost there are rich gleanings for swine under the forest trees. Wild fowl, ducks and geese in their season, come here in great numbers."

"Your fisheries seem rich and plentiful," remarked Sir Richard Saltonstall.

"You speak truly, Sir Richard, for never in my life did I before see such plentitude of great fishes of divers kind. In early spring, shads, alewives and herring are to be found in our rivers in such shoals as cannot be counted for number."

"You must not overlook the lobsters we had this night at your table, Master Maverick. How do you supply yourself with them?"

"The waters of this bay are full of lobsters. Then, too, we have clams in great abundance. The tide flats over yonder where the newcomers are seated are alive with clams. No man need starve in this region, at least at this time of the year."

"Then I take it, Master Maverick, there are times when a man may go hungry even in this paradise."

"I will not gainsay that possibility, Master Winthrop. There are times and seasons for all things. An orchard of fruit in our home country of England gives blessed abundance, but it would be sorry comfort for an empty stomach in winter, spring or early summer. Yet of all places in which I have lived this island of Winnisimmet contents me most."

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"Tell me of your neighbors, Master Maverick, of this planter Blackstone, who lives on yonder headland."

"Master Blackstone is a queer man. He lives alone and has very little to do with anybody, but he is civil enough when met withal. I suspect that he was a preacher in England and was put out of his parish for heresy."

"And is he your only neighbor who was seated here before our people came to Charlestown?"

"No, Master Winthrop, for David Thompson came down from Piscataqua and built him a house on one of these harbor islands. He and his family still live there. Charlestown, as you call it, was first occupied by Master Thomas Walford, who lives there to this day.

"Walford, why he must be the man who lives in the palisaded house on the hillside."

"The very man. When I came here two years ago Walford, Thompson, Blackstone and some others who did not tarry long, were the only white men in these parts. But now we are to have a multitude. I wonder what it will mean to us first comers."

"You need have no fear that it will bring you harm, Master Maverick. We are enjoined by the Massachusetts Bay Company to treat the old planters with every kindness and to urge them to join with us in forming a great English Colony on these shores."

Thus John Winthrop, who was to live many years in this favored location—years of American history in the making—first visited the scene of his future failures and triumphs. He indeed had much to learn in America, especially of the capabilities of self government by the common people. That he was wise enough to learn the great lessons of democracy and eventually to give himself whole-heartedly to a new philosophy of government, history bears witness. But that is another and greater story which the author some day may be privileged to unfold. Now, however, we will take leave of "Pioneers of the Rockbound Coast" as the era of exploration gives way to the new era of colonization of Boston and Massachusetts Bay.

Spencer and Allied Families

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, RIDGEWOOD, NEW JERSEY



SPENCER and its variant, Spenser, are surnames of official derivation, from the office of house-steward, one who, strictly speaking, had charge of the buttery or spence. The office of "la despencer" or "la spencer" was among the highest in the King's household and proportionately great among the barons.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

Arms—Quarterly, or and gules, in the 2d and 3d quarters a fret or, over all on a bend sable, three fleurs-de-lis argent.

(Burke: "General Armory." W. H. Spencer: "Spencer Family Record.")

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet gules, gemmed argent, a griffin's head argent, collared per pale gules and or, beaked gules, winged or, and charged on the breast and on each wing with a fleur-de-lis sable.

(W. H. Spencer: "Spencer Family Record.")

Although there are points in this pedigree which have not been thoroughly verified, the author of the genealogy, "Spencer Family Record," says that Dr. Horatio N. Spencer of St. Louis, in 1900-01, commissioned Reverend John Holding of Stotfold vicarage to make this search, and from records available it would seem that the pedigree which follows is quite correct.

(The Family in England)

I. John Spencer, Gentleman, of Southmylles, Bedfordshire, England, was living in 14 Edward IV (about 1475).

(W. H. Spencer: "Spencer Family Record," pp. 10-13.)

II. Robert Spencer, Gentleman, of Southmylles, Bedfordshire, married Anna Peake of Bedfordshire.

(*Ibid.*)

III. John (1) Spencer, Gentleman, of Southmylles, England, married Christian Baker. Children: 1. William, Gentleman, of Southmylles; married Isabella Osborn, daughter of Edward Osborn of Northampton. 2. Robert, Gentleman, of St. Albans, County Hertford; married Frances Foster, daughter of John Foster of Bramfield. 3. John, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

SPENCER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. John (2) Spencer, Gentleman, believed to be a son of John (1) Spencer, was of St. George's Parish, Edworth, Bedfordshire, and died June 9, 1558. He married "Ann," who is later recorded as "Widow Ann," and died June 16, 1560. Children: 1. John, died April 21, 1560, at Edworth. He is called "son of Ann." 2. Gerat, died 1576-77, his will being dated July 8, 1576, and proved May 20, 1577, named his brother Michael executor, and mentioned four children, a son, two daughters, and a child unborn; he was a resident of Biggleswade, Bedfordshire; he married, July 30, 1568, Helen Whyston. 3. Michael, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 14-18.)

V. Michael Spencer, son of John (2) Spencer and Ann Spencer, resided at Edworth and Stotfold, Bedfordshire. He married (first), at Edworth, January 25, 1555, Annis Liner or Nunier, buried February 23, 1561; (second) Elizabeth, surname unknown, buried November 18, 1599. Children of the first marriage: 1. John, baptized at Edworth, April 20, 1557, died before 1645; married and had a son, Daniel, who was a grocer in London. 2. Michael, baptized at Edworth, May 27, 1558; buried April 15, 1560. Children of the second marriage: 3. Johan, baptized at Edworth, August 20, 1564. 4. Ann, baptized at Edworth, July 24, 1566. 5. Michael, baptized at Edworth, August 30, 1566. 6. Alice, baptized at Edworth, August 30, 1566. 7. Thomas, baptized at Edworth, March 12, 1571. 8. Gerat, of whom further. 9. Richard, baptized at Stotfold, July 9, 1580. It is through the will of Richard, probated June 8, 1646, in which he names his nephews, the emigrants, that the following American-English connection has been traced. 10. Catharine, died before 1646; married Mr. Bland.

(*Ibid.*, p. 18.)

VI. Gerat Spencer, son of Michael and Elizabeth Spencer, was baptized at St. Mary's Parish, Stotfold, May 20, 1576, and died before his brother Richard's will was probated in 1646. Children: 1. William, baptized at St. Mary's Parish, Stotfold, October 11, 1601; emigrated to New England in 1630 and settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and later removed to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1638; married Agnes, and had three children. 2. Elizabeth, baptized

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October 21, 1602; married a Tomlyers. 3. John, baptized at Stotfold, June 22, 1604. 4. Henry, baptized at Stotfold, August 11, 1605; buried October 20, 1607. 5. Thomas, baptized in Bedfordshire, March 27, 1607, died September 11, 1687; emigrated to New England in 1630 with three of his brothers and settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and later went to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1637; married, in 1645, Sarah Reading, and had six children. 6. Richard, baptized December 11, 1608, died May 6, 1614. 7. Michael, baptized at Stotfold, May 5, 1611, died May 6, 1653; came to New England in 1630 and lived at Cambridge and Lynn, Massachusetts; married (first) a woman whose name is not known; (second) Mrs. Robbins, a widow. 8. Jared, Gerrard or Gerard, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 19.)

(The Family in America)

I. Ensign Jared, Gerrard or Gerard Spencer, son of Gerat Spencer, was born at Stotfold, England, baptized at St. Mary's Parish, Stotfold, April 25, 1614, and died in 1685. He came to New England in 1630 with his brothers, Thomas, William, and Michael, and in 1634 was a resident of Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he owned land on the south side of the river. In 1637 he removed to Lynn, where:

A Gennerall Courte houlden at Boston the 13th of the First Month, 1638, Garritt Spencer is granted the fferry at Lynn for two years, taking 2^d for a single pson to the furtherest place, and but 1^d for a single pson to the nearest place.

Jared Spencer was a juryman from Lynn at a county court held the 25th of the 10th mo., 1638. In 1653 he administered the estate of his brother, Michael Spencer, of Lynn. He was made ensign of the trainband of Lynn, and in 1659 was a Grand Juror. The following year he was in Connecticut, where Simon Lobdell sued him and his daughter Hannah for damages because she refused to marry Lobdell. It is probable that he was in Hartford, Connecticut, for a while. Jared Spencer and his son, John, were included among the twenty-eight purchasers of the town of Haddam, which was for a long time part of Hartford County, Connecticut, but later became part of Middlesex County. Two sons received lots in the division of 1671 and local records indicate that Jared Spencer was probably

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the wealthiest man in the town. In 1637 he became a freeman, was ensign of the militia and was a representative from Haddam at the General Court, 1674-75, 1678-81. In Jared Spencer's will, dated September 17, 1683, probated in 1685, he calls himself of Haddam, Connecticut, and bequeaths property and money to his children and to some of his grandchildren, and gives a pewter flagon and rim "bayson" to the church at Haddam.

Ensign Jared, Gerrard or Gerard Spencer married Hannah, who died before September, 1683. Children: 1. John, born at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1638, died August 3, 1682. 2. Hannah, born in 1640; married Daniel Brainerd, of Haddam, Connecticut, who died April 1, 1715, aged seventy-four. 3. Alice, born in 1641; married (first), in 1662, Thomas Brooks, who died October 18, 1668; (second) Thomas Shailer, lost at sea about 1692. 4. Mehitable, born in 1642; married Daniel Cone, who died October 24, 1706, in his eightieth year. 5. Thomas, born probably at Lynn, about 1650, died before 1703; married Elizabeth Bates, of Haddam, Connecticut. 6. Samuel, died August 7, 1705; married (first) Hannah (Wiley-Hungerford) Blachford, who died about 1681, daughter of Isaac Willey, of New London, Connecticut. Her first husband was Thomas Hungerford. (Hungerford I.) Samuel married (second) Miriam Willey, widow of John Willey. 7. William, married Sarah Ackley. 8. Nathaniel, died before 1722; married (first), in 1681, Lydia Smith; (second) Hannah, surname unknown, who died February 20, 1742. 9. Rebecca, died before 1706; married (first), about 1682, John Kennard, who died February, 1689; (second) John Tanner, of Lyme, Connecticut. 10. Ruth, married Joseph Clark, of Haddam. 11. Timothy, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, p. 19. "Extract from Henry Whittemore's 'Our New England Ancestors and Their Descendants,'" pp. 57, 58, 59. L. R. Paige: "History of Cambridge, Massachusetts," p. 659. Nathaniel Goodwin: "Genealogical Notes (First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts)," pp. 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204.)

II. Timothy Spencer, son of Ensign Jared, Gerrard or Gerard and Hannah Spencer, died in 1704. W. H. Spencer, in his book "Spencer Family Record," says: "Our only source of information respecting Timothy's death and that he was the father of a family we get from the Hartford Probate Records. In Vol. VII, p. 57,

SPENCER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

August 4, 1704, appears this entry: "Timothy Spencer of Haddam presented an inventory of the intestate estate of his father, Timothy Spencer deceased of Haddam, and was appointed administrator." The value of the property amounted to over £1,200, which was divided between his widow and six children."

Timothy Spencer married a woman whose name is not known, but who died about 1704. Children: 1. Timothy, died March 29, 1732, was administrator of his father's will; married, September, 1702, Abigail, surname not known. 2. Sarah, married Joseph Chapman, of Saybrook, Connecticut. 3. Hannah, married Azariah Dickinson, of Hadley. 4. Deborah, of whom further. 5. Ruth, born in 1689; married Henry Williams, of East Haddam, Connecticut. 6. Jonathan, born in 1692; died unmarried, and his estate was divided among his brothers and sisters, November 10, 1715.

(W. H. Spencer: "Spencer Family Record," pp. 21, 22. Nathaniel Goodwin: "Genealogical Notes (First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts)," p. 204.)

III. Deborah Spencer, daughter of Timothy Spencer, died October 14, 1750. She married John Hungerford. (Hungerford III.)

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 5, 6, 11, 12. Nathaniel Goodwin: "Genealogical Notes (First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts)," p. 204.)

(The Sisson Line)

Arms—Per fesse embattled or and azure, three griffins' heads erased counterchanged.

Crest—A griffin's head erased or.

Motto—Hope for the best.

(Burke: "General Armory." Arms used by the family.)

Sisson is probably a place name derived from Soissons, a province in France. The first members of this family came over to England at an early date. The poll tax returns of Howdenshire (Yorkshire) for 1379 include the names of Johannes Sisson, Robertus Cisson, Henricus Sisson, Thomas Cysson and William Cisson.

The English Sissons usually have been Non-Conformists, engaged in commerce. In America the early generations of Sissons were for the most part farmers and members of the Quaker sect.

(Arthur A. Wood: "Luther Sisson of Easton, Massachusetts; His Ancestry and Descendants," pp. 1-2, 4.)

SPENCER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1. *Richard Sisson*, the American ancestor, was born in England in 1608 and died at Dartmouth, Massachusetts, in 1684. Richard "Sussel" (*sic*) was admitted a freeman of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, on May 17, 1653, and on July 6, 1658, Richard Sisson purchased one three-hundredth part of Conanicut and Dutch islands. On June 5, 1667, he served as a grand jurymen in Dartmouth, Massachusetts.

Richard Sisson was a prosperous farmer having estates in both Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and Dartmouth, Massachusetts. In his will, dated October 18, 1683, and proved February 26, 1684, he bequeathed as follows (abstract):

Executor, son James. To wife Mary, my dwelling house and moveables during her life, and £12, yearly rent, with firewood, orchard, fruit, land for garden, liberty to keep poultry for her own use, a horse to be maintained and kept at her command to ride on, two oxen, and two cows, all money due me and a milch cow maintained for her use, and two parts of all my swine. Her corn to be carried to the mill and the meal brought home for her use, and ten bushels of new Indian corn, three bushels of rye and half my wheat and barley.

To son James, all my housing and land in Dartmouth, except land near Pogansett Pond, etc. To daughter Ann Tripp and her husband Peleg, land near Pogansett Pond, etc. To son John, all my house and land in Portsmouth. To son George, £5. To daughter Elizabeth wife of Caleb Allen £5. To Indian servant Samuel, a two-year-old mare. To grandchild Mary Sisson, three cows and a bed, etc., on the day of her marriage, and one pewter flagon and brass kettle, which was her aunt Mary's.

The inventory of his estate totaled over £600, of which £240 were for house and lands at Dartmouth, and £60 for house and lands in Rhode Island. An abstract of his widow's will follows:

"Mary Sison of Dartmouth widow," in her will dated "fifteenth day of the second month Caled aprill," 1690, "being very ill in body," bequeathed as follows (abstract): To my loving son George Sison £35 in money and a Bible. To my two grandchildren John and Mary Sison, children of my son John Sison £35 to be divided equally. All my brass, pewter, iron, linen and woolen, milk vessels and pails shall be divided equally between my daughter Elizabeth wife of Caleb Allin, my daughter Ann wife of Peleg Tripp, and my granddaughter Mary Sison daughter of my son George Sison (and other bequests to these three). I acknowledge that I have received of my son James Sison in full for all estate left me by my husband Richard Sison in his will; said son to be my executor. Entered September 1, 1693. (Inventory of her estate taken September 22, 1692.)

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Richard Sisson married Mary, surname unknown, who died in 1692. Children: 1. George, of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born April 8, 1650; married, April 8, 1670, Caleb Allen. 3. James, died in 1734; married Elizabeth Hathaway. 4. John, died in 1687; married Mary, surname unknown, who died in 1687. 5. Anne, died in 1713; married Peleg Tripp, who died January 13, 1714. 6. Mary, died in 1674; married Isaac Lawton, who died January 25, 1732.

(Arthur A. Wood: "Luther Sisson of Easton, Massachusetts; His Ancestry and Descendants," pp. 1-6. "Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," Vol. I, p. 263. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 568. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 181. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXII, p. 182.)

II. George Sisson, son of Richard and Mary Sisson, was born probably in England, in 1644, and died September 7, 1718. At the time of his father's death, George Sisson was a prosperous farmer with a family and had been given a share of his father's estate which explains his receiving only £5 in his parent's will. He was in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, for a while with his father, but later returned to Portsmouth, Rhode Island. In 1687 he served as constable; as deputy in 1702, 1705, and 1707, as well as justice of the peace in 1703.

George Sisson, in his will dated August 20, 1718, and proved September 20, 1718, made his son Richard Sisson executor, and the following bequests (abstract):

The eldest son Richard about eighty acres in northerly part of farm where I dwell, also seventeen acres near "Solentary Hole," and all my lands in Warwick. To son George, farm now possessed by him at Touisset Neck, Swansey. To son Thomas, land at Newport, now possessed by him. To son John, land and housing in Tiverton, he making certain payments to my daughters Elizabeth Clarke, Ann Weeden, Hope Sanford, Ruth Tew and Abigail Tew, and granddaughter Jane Sisson, daughter of John. To son James, remainder of lands in Portsmouth, except family burial place, also two negroes, twenty sheep, etc. My grindstone to my sons Richard and James. To my five daughters, and to my granddaughter Sarah Clarke, (other bequests).

The inventory of his estate amounted to more than £450.

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George Sisson married, probably in England, August 1, 1667, Sarah Lawton, who died July 5, 1718, daughter of Thomas Lawton, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born August 18, 1669, died in 1752; married Jeremiah Clarke. 2. Mary, born October 18, 1670, died in 1718. 3. Ann, born December 17, 1672; married Philip Weeden. 4. Hope, born December 24, 1674; married William Sanford. 5. Richard, born September 10, 1676, died in 1752; married Ann Card. 6. Ruth, born May 5, 1680; married Richard Tew. 7. George, born March 23, 1683; married (first), Mercy, surname not known; (second), at Swansea, Massachusetts, October 11, 1721, Lydia Cole. 8. Abigail, born March 23, 1685; married William Tew. 9. Thomas, of whom further. 10. John, born June 26, 1688, died in 1784; married Rebecca. 11. James, born July 26, 1690; married, April 17, 1712, Deborah Cook.

(James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, pp. 102-03. Arthur A. Wood: "Luther Sisson of Easton, Massachusetts; His Ancestry and Descendants," pp. 4-6. Joel Munsell: "American Ancestry," Vol. XII, p. 9. J. O. Austin: "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island," p. 181.)

III. Thomas Sisson, son of George and Sarah (Lawton) Sisson, was born September 10, 1686, and died in 1775. He lived in Newport, Rhode Island, on property willed to him by his father. Thomas Sisson married Jane, surname not known, who died in 1758. Children: 1. Giles. 2. William, of whom further. 3. Thomas. 4. Peleg. 5. Rebecca.

(Arthur A. Wood: "Luther Sisson of Easton, Massachusetts; His Ancestry and Descendants," pp. 4-6. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. IV, p. 103. R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 568. J. O. Austin: "One Hundred and Sixty Allied Families, Providence, Rhode Island," p. 212.)

IV. William Sisson, son of Thomas and Jane Sisson, died before May 12, 1776. He was a prosperous farmer and a well-known resident of Stonington, Connecticut. William Sisson married Hannah, whose surname has not been found. Children, born at Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. Oliver, born March 30, 1738; married, June 17, 1762, Mary Park, of Preston, Connecticut. 2. Nathan, born April 14, 1740. 3. Hannah, born June 17, 1742, died soon afterward. 4. William, born July 12, 1744, died October 15, 1798; married, April

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10, 1766, Mary or Marey Noyes, of Stonington. 5. Benajah, born September 2 or 17, 1746. 6. James, born August 25, 1748. 7. Abigail, born October 24, 1750. 8. Jonathan, of whom further. 9. Hannah, born June 7 or 17, 1755. 10. Thomas, born April 4, 1758, died October 2, 1841; married, at Westerly, Rhode Island, January 19, 1783, Abigail Cottrell.

(R. A. Wheeler: "History of the Town of Stonington, Connecticut," pp. 568-69. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Record of Rhode Island," Vol. V, pp. 59, 133.)

V. Captain Jonathan (1) Sisson, son of William and Hannah Sisson, was born at Westerly, Rhode Island, May 2, 1753, and died December 8, 1833. He lived for some time in Hopkinton, Rhode Island, but about 1800 he removed to Lyme, Connecticut, where he owned a farm and operated it in conjunction with a gristmill and a sawmill. He was one of the most progressive citizens of the town. Both he and his wife were buried in the Sisson graveyard in the northern part of the town of Lyme, near the Salem line. In 1801 or 1802 he removed to North Lyme, New London County. He bought a large tract of land, houses, and a grist, fulling, and sawmill from James Gould.

Captain Sisson served in the Revolutionary War. The Veterans' Administration in Washington, District of Columbia, has a very complete record of him, which follows:

Jonathan Sisson was born May 2, 1753, in Westerly, Washington County, Rhode Island. He was the son of William Sisson, name of his mother not given.

While residing in said Westerly, with his widowed mother, he served for sometime in the year 1775 at various times as private in the Rhode Island Militia in Captain John Gavit's Company, Colonel Joseph Noyes' Regiment; he guarded the shores of South Kingston, was stationed a part of the time at Point Judith, and was in General Sullivan's Expedition in 1778, length of service, fourteen months.

Jonathan Sisson continued to live in Westerly, Rhode Island, until he was about forty-nine years of age, then moved to Groton, Connecticut, where he lived four years, and then moved to Lyme, New London County, Connecticut.

His commission is still in the possession of a descendant.

Captain (1) Jonathan Sisson married, at Westerly, Rhode Island, May 12, 1776, Betsey or Elizabeth Blivin or Bliven, who was born at Westerly, August 4, 1755, died October 9, 1842, the daughter of

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Nathan and Elizabeth (Lewis) Blivin. After the death of her husband, Betsey (Blivin) Sisson was allowed pension on her application executed December 28, 1847, at which time she was living in Lyme, Connecticut, aged eighty-two years. June 1, 1840, she was included in the Federal census of pensions for Revolutionary or military services, and at that time she was living in Lyme, and residing in the family of Amos, surname not given. Children, born at Westerly, Rhode Island: 1. William, born about 1777, died February 8, 1837; married Phæbe Holdredge; children: i. Elizabeth, born in 1807. ii. Nathan H., born in 1809; married, October 30, 1838, Mary A. Morgan; children: a. Jane E., born December 7, 1840; married, April 7, 1875, Gilbert Strong; they lived in North Plain, Connecticut. b. William M., born December 29, 1843; married Mary Tiffany; child: (1) William M., Jr., born February 15, 1884. iii. Mary, born June 20, 1812. iv. Phæbe, born March 7, 1815. v. Jonathan, born in 1817. vi. Harriet, born in 1827. 2. Elizabeth, born March 8, 1778, died in 1862; married (first) John Burdick; (second) William Payne. 3. Jonathan, of whom further. 4. Nathan, born March 23, 1787. (An inscription in the Sisson graveyard reads that Nathan B. Sisson was lost at sea January 27, 1812, *ae.* 25. 5. Oliver, born March 23, 1784 or 1786; married Lucretia Tiffany. 6. Mary, born April 1, 1786 or 1788; married Richard Tiffany. 7. Sarah, born April 12, 1791, died May 5, 1835, "*ae.* 44"; was unmarried. 8. Nancy, born June 17, 1790 or 1794, died unmarried November 28, 1856. 9. Frances, born October 4, 1792 or 1795, died unmarried September 28, 1838. 10. Deziah or Desire, born December 9, 1794 or 1797, died unmarried, April 9, 1860. 11. Henry Bliven, born in 1798 or 1799, died at North Lyme, Connecticut, February 21, 1863; married Lucinda Shailer.

("Genealogical and Biographical Record of New London County, Connecticut," p. 853. J. N. Arnold: "Vital Record of Rhode Island, 1636-1850," Vol. V, pp. 12, 59, 80, 133, 134. "Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or Military Services: Sixth Census (1840)," p. 53. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXVIII, p. 380. Sisson family Bible records. Pension Claim W. 17875, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D. C.)

VI. Jonathan (2) Sisson, son of Captain Jonathan (1) and Elizabeth (Blivin or Bliven) Sisson, was born at Westerly, Rhode Island,

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March 27, 1779 or 1780, and resided in either East Haddam or Lyme, Connecticut, probably throughout his later life.

Jonathan (2) Sisson married (first) Selina M. Loomis, who was probably of Chesterfield, Connecticut; she died October 11, 1820, and was buried in the Sisson graveyard in Lyme. He married (second) Hope Spencer, who died at East Lyme in 1865. Children of first marriage: 1. Charles Frederick, of whom further. 2. Harriet M., died November 13, 1820, aged one year and three months, and was buried in the Sisson graveyard.

(J. N. Arnold: "Vital Record of Rhode Island," Vol. V, p. 134. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXVIII, p. 380.)

VII. Charles Frederick Sisson, son of Jonathan (2) and Selina M. (Loomis) Sisson, was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, December 7, 1815, and died May 28, 1863. In early manhood, he went to sea, following this calling for some years as a mariner and navigator. After returning home, in association with Nathan S. Paddock, Mr. Sisson bought a small building from William E. Nichols & Company, March 23, 1848. Under the firm name of "Paddock & Sisson," the partners opened a small store. This structure, located in Moodus, Connecticut, had been built as early as 1830, and for many years it was known as the "old Purple store." A fire in 1906 destroyed this early landmark. The firm of Paddock & Sisson was dissolved June 16, 1854, when Mr. Sisson became sole proprietor. His enterprise and keen business ability were greatly admired by his neighbors and friends and until his death he continued as owner and manager of the store. During the settlement of his estate, the business and property were sold to David S. Purple and Albert E. Purple, who continued the store as D. S. & A. E. Purple. David S. Purple had been Mr. Sisson's chief clerk for several years.

A public-spirited citizen, Mr. Sisson was always ready to assume his share of responsibility in community affairs, and he had a part in many things outside his business interests. He was included among those men of sturdy character and high intelligence, who formed the fabric of strong community life in that generation. From the time of his first vote, he was a member of the Republican party and his faith in its principles never faltered. His church affiliation was with the Baptist denomination.

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Charles Frederick Sisson married, February 13, 1842, Louisa Jane Roberts, born at East Haddam, Connecticut, January 29, 1819, died at Moodus, Connecticut, April 2, 1898, the daughter of Asha and Sarah (Paddock) Roberts and niece of Elijah Roberts, of Middletown. Children: 1. Louisa Jane, born June 16, 1843, died October 23, 1843, and was buried at East Haddam. 2. Fanny Roberts, born March 15, 1846, died January 26, 1924; married (first) John Fraser, of Bay City, Michigan. Following his death, she married (second), October 17, 1871, James Dunlap Balen. Mrs. Balen was loved and respected throughout Moodus and the neighboring sections for her many kind and charitable deeds. A devoted wife and mother, she nevertheless found time to continue many cultural pursuits. She spoke several languages fluently, and was an authority on painting. An artist of talent and ability, she was particularly interested in floral subjects and one of her chief interests was her own garden in which she exhibited many rare and lovely flowers. She had traveled widely and was known as a charming and brilliant conversationalist. James Dunlap Balen was born at New York City, September 20, 1834, and died February 25, 1915, son of Peter and Anna Maria (Dunlap) Balen. His grandfather was also named Peter Balen; the latter came from Holland and settled in New York State. James Dunlap Balen was graduated from Harvard Law School in 1855. He practiced law for a time, became interested in newspaper work and a little later entered the manufacturing business in Ulster County. In 1863, Mr. Balen removed to Oil City, Venango County, Pennsylvania, and at various times had business interests there as well as in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Bay City, Michigan. He retired from active business in 1877, and in 1886 settled in Moodus, Connecticut, at the Sisson homestead known as "The Hemlock," where he spent his remaining years. In politics Mr. Balen was a Republican. He was among the first to enlist in the Northern Army in April, 1861, and was a member of the 20th New York State Militia. He was made captain of Company I, which later became the 80th. He served in command of the camp at Alexandria, Virginia, and was infantry captain of 15,000 men. James Dunlap and Fanny Roberts (Sisson-Fraser) Balen were the parents of: i. James Allen, born May 9, 1888, died as the result of an automobile accident, May 29, 1921; a young man of unusual promise, he

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had been educated at Wilbraham Academy and Springfield Polytechnic Institute. He served in the World War. 3. Charles Henry, born February 13, 1847, died December 8, 1850, and was buried at East Haddam. 4. Frederick William, born November 26, 1849, died November 6, 1930; married Agnes Grimes Palmes. (Palmes VII.) 5. Sarah Selina, born July 13, 1851, died August 28, 1901. 6. Charles, born February 27, 1853, died May 28, 1863. 7. Henry, born May 4, 1855, died September 9, 1855. 8. Allen, born August 6, 1859, died January 7, 1894.

(F. H. Parker: "Contributions to the History of East Haddam, Connecticut," Vol. II, clippings from the "Connecticut Valley Advertiser," December 29, 1916, to May 27, 1921 (at the New York Public Library), Sheet 95. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXXX, p. 425.)

(The Palmes Line)

Arms—Gules, three fleurs-de-lis argent, a chief vair.

Crest—A hand holding a palm branch proper.

Motto—*Ut palma justus.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

The name of Palmes has been in existence for hundreds of years dating back to at least 1226, when one Manfred Palmes was living in Naburn, in the county of York, England, earliest known home of the family whose history follows.

(M. A. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

W. S. Appleton, writing in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXVIII, makes the following statement in regard to the English ancestry of the Palmes family:

"In Nichols' 'History of Leicestershire,' is the pedigree of one early settler of Connecticut, which I think has never yet been printed in this country. It is taken from the Visitation of the County of Leicester, and I have myself seen it at the College of Arms." Mr. Appleton then gives the following pedigree:

I. William Palmes, of Naburn, Yorkshire, was father of:

II. Guy Palmes, who had a son,

III. Bryan Palmes, who lived in County Rutland, England, at a place called Ashwell.

IV. Francis Palmes, his son, was also of Ashwell, as was his son,

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V. Sir Francis Palmes, of Ashwell, the father of Andrew, of whom further.

VI. Andrew Palmes, of Sherborn, in Hampshire, England, son of Sir Francis Palmes, died at Stapleford, Nottinghamshire, about 1666, aged seventy-three years. Children (the first five were unmarried): 1. Thomas. 2. William. 3. John. 4. Guy. 5. Stephen. 6. Edward, of whom further. 7. Byran, born in 1641; resided in Melton, Leicestershire, and was living in 1681, at which time he signed the pedigree. 8. Jane. 9. Elizabeth, married Edward Chambers.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXVIII, p. 90.)

(The Family in America)

I. Major Edward Palmes, son of Andrew Palmes, was born at Sherborn, Hampshire, England, in 1638 and died at New London, Connecticut, March 21, 1715. He came to America in 1658 or 1659 with his brother, Guy Palmes, and they were together in New Haven, Connecticut. In 1660 Edward Palmes removed to New London, Connecticut, and his brother settled in Mystic, Connecticut. As records in England show that Guy Palmes died unmarried, it is evident that all of the name born in Connecticut in the succeeding generation are descended from Edward Palmes.

Soon after settling in New London, Edward Palmes became very intimate with Governor Winthrop and family, marrying his second daughter, Lucy. The Governor made Mr. Palmes his chief of staff and conferred other honors upon the young man, nearly all of which his townsmen heartily approved.

Mr. Palmes bought large holdings of real estate, and eventually became quite wealthy for those days.

He was but twenty years of age when he landed in New England, but many of his intimates soon showed that they looked upon him to take the lead in affairs of importance, in war and in peace, and he filled his mission (history and the old records assert) very creditably in every instance. He was sent to England several times on very important missions for the Colonies, and he served under many appointments for the Crown as well, performing all duties judicially and honestly.

At the General Court at Hartford, Connecticut, August 28, 1661, "In reference to y^e case depending twixt Caspar Varleet, by way of

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appeale, contr Edward Palmes, This Court doth determine, That Caspar Varleet shal forthwith make satisfaction to Mr. Palmes for what is unpaid of y^e Bill in Cattle, wth 81. 6s. 6d. for damadge, with charges."

March 10, 1663, at Hartford, "This Court doth nominate and appoynt these to be put to y^e election, at May Court next, for Assis^{ts}; . . . Mr. Edward Palmes" (and four others). May 12, 1664, at Hartford, "This Court doth nominate and appoynt these to be Commissioners in the respective Towns to which they doe belong; . . . Mr. Bruen & Mr. Palmes, Ens:Avery, for New London."

May 9, 1667, Edward Palmes was chosen a commissioner for New London, and on October 14, 1669, "Mr. Edward Palmes" was presented for a freeman in New London, while May 11, 1671, he was one of the two deputies of the Court, for that place. October 14, 1672, he was made "Captⁿ of the Troope" in New London County, and on October 17, 1673, the Court granted "Captⁿ Edward Palmes" two hundred acres of land. This tract he sold to Thomas Parkes, Sr., to whom it was laid out in 1679.

May 22, 1674, "Major Edward Palmes is invested with Magistraticall power throughout New London County and the Narragancet country." His name appears many times thereafter on the Colonial records. "At a Council holden at Hartford, . . . May 19th, 1708, Major Edward Palmes, Esq^r," exhibited an order dated April 29, 1707, "to grant the said Edward Palmes administration to his late wife Lucy, one of the daughters of John Winthrop, Esq^r, deceased."

Major Edward Palmes was known to both Thomas Minor and Manasseh Minor, whose diaries are well-known chronicles of early events in the vicinity of Stonington, Connecticut. Thomas Minor writes, March 13, 1667-68, "I was at mr palmes I had a barell of mallases"; August 10, 1669, "I was at mr. palmes"; March 1, 1675-1676, "the prisoners were delivered to major palmes" (referring to "the Indean warr"); August 11, 1679, "major palmes was heare"; March 1, 1681-82, "major palmes was heare." Manasseh Minor's diary has this entry: July 22, 1699, "majar pallms from England."

Joshua Hempstead, of New London, another celebrated diarist, says under date of May 6, 1714, "I went to Maj Palmes's to Carry

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Ms Manwaring to buy a Cow." March 22, 1715, he wrote, "Majr Edward Palmes died Sudently being well last night & dead in 2½ hours," and the next day (23d), "I was at y^e funeral of Majr Edwd Palmes in y^e foren(oon)." "July 3, 1665, Edward Palmes for Capt. John Winthrop acknowledges receipt of one thousand feet of Deals."

"Edward Palms was of New Haven in 1659, a merchant, and removed the next year to New London. He was a freeman in 1667, representative in 1671, '72, '73, '74 and '77, and served as major in the Indian War of 1675. . . . He died . . . leaving a large estate." His tombstone inscription reads:

Here Lyes interred
The Body of Major
Edward Palmes who
departed this life March
Ye 21st Anno Dom. 17¹⁴/₁₅
in the 78th year
of his age.

"Major Palmes was active in Philip's War. Hubbard, in his 'Indian Wars, Postscript,' p. 9, makes honorable mention of him. In late editions of Hubbard the name has been changed to Palmer, which is an error, and has misled several writers."

Rev. Simon Bradstreet, in his journal, records the death of Edward Palmes' first wife, thus: "In 1676, November 24, Mrs. Lucy Palmes daughter of Jno. Winthrop, Esq., Gov^r of this Colony dyed. She was aged about 36 a vertuous young Gentlewoman." The record of his two marriages, the birth of his four children, and death of one, written on the reverse of the title-page (in Hebrew and Latin) of the "Prophetæ Posteriores," has been presented (1911) to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. "The margins of the paper have been torn or trimmed."

Major Edward Palmes married (first), at "Harford" (Hartford, Connecticut), "the first of m (torn) 6¾" (March 1, 1663-64), Lucy Winthrop, who died at New London, Connecticut, November 24, 1676, the daughter of Governor John Winthrop. There were no children by this marriage. Edward Palmes married (second), at Boston, Massachusetts, September 3, 1677, Mrs. Sarah (Farmer) Davis, a widow. Children of second marriage, born in New Lon-

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don: 1. Guy, born November 10, 1678, died at sea April 27, 1696.
2. Andrew, of whom further. 3. A daughter, born October 4, 1684, died same day. 4. Lucy, born August 30, 1687, baptized at Norwich, Connecticut, May 20, 1689; married (first), April 2, 1707, Samuel Gray, whose tombstone, at New London, reads as follows: "Here lyes y^e Body of Mr. Samuel Gray Aged 28 years & 7 Months Dec^d May y^e 26th 1713." She married (second) Samuel Lynde, of Saybrook, Connecticut. Evidently named for Major Palmes' first wife, this daughter's name has confused genealogical writers, who have erroneously supposed she was a child of the major's first marriage. "The Way Manuscript," by H. R. Way, gives her birth year as "1661," though a record, apparently not seen by Mr. Way, shows that Edward Palmes and Lucy Winthrop were not married until March, 1663-64. Frances Manwaring Caulkins also errs in saying "that Lucy Palmes," who married Samuel Gray, "was a granddaughter of the first Governor Winthrop of Connecticut." Her husband's tombstone shows that he was born about October, 1684, hence the Lucy (Palmes) born "August 30, 1687," of Major Palmes' second marriage, was undoubtedly the same who married Samuel Gray in 1707.

(Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes Who Emigrated to This Country in 1659," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, of Hartford, Connecticut, p. 131. J. Trumbull: "The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut," Vol. I, pp. 371, 419, 426; Vol. II, pp. 63, 116, 147, 186, 214; Vol. V, p. 65. "The Diary of Thomas Minor, Stonington, Connecticut, 1653-1684," pp. 83, 91, 133, 134, 156, 171. "The Diary of Manasseh Minor, Stonington, Connecticut, 1696-1720," pp. 35, 178. "Diary of Joshua Hempstead, 1711-1758," pp. 34, 44. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. VIII, p. 330; Vol. XI, pp. 28, 107; Vol. XXIII, p. 32; Vol. LXV, p. 379.)

II. Andrew Palmes, son of Major Edward and Sarah (Farmer-Davis) Palmes, was born September 24, 1682, baptized at First Church of Christ, New London, Connecticut, October 1, 1682, and died June 19, 1721. He resided in or near New London, and was evidently a neighbor and acquaintance of Joshua Hempstead, who thus mentions him in his diary:

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February 23, 1713-14, "I went to Nyhantic to buy a horse & bought one of Andrew Palmes for £5:10s:0d." . . . May 13, 1714, "in ye morning Early I went to Andrew Palmes's & bought a Cow & Calff for £4 & brought *thm* home." . . . September 29, 1714, "I sold a hhd of Rum to Andrew Palmes 3s 0d p gall ½ down." (Evidently Mr. Palmes was a tavern-keeper and his credit was good.) . . . September 2, 1716, "Andrew Palmes a Child Baptized Edward." . . . "I went to See Mr Palmes & Sat up with him all night." . . . June 19, 1721, "Mr. Andrew Palmes Died of a Consumption." . . . June 20, 1721, "aftern(oon) at Mr. Palmes funeral." . . . November 9, 1733, "Ms Eliza Prenttis the 2d wife of Mr Thos Prenttis Died of a Consumption Last night. She was the wife of Mr. Andrew Palmes decd. he died of a Consumption . . . She was forty-eight years of age." . . . June 20, 1758, "att Court in the aftern(oon) and Looking over the Tombs of the aged. Majr Edwd Palmes Died in March 1714 in his seventy-eighth year his Son Andrew in June 1721 in his 39th year."

That the "Eliza. Grey" whom Edward Palmes married in Boston in 1710 and who died in 1733 aged forty-eight (as per the diary) was the same "Elizabeth of Samuel and Susanna Gray born December 21, 1685" in Boston, as stated in John R. Totten's "Christophers Family," is undoubted. But that article is evidently in error in naming her mother as Susanna Baster, for the marriage of "Samuel Gray of Salem and Susanna Baster of Boston" did not occur until April 15, 1695, as shown in Boston marriage records. It seems probable that she was a sister of Samuel Gray, of Boston and New London, who had married her husband's sister, Lucy Palmes, in 1707. (There was yet another Samuel Gray, of Dorsetshire, England, and Boston, Massachusetts, with a wife Susanna; the latter having been born October 23, 1677, a daughter of Philip and Mary Langdon, and married to a Samuel Gray in or before 1697.)

Andrew Palmes was married at Boston, Massachusetts, by the Rev. Benjamin Colman, Presbyterian, February 6, 1710, to Elizabeth Grey (intentions read Gray), who was born at Boston, Massachusetts, December 21, 1685, and died at New London, Connecticut, November 8, 1733, the daughter of Samuel and Susanna Grey or Gray. She married (second), June 13, 1725, Thomas Prentiss, as his

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second wife. Children of Andrew and Elizabeth (Grey or Gray) Palmes, all baptized at First Church of Christ, New London: 1. Guy, baptized April 5, 1713, died March 27, 1757; married, March 6, 1736-37, Mrs. Lucy (Christophers) Douglass. 2. Bryan, of whom further. 3. Edward, baptized September 2, 1716, died May 31, 1776; married, October 18, 1740, Lucretia Christophers. 4. Andrew, baptized September 11, 1720, died October 18, 1752. "News is come (November 15, 1752) that Andrew Palmes 2d is dead in one of y^e French Islands of y^e West Indies."

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XII, p. 57; Vol. XIV, pp. 14, 370; Vol. XXX, p. 33; Vol. LXXXVII, p. 399. Rev. Dr. S. Leroy Blake: "The Later History of the First Church of Christ, New London, Connecticut," pp. 454, 475, 477, 478, 482. Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes Who Emigrated to This Country in 1659," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, of Hartford, pp. 149-57. "Diary of Joshua Hempstead, 1711-1758," pp. 32, 35, 39, 59, 110, 266, 704. "Report of Boston Record Commissioners," No. 9, pp. 165, 224; No. 28, p. 29. "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LI, pp. 153, 154, 214. C. J. F. Binney: "The History and Genealogy of the Prentice or Prentiss Family," p. 277.)

III. Bryan Palmes, son of Andrew and Elizabeth (Grey or Gray) Palmes, was baptized in infancy, at the First Church of Christ, New London, Connecticut, November 7, 1714, and died at New Haven, April 12, 1756. He was of the third generation known by Joshua Hempstead, who frequently mentioned Bryan Palmes in his diary, as is shown by the following:

August 5, 1737, "I was most of the Day Riding out with Bryan Palmes to Clemt Leaches and Pine neck to take acknowledgmts &c." . . . November 21, 1746, "I was all day with William Manwaring Measuring land that he buys of Bryam Palmes 60 acres in the 2d Teer that was Capt Thos Prentis's wood lot & also Bryam Palmes's Orchard & field that he bot of Hugh Minor that was part of Lt Clemt Minors &c." . . . November 24, 1746, "afternoon I went with Bryam Palmes to Remeasure his Swamp lot to Wm Manwaring & afterwards writing deeds at home till late." . . . Sunday, November 18, 1750, "Bryam Palmes & the Widow Sarah Way published." . . . August 9, 1753, "a child of Bryan Palmes's Dyed."

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. . . April 12, 1756, "Bryan Palmes Dyed with the Dropsie. he was a Cripple from his Childhood & left 3 children, aged about 40 I Suppose." His widow, Sarah, was administratrix of his estate.

Bryan Palmes married, at New London, Connecticut, December 29, 1750, Sarah (Savell) Way, widow of Thomas Way. She was baptized October 16, 1717, and outlived her second husband. She was the daughter of John and Sarah Savell, of New London. Children, born at New London, Connecticut: 1. Bryan, born October 13, 1751, died August 9, 1753. 2. Janet, baptized August 6, 1753. 3. Joseph, baptized February 3, 1754. 4. Samuel (twin), of whom further. 5. Andrew (twin), born May 6, 1755, died April 11, 1846; married, July 24, 1782, Sally Mattocks; resided in Litchfield, Connecticut, removing about 1819-20 to Richmond, Ontario County, New York. He "served in the Revolutionary War and had a pension." The Federal Census of 1840 shows him to be aged eighty-five, and residing in the family of William F. Reed in the town of Richmond, Ontario County.

(Rev. Dr. S. Leroy Blake: "The Later History of the First Church of Christ, New London, Connecticut," pp. 477, 522. "Diary of Joshua Hempstead, 1711-1758," pp. 323, 471, 559, 612, 666. Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes, Who Emigrated to This Country in 1659," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, of Hartford, p. 157. "United States Census of Pensioners, 1840," p. 91.)

IV. Samuel Palmes, son of Bryan and Sarah (Savell-Way) Palmes, was born in New London, Connecticut, May 6, 1755, and died probably in Ontario County, New York, June 23, 1849. The Federal census of 1840 lists him as "Samuel Palms," a pensioner, aged eighty-five, head of a family in the town of East Haddam, Middlesex County, Connecticut. The old homestead of Samuel Palmes in East Haddam, Connecticut, where he reared most of his numerous family, was still standing in May, 1909. It was a plain and unpretentious gambrel roofed structure.

The looks, manners and habits of Samuel Palmes and his twin brother, Andrew Palmes, were always so much alike that when any general characteristic was named it applied to both. They were deliberate in manner and slow of speech. The father of these twin brothers died when they were eleven months old and, although he had left a

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substantial estate, it had dwindled through mismanagement and bad business deals. At the age of fourteen years the twins were bound out to trades in their native place, New London. Samuel Palmes became a saddler and trunk-maker, and after the close of the Revolutionary War made this trade his life business. Andrew Palmes was a boot and shoemaker. After enlisting in the Revolutionary Army, the twins were separated for the first time, as they were at once assigned to different points.

Samuel Palmes married, at East Haddam, Connecticut, September 2, 1781, Mary Foster, who was born at Sag Harbor, New York, in 1756, and died at East Haddam, December 3, 1824, daughter of John Foster. Children, all born at East Haddam, Connecticut: 1. Guy, of whom further. 2. Samuel Foster, born June 9, 1784, died February 19, 1826; married at New York City, January 28, 1809, Emma Foster, the daughter of Charles and Mary (Armstrong) Foster, of Portland, Maine. 3. John, born July 25, 1786. He was in business with his brother, Guy Palmes, for a time before going West, where he married. 4. Mary, born about 1788. 5. George Foster, born July 15, 1790, died November 1, 1836; married at Savannah, Georgia, March 13, 1817, Caroline Lawrence Williams. 6. Mary or Polly, born July 9, 1792, died April 10, 1876; married at East Haddam, April 17, 1823, Diodate A. Church, a farmer. 7. Oliver, born July 17, 1795, died July 10, 1862; married (first), at Castine, Maine, October 13, 1840, Phœbe Johnstone; (second), at New Orleans, Louisiana, March 10, 1847, Mary Rezeau. He settled in New Orleans as a merchant and ship Chandler. 8. Chauncey, born February 3, 1799, died on Long Island, June 11, 1853.

(Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes, Who Emigrated to This Country in 1659," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, of Hartford, pp. 157, 176, 177, 178, 186, 187, 191, 214, 229, 231, 235, 237, 247. "United States Census of Pensioners, 1840," p. 60.)

V. Guy Palmes, son of Samuel and Mary (Foster) Palmes, was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, April 16, 1782, and died there August 3, 1878. He followed the trade of tanner. His house, "a short distance northerly of the Hemlock Valley Mill site (Hadlyme, Connecticut) was moved to that location by Guy Palmes about 1824.

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. . . . It was built by Samuel Ackley about 1810 and advertised by him as a new house in 1812. . . . Mr. Palmes bought the house from Chevers Brainerd and occupied it for many years. The property belonged to Richard V. Brookes at his death in 1859 and the Palmes heirs quit-claimed their mortgage interest therein to Lucy D. Brooks in 1867."

Guy Palmes married, at East Haddam, Connecticut, September 22, 1812, Silence Hungerford. (Hungerford VI.) Children, all born at East Haddam, Connecticut: 1. Caroline Williams, born July 3, 1814, died January 1, 1892; married, September 3, 1834, John Gardner Way, son of Thomas and Sally Randall Way, of Colchester, Connecticut. 2. Henry, born April 13, 1816, died April 17, 1848; married, in 1845, Maria Jones, of East Haddam. 3. Oliver, of whom further. 4. John Hungerford, born August 14, 1819, died November 18, 1886; married, September 26, 1847, Lydia Carpenter, of North Coventry, Connecticut. 5. Mary White, born January 23, 1824, died July 9, 1885, unmarried. 6. Julia Fordham, born December 6, 1826; married, July 22, 1852, as his second wife, Ebenezer Snow, of East Haddam, Connecticut. 7. Sarah Elizabeth, born October 14, 1830; married, September 10, 1887, James T. Huntley, of Providence, Rhode Island.

(F. H. Parker: "Contributions to the History of East Haddam, Connecticut," an article in the "Connecticut Valley Advertiser," November 16, 1923. Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes, Who Emigrated to This Country in 1659," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, Hartford, pp. 191, 207, 213, 217, 219.)

VI. Oliver Palmes, son of Guy and Silence (Hungerford) Palmes, was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, January 20, 1818, and died there April 23, 1897. He was a tanner by trade and lived in East Haddam, where he owned a farm.

Oliver Palmes married, March 17, 1845, Eliza Jane Clark, of Rocky Hill, Connecticut, born March 17, 1823, at Stephentown, New York, daughter of William B. and Abigail (Lewis) Clark, and died April 22, 1902, at East Haddam, Connecticut. Children: 1. Gertrude Estelle, born at Rocky Hill, March 14, 1846; married, June 13, 1867, Francis Wayland Waterman, of Hartford, Connecticut. 2. Agnes Grimes, of whom further. 3. Jessie Margaret, born at East

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Haddam, Connecticut, July 30, 1859; unmarried in 1909; located in New York City, a retired school teacher.

(Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes, Who Emigrated to This Country in 1659," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, of Hartford, Connecticut, p. 207.)

VII. Agnes Grimes Palmes, daughter of Oliver and Eliza Jane (Clark) Palmes, was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, October 7, 1849. She married Frederick William Sisson. (Sisson VII, Child 4.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Hungerford Line)

Arms—Sable, two bars argent, in chief three plates.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet or, a pepper garb of the first, between two sickles, erect, proper.

Motto—*Et Dieu mon appui.*

(Burke: "Encyclopædia of Heraldry.")

The surname Hungerford is probably associated with Hingwar, a Danish chieftain who lost his life while attempting to cross a ford in 870 A. D. Hence it should be Hing-war-ford. The name is of record as early as 1204.

The village of Hungerford is in Berkshire. All of the Hungerfords seem to have sprung from a common origin. The first of the name of historical prominence was Sir Thomas Hungerford, who is said to have "begun life in the humble situation of register of Wyrrie, Bishop of Salisbury, and is reported to have been the first speaker (in 1377) of the House of Commons." Sir Thomas lived at Blark Bounton, County Oxford, and died in 1398.

(F. P. Leach: "Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and Some of His Descendants, With Their English Ancestors," p. 3. F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," p. iii.)

I. Thomas (1) Hungerford, who probably belonged to a branch of the distinguished family in England, although the direct connection has not been found, died at New London, Connecticut, in 1663. The Register of Hartford, Connecticut, names Thomas Hungerford as a proprietor there in 1639, owning a triangular lot with a home on it. About 1650 he removed to New London, Connecticut, where lands were granted him in 1651, and in 1652 he was appointed constable.

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In December, 1652, Thomas Hungerford and John Pickett were given for firewood the land where Fort Trumbull is now located. Inventory of his estate was taken May 1, 1663, and amounted to £100.5.6.

Thomas Hungerford's first wife, whose name is not known, died before November, 1657; he married (second), about 1658, Hannah Willey, of New London, baptized at Boston, Massachusetts, died about 1681, the daughter of Isaac and Joanna Willey. She married (second) Peter Blachford, of New London and Haddam, Connecticut, died September 1, 1671; (third), in 1673, Samuel Spencer. (Spencer—American Line—I, Child 6.) Children of Thomas Hungerford's first marriage: 1. Thomas (2), of whom further. 2. Sarah, born about 1654; after her mother's death she went to Ipswich, Massachusetts, to live with her father's sister, Ann Leigh. She married Lewis Hugh, of Lyme, Connecticut. Child of Thomas and Hannah (Willey) Hungerford: 3. Hannah, born May 1, 1659; married Mr. Ross, of Rhode Island.

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 1, 2, 3. F. M. Caulkins: "History of New London, Connecticut," p. 281. Nathaniel Goodwin: "Genealogical Notes (First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts)," p. 281.)

II. Thomas (2) Hungerford, son of Thomas (1) Hungerford's first marriage, was born at Hartford, New London County, Connecticut, about 1648 and died at East Haddam, Connecticut, January 11, 1714. In 1650 he went to New London, Connecticut, with his father, and remained there until 1687, when he sold the land in New London which had been granted to him in 1673, and went to Lyme, Connecticut. In 1692 he was in East Haddam following the trade of a blacksmith. In the records he was styled "Mr.," and was the first selectman of the town.

Thomas Hungerford's will was dated January 11, 1713-14, and was proved April 5, 1714. To his wife he bequeathed all his buildings, also certain land joining Abell Willee's land during life; to grandson, Thomas (son of Thomas), one-half of interest on Stonington lands, also "half of my fourth division on the east side of the Eighth Mile River"; to son John and his male heirs "my buildings

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and the whole of my 190 acre allotment" except what belongs to wife, Mary, during her life; to son Green, one-half part of interest in lands in Stonington; also "one half part of my fourth division allotment east of Eight Mile River; also all my right in Moodus Meadow upon the Falls River"; to his five daughters, Elizabeth, Susannah, Sarah, Mary, and Esther, "the remainder of my personal estate"; to grandson John "all my right in Lyme and the undivided lands."

Thomas (2) Hungerford married (first), before June 6, 1671, Mary Green or Gray, of the Plantation of the Narragansetts in Rhode Island; (second) Mary Graves, daughter of John Graves. She was born in England. Children: 1. Elizabeth, died November 17, 1758; married about 1695, Joseph Gates. 2. Thomas, born about 1672, died September 29, 1750; married about 1699, Elizabeth Smith. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Susannah, born about 1676; married about 1700, Samuel Church. 5. Sarah, born in 1679, died September 25, 1753; married about 1697, Nathaniel Cone. 6. Mary, born in 1681, died March 16, 1763; married, February 5, 1702, Stephen Cone. 7. Green, born in 1684, died in 1735; married, March 9, 1709, Jemima Richardson. 8. Esther, born in 1687, died May 15, 1749; married, in 1711, Samuel Gates. 9. Benjamin.

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 17. F. H. Parker: "Contributions to the History of East Haddam, Connecticut, Moodus, Connecticut, 1921-1927" (from the "Connecticut Valley Advertiser," June 10, 1921, to April 14, 1927, Vol. I, p. 49; Vol. III (not paged). J. H. Beers: "History of Middlesex County, Connecticut," p. 318.)

III. John Hungerford, son of Thomas (2) Hungerford, was born at New London, Connecticut, about 1674, and died at East Haddam, Connecticut, about July 9, 1748. He was of East Haddam. His will was dated East Haddam, August 20, 1746, and recorded at Hartford. To his wife, Deborah, he bequeathed one-third of his movable estate, the south room of his dwelling-house, the orchard and fruit trees, five acres of plow land with the privilege of half the barn and a riding horse or mare; to his eldest son, Robert (who was made executor) the ratification of what was given him before and one-half of the house lot; to son Thomas, half of the house lot; to daughter Ruth or her heirs, thirty pounds old tenor bills; to daughter Jane, ten

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pounds of money in the same tenor; to daughter, Esther, twenty and five pounds of money in the same tenor; to daughter, Thankful, thirty pounds of money in the same tenor; to grandsons Levi and Thomas Hungerford, sons of his daughter, Deborah, deceased, thirty-five pounds in the same tenor between them.

John Hungerford married, at East Haddam, August 23, 1695, or December 3, 1702 (records differ), Deborah Spencer. (Spencer—American Line—III.) Children: 1. Mary, born November 3, 1703, baptized May 15, 1709. 2. Ruth, born August 16, 1705, baptized May 15, 1709; married, September 14, 1748, Joseph Shipman. 3. Jane, born January 27, 1707-08, baptized May 15, 1709; married Thomas Harvey. 4. Esther, born October 14, 1709, baptized November 27, 1709; married, April 1, 1729, Joseph Day. 5. John, born August 31, 1712, baptized September 30, 1712, died July 30, 1714. 6. Thankful, born October 22, 1713, baptized December 13, 1713; married John Watrous or Waters. 7. Robert, of whom further. 8. Thomas, born April 20, 1718; married, January 7, 1739, Deborah Chalker. 9. Deborah, baptized August 27, 1721, died before March 6, 1745; married, December 27, 1739, Captain John Hungerford. "Capt. John Hungerford" was the moderator of the Hadlyme Society Meeting, December 9, 1742. (Hadlyme was formed from East Haddam.)

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 5, 6, 11, 12. Nathaniel Goodwin: "Genealogical Notes (First Settlers of Connecticut and Massachusetts)," p. 204. J. H. Beers: "History of Middlesex County, Connecticut," p. 319. "First Book, East Haddam Land Records," in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XI, p. 311.)

IV. Captain Robert Hungerford, son of John and Deborah (Spencer) Hungerford, was born January 3, 1716, baptized March 11, 1716, and died February 11, 1794. He was of East Haddam, Connecticut, and served in the Revolutionary War.

Captain Robert Hungerford married, March 2, 1736, Grace Holmes. (Holmes IV.) Children, born at East Haddam, Connecticut: 1. John, born February 21, 1737, died December 11, 1760; married Jane Church, of Lyme, Connecticut. 2. Anne, born March 13, 1739, died January 14, 1743-44. 3. Captain Zechariah, born

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March 20, 1741, died at East Haddam, November 1, 1816; married Lydia Bigelow. 4. Deborah, born October 14, 1743, died July 21, 1826; married Lieutenant Uriah Church, Sr. 5. Silence, born May 6, 1747, died February 7, 1794; married Captain Elnathan Hatch. 6. Anna, born August 20, 1749, died February 24, 1776; married Abisha Church. 7. Robert, born January 23, 1752, died December 27, 1834; married (first) Lovice Warner; (second), in 1783, Olive Ely. 8. Grace, born January 5, 1755, died January 15, 1755. 9. Elijah, of whom further. 10. Grace, born August 16, 1759, died November, 1759.

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 12, 36, 51, 52. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XII, p. 43; Vol. XIX, p. 363.)

V. Elijah Hungerford, son of Captain Robert and Grace (Holmes) Hungerford, was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, November 10, 1755, and died December 9, 1839. He married Rhoda Harvey, born 1759, died January 20, 1835, the daughter of Robert and Rachel Harvey. Child: 1. Silence, of whom further.

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 36, 52.)

VI. Silence Hungerford, daughter of Elijah and Rhoda (Harvey) Hungerford, was born May 5, 1791, and died February 3, 1866. She married Guy Palmes. (Palmes V.)

(Henry Russel Way: "Genealogy of the Paternal Ancestors and Descendants of Major Edward Palmes," a manuscript in possession of Ernest N. Way, Hartford, p. 191.)

(The Holmes Line)

Arms—Or, three spurred cocks fighting.

(John Holmes: "A Letter of Directions to His Father's Birthplace (with notes and a genealogy by D. W. Patterson)."

Holmes and its variants, Holm, Holme, Holms, Home and Homes, are surnames of local derivation, meaning "at the holm," from residence on a holm, an islet in, or a flat land beside, a river. As a place name the word is to be found all over England, while as a surname it appears, in its various spellings, in many English records.

(C. W. Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

SPENCER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

I. Thomas (1) Holmes, a resident of London, England, was a lawyer or counsellor of Gray's Inn. He was killed at the siege of Oxford during the Civil War in England, probably in May or June, 1646.

Thomas Holmes married Mary Thetford. Child: 1. Thomas, of whom further.

(John Holmes: "A Letter of Directions to His Father's Birth-place (with notes and a genealogy by D. W. Patterson)," p. 15.)

II. Thomas (2) Holmes, son of Thomas (1) and Mary (Thetford) Holmes, was born at London, England, about 1625, and died at the home of his son, John, in East Haddam, Connecticut, December 12, 1723-24, at the age of ninety-eight years. He came to Virginia in 1665 during the "great plague," and later removed to New York, where he met his future wife. They settled in New London, Connecticut. Some years later, he and his son removed to East Haddam, Connecticut. On his deathbed, Thomas Holmes dictated a letter to his son, John, in regard to his parentage and his old home. The letter follows:

This Letter of Directions—from John Holmes—in Haddam—in New England—for to find—the place where his Father—was Born and—Brought up In London: He was Son to Thomas Holmes—counciler of Grase—in Who Lived in Saint-Tandrs-parrich in Holborn—in the Roson Crown Cort in Grafen Lain upper site—aGainst Grasin Walks—His Mother's Maden Name was Mary Thetford. Grandfather was Slain in the Time of the Sevel Wars—att Oxford Sege. Our: Cort: of: arms are the 3 Spord Coks fighting in a Golden feild—My Father Came out of England in the time of the Grat plage—and he thought to have gon Down in to Norfolk—to a place Caled Lyn where—we had a Small pece of Land—one Edmond Beel—was Tennant and had been for many years before but all places being garded he culd not pass—whear upon he came for virjaney—thenking to have Returned in a fue years. But it was other ways ordered—for the contry proved unhelthy to: him and he was poor and Low in the world—after a while he Recruited—and as It was ordred—Marred—in New york to one Lucrese Dod/ly—dagter to—Mr-Thomas Dod/ley—of London who Keep the tanes Cort-in-Clare Streat in Common Gardin in London. She had Two—Brothers—But She Died—a bout 6—and thirty year a Go—my father Died in Dec^m 12 1724—Being a very aged man—my father so long as he Lived he Lived in hopes of seeing England a Gain—But he is Dead and Gon and left but only me his Son being thirty 8—years of age

SPENCER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

These Directions Taken by John Holmes on his father's Death Bed.

Thomas Holmes married Lucretia Dudley, who died at New London, Connecticut, July 5, 1689, daughter of Thomas Dudley, of New York, and London, England. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XIX, p. 362. Henry Willey: "Isaac Willey of New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants," p. 6. J. Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. II, p. 454. John Holmes: "A Letter of Directions to His Father's Birthplace (with notes and a genealogy by D. W. Patterson)," pp. 2-10.)

III. John Holmes, son of Thomas (2) and Lucretia (Dudley) Holmes, was born at New London, Connecticut, March 11, 1686-87, and died at East Haddam, Connecticut, May 29, 1734. He and his wife lived in New London for a few years after their marriage and, in 1710, the townsmen leased to him "an acre of land by Cedar Swamp, where his father hath planted some apple trees." About 1714, he located in East Haddam, where he had purchased several parcels of land in 1713. In 1719, John Holmes was town surveyor and, in 1721, he served as selectman. His property was listed at £46 in 1718 and at £128-18 in 1727.

John Holmes married, at New London, Connecticut, February 11, 1706-07, Mary Willey, daughter of John and Miriam (Moore) Willey. She was born at New London, December 10, 1685, and married (second), June 1, 1736, Samuel Andrews, of East Haddam. Children: 1. Thomas, born at New London, December 4, 1707; married, January 9, 1732, Lucy Knowlton. 2. John, born at New London, February 24, 1708-09; married Lucretia Willey. 3. Lucretia, born July 14, 1711. 4. Mary, born February 7, 1712-13; married Abel Willey. 5. Christopher, born June 4, 1715, died April 2, 1792; married, March 2, 1736, Sarah Andrews. 6. Grace, of whom further. 7. Eliphalet, born at East Haddam, July 12, 1722, died November 30, 1743; married, January 25, 1742, Damaris Waterhouse. 8. Sarah, born June 14, 1726; married Nathaniel Niles. 9. Abijah, born at East Haddam, August 1, 1729, died unmarried.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XIX, pp. 362-63. Henry Willey: "Isaac Willey of New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants," p. 6. John Holmes: "A Letter of

SPENCER AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Directions to His Father's Birthplace (with notes and a genealogy by D. W. Patterson)," pp. 51-56.)

IV. Grace Holmes, daughter of John and Mary (Willey) Holmes, was born at East Haddam, Connecticut, August 4, 1717, and died April 27, 1798 (or possibly April 27, 1808). She was baptized June 8, 1735, at which time she joined the East Haddam church.

Grace Holmes married Captain Robert Hungerford. (Hungerford IV.)

(F. P. Leach: "Additions and Corrections for Thomas Hungerford of Hartford and New London, Connecticut, and His Descendants in America," pp. 12, 36. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XII, p. 43; Vol. XIX, p. 363. John Holmes: "A Letter of Directions to His Father's Birthplace (with notes and a genealogy by D. W. Patterson)," p. 55.)

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